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# LORENZ GRÄSSL (1753-1793): VOM BAYERISCHEN EXJESUITEN ZUM AMERIKANISCHEN BISCHOF

Ulrich L. Lehner\*

Der Exjesuit Johann Michael Sailer<sup>1</sup> bezeichnete Lorenz Grässl als einen seiner „geliebtesten Mitschüler in Ingolstadt“ und sein Abschiedsbrief aus Philadelphia stelle die „Krone“ seiner zuletzt publizierten Briefsammlung dar;<sup>2</sup> die katholische Kirche der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika erinnert sich seiner als eines bedeutenden „Pionier(s) des Kreuzes“,“<sup>3</sup> ein Zeitgenosse

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\* Ulrich L. Lehner (geb. 1976 in Straubing) Diplomand im Fach Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit an der Universität München, Studium der Philosophie und Theologie in Regensburg, München und Notre Dame (USA), Verfasser zahlreicher Beiträge und Rezensionen zur Kirchen-, Landes- und Theologiegeschichte. Prof. Heinz Schulte SJ (München) zum 70. und Prof. Dr. Manfred Weidau (München) zum 65. Geburtstag in Dank gewidmet.

<sup>1</sup> \*17.xi.1751 Aresing; SJ 13.ix.1770 Landsberg; †20.v.1832 Regensburg.

<sup>2</sup> Johann Michael Sailer, *Briefe aus allen Jahrhunderten der christlichen Zeitrechnung. Fünfte, sechste und letzte Sammlung* (München: Lentner 1833) Sämtliche Werke 12: Theologische Schriften, SS. 498-500; wieder abgedruckt in Hans Pömbacher (Hg.), *Bayerische Bibliothek. Texte aus zwölf Jahrhunderten*, Bd. III: *Die Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts – Das Zeitalter der Aufklärung* (München: Süddeutscher Verlag, 1990) SS 599-601. Meinem Vater, Herrn Herbert Lehner (Straubing), danke ich für die wiederum umsichtige Korrektur des Manuskripts, StD Alfons Huber (Straubing) und P. Dr. Julius Oswald S.J. (München) für die bereichernde Kritik.

<sup>3</sup> Diesen Titel gab Dr. Anton Heiter, Speyrer Diözesanpriester, seinen Ausführungen über Lorenz Grässl. Nach: Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Anton Heiter, *Pionier des Kreuzes*, handschriftliche Abschrift der aus der amerikanischen Zeitschrift „Die christliche Woche“ durch Josef Laumer vom 14. Dezember 1897 (im Folgenden: Heiter, *Pionier des Kreuzes* mit jeweiliger Absatzzahl). Heiter, der als Seelsorger in Buffalo/USA wirkte (Georg Timpe, „Zwei deutschsprachige Gelehrte,“ in *Katholisches Deutschland in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, hg. Georg Timpe (Freiburg: Herder, 1937), Volksdeutsche Quellen und Darstellungen IV, SS. 162-75, hier: 172 nennt ihn einen „Bahnbrecher“ der päpstlichen Enzyklika „Rerum Novarum“ Leo's XII. in den USA), war der Ansicht, Grässl verdanke die „Vorliebe für die Gesellschaft Jesu“

nennt sein Leben ein „Schlachtopfer der Liebe“;<sup>4</sup> auch das „Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche“ widmete ihm in seiner ersten Auflage einen kurzen Artikel.<sup>5</sup> Dennoch ist Lorenz Grässl in seiner bayerischen Heimat und auch in der Gesellschaft Jesu, deren Mitglied er bis zur Auflösung 1773 war, in Vergessenheit geraten. Die Feierlichkeiten anlässlich des 250. Geburtstages von Johann Michael Sailer berechtigten, die vergessene Vita seines Freundes Lorenz Grässl wieder ans Licht zu heben.<sup>6</sup>

### I. Kindheit, Jugend, Studium (1753-1778)

In der Diözese Regensburg, im kleinen Pfarrdorf Ruhmannsfelden, inmitten des Bayerischen Waldes gelegen, wurde (Dominik)<sup>7</sup> Lorenz Grässl als Sohn eines Lederers am 18. August 1753 geboren. Eine innige Beziehung

seiner Freundschaft zu Sailer. Aber keine bekannte Quelle weist darauf hin. Sailer nur deswegen zum geistigen Vater Grässls zu stilisieren, weil er es für die nachfolgende Priestergeneration Altbayerns wurde, ist nicht zulässig. In den Akten des Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden wird Heiter als Regensburger Diözesanpriester beschrieben, nach einem Schreiben der Diözese Buffalo/USA an den Verf. vom 1. Februar 2001 stammte der 1911 verstorbene Priester aber aus der Diözese Speyer.

<sup>4</sup> Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Schreiben des Münchner Censurates Aloys Pöfänger vom 6. April 1795. Grässl sei im „mitternächtlichen“ Amerika zum Bischof gewählt und ernannt worden. Als aber die Pest in seinem Kirchensprengel ausbrach, verließ er nicht die Stadt, sondern stand seinen „Schäflein“ bei und wurde „von der Seuche selbst ergriffen“ und starb „als ein wahres Schlachtopfer der Liebe.“ Sein heroisches Lebensopfer bezeugen nach Auskunft Pöfängers die Briefe des „Hochw. H. Heinrich Kemper, Vorsteher des Collegiums englischer Missionarien (sic) in Lüttich vom 18. Homung 1794 und noch später aus Rom.“

<sup>5</sup> Georg Schuhmann, „Grässl, Lorenz,“ *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, IV (Freiburg: Herder, 1932) 649 f.

<sup>6</sup> Da nur wenige archivalische Quellen über Grässl Auskunft geben, werden sie im vorliegenden Aufsatz ausführlich zitiert. Der von einem unbekannten Autor verfasste Beitrag „The Reverend Lawrence Graessel, one of the First German Pioneer Priests in the United States and Chosen First Coadjutor-Bishop of Baltimore,“ *American Catholic Historical Researches* 21 (1904) 49-64, der zuvor im „Pastorblatt St. Louis“ erschienen war, wurde von J.F. Meifuss ins Amerikanische übersetzt und beinhaltet alle erhaltenen Briefe Grässls in Übersetzung. Der anonym bleibende Verfasser erwähnt nur, dass er selbst in Ruhmannsfelden geboren sei und daher ein reges Interesse an der Biographie seines Landsmannes habe.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas C. Middleton, „Documents Relating to the Appointment of Coadjutors of the Right Rev. John Carroll, First Bishop of Baltimore, of the Years 1793 until 1794,“ *American Catholic Historical Researches* 5 (1887/88) 188-193, hier: 189 zitiert ein Schreiben der Päpstlichen Propagandakongregation an den Päpstlichen Auditor Msgr. Roverella vom 16. Dezember 1793, in dem auch der Vorname „Dominik“ genannt wird. Grässl scheint diesen aber abgelegt zu haben, denn er unterzeichnete alle seine (erhaltenen) Briefe mit „Lorenz“. Auch die amerikanischen Quellen kennen ihn nur unter diesem Namen.



zu Eltern und Geschwistern lässt sich aus den Briefen späterer Jahre ableiten. Kindheit und Jugend waren von echter Kargheit und tiefer Religiosität geprägt. Lorenz erhielt wohl an der Schule des Ortes bzw. im nahe gelegenen Zisterzienserstift Gotteszell, in dem er bis zu seinem Tod 1793 gute Freunde hatte, eine rudimentäre Schulausbildung. 1765/1766 besuchte er nachweislich die Prinzipistenklasse des Jesuiten-Gymnasiums Straubing. Die „Notae“ über den Schüler berichten, dass sich Grässl im 2. Schuljahr befand.<sup>8</sup> Sein Geist sei — so beschreibt ihn sein Klassenlehrer — „prae-stantissimus“, sein Fleiß „indefessa“, sein Platz in der Klasse „inter optimos“ und in den Sitten sei er „piissime.“<sup>9</sup> Da Grässl vom Straubinger Gymnasium aus in die Gesellschaft Jesu übertrat, besuchte er, rechnet man die Jahre zurück, 1766/67 die Rudimenta, 1767/68 die Grammatica, 1768/69 die Syntax minor, 1769/70 die Syntax major, 1770/71 die Poetikklasse, 1771/72 die Rhetorik.<sup>10</sup> Am 28. September 1772 erfolgte schließlich der Eintritt in die Gesellschaft Jesu. Doch schon ein Jahr später löste Papst Clemens XIV. mit dem Breve „*Dominus ac Redemptor*“ am 21. Juli 1773 den Jesuitenorden auf; Grässl und mit ihm sein Freund Johann Michael Sailer mussten das Noviziat in Landsberg verlassen. Der Lederersohn ging zum weiteren Studium an die Universität Ingolstadt. Dort immatrikulierte er sich 1773 in Theologie; 1774 in Logik, 1778 an der juristischen Fakultät.<sup>11</sup> Am 20. Dezember 1777 wurde Grässl in der Sakristei St. Johannes Evangelist des Eichstätter Domes durch Franz Heinrich Wendelin von Kageneck, Auxiliarbischof in Eichstätt, zum Diakon geweiht.<sup>12</sup> Im Frühjahr 1778 wurde er wohl zum Priester ordiniert.<sup>13</sup>

Aus der Studentenzeit Grässls stammt wohl auch jener Brief, den man mit

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<sup>8</sup> Die Matrikel der Jahre zuvor haben sich nicht erhalten. Es ist aber davon auszugehen, dass Grässl von Beginn an das Straubinger Gymnasium besuchte. Im Internet hat die Heimatpfarre Grässls, Ruhmannsfelden, eine eigene Seite eingerichtet: [http://home.t-online.de/home/kath\\_pfarr\\_ruhmannsfelden/graessler.htm](http://home.t-online.de/home/kath_pfarr_ruhmannsfelden/graessler.htm).

<sup>9</sup> Archiv des Johannes-Turmair-Gymnasiums, Straubing: Schulmatrikel 1766, Notae Principistarum in Maiori Parte.

<sup>10</sup> Herbert Gerl, *Catalogus Generalis Provinciae Germaniae Superioris et Bavariae Societatis Jesu 1556-1773* (München: 1968) S. 143.

<sup>11</sup> Götz Freiherr von Pölnitz (Hg.), *Die Matrikel der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Ingolstadt-Landsbut-München*, Bd.III/2 (München: Landauer, 1979) Jahrgang 1773 (Nr. 3776). Grässl wird hier als Gerberssohn bezeichnet.

<sup>12</sup> Diözesanarchiv Eichstätt: DAEI B 223, fol. 72b-73a: „Laurentius Graessl, Dioecesis Ratisbonensis, . . . omnes tres legitime dimissi et circa interstitia in dimissorialibus dispensati“ (Freundliche Mitteilung des Diözesanarchivs Eichstätt vom 6. Juni 2000).

<sup>13</sup> T.O. Hanley, „Grassel [sic], Lawrence,“ in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* VI (New York u.a.: McGraw-Hill 1967) 705 vermutet als Ordinationsjahr 1780.

dem Titel „Des Papstes blecherne Büchse“ überschreiben könnte;<sup>14</sup> er drückte darin seine lebendige Hoffnung aus, die Gesellschaft Jesu werde bald restituiert.<sup>15</sup> Grässl verteidigte seinen Orden und betonte — vielleicht unter Verwendung jesuitischer Propagandaelemente — die Papsttreue der Gesellschaft Jesu. Es habe Papst Clemens XIV. gereut, die Gemeinschaft aufgelöst zu haben; sein Testament, das in einer „blecherne Büchse“ aufbewahrt worden sei, bestätige dies und weise seinen Nachfolger an, den Orden wieder herzustellen. Dieses wohl frei erfundene „Testament“ bezeugte natürlich für den jungen, durch die Ordensaufhebung desillusionierten Theologen, dass ein Einsatz für Rehabilitation und Restitution der Jesuiten rechtmäßig sei; schließlich komme man so dem Willen des verstorbenen Papstes nach. Papst Pius VI. (1775-1799) hatte am 15. Februar 1775 vom Stuhl Petri Besitz ergriffen; und da Grässl vom „neuen Pabst“ berichtet,<sup>16</sup> ist wohl mit einer Abfassung des Briefes in dessen ersten Pontifikatsjahren zu rechnen. Von einer Restituierung des Augsburger St. Salvator-Kollegs<sup>17</sup> der Gesellschaft Jesu kann unter seinem Pontifikat aber nicht die Rede sein. Das Kolleg konnte aus rechtlichen Gründen erst 1776 (und nicht wie die übrigen Häuser des Ordens 1773) aufgelöst werden. Vielleicht meinte Grässl deswegen, der Orden erhalte — aufgrund der zeitlichen Verzögerung — sein Kolleg zurück. Nach der Auflösung verließen eine ganze Reihe von Exjesuiten —

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<sup>14</sup> Die Formulierung „blecherne Büchse“ weckt Assoziationen mit Hesiods „Büchse der Pandora“ („Werke und Tage“ 42-105 bzw. „Theogonie“ 507-616). Dies ist für eine Interpretation insofern interessant, da der Brief ja von Grässls *Hoffnung* auf die baldige Wiederherstellung der Gesellschaft Jesu handelt; eine Hoffnung aber, die sich *nicht* lähmend auf sein vielfältiges Tätigkeitsfeld auswirkte und deshalb auch nicht als Übel (wie bei Hesiod) zu bezeichnen ist.

<sup>15</sup> Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Brieffragment von Lorenz Grässl über die Wiederherstellung des Jesuitenordens von ca. 1775/76, adressiert an seine Eltern. Der Verfasser zitiert den Text nicht nach den Originalabsätzen, der Text wurde in zwei größere Texteinheiten geteilt, von denen sich der erste mit der Schilderung der Aufhebung der Gesellschaft Jesu und der Reue Clemens XIV. befasst; der zweite Absatz beinhaltet die „Geschichte“ von seinem reuigen Testament in der „Blechbüchse.“ Diese, vielleicht der Jesuitenpropaganda der Zeit entspringende „Geschichte“ war nicht nur dem Verfasser, sondern auch mehreren befragten Historikern bisher unbekannt.

<sup>16</sup> Henry Herbermann, „The Reverend Lawrence Graessel,“ *Historical Records and Studies* VIII (1915) 209-22, hier: 214 nimmt als Abfassungsjahr 1774 an. Das ist unwahrscheinlich, da zu diesem Zeitpunkt Pius VI. noch nicht gewählt war. Außerdem berichtet er, es handle sich bei den besprochenen Zeilen um ein Postskriptum eines Briefes von Lorenz Grässl an seine Eltern. Aus dem Original ist dies nicht ersichtlich.

<sup>17</sup> Hans-Joachim Hecker, „Die Augsburger Jesuiten und das Kolleg St. Salvator von 1773 bis 1807“, in *Die Jesuiten und ihre Schule St. Salvator in Augsburg. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Augsburger Dommuseum*, hg. Wolfram Baer/Hans-Joachim Hecker (München: Lipp 1982) SS. 77-81 (mit weiterer Literatur).

nun nicht mehr an die Ordensniederlassung gebunden — das Haus. Doch eine Anzahl blieb beisammen und konstituierte so an der St. Salvator-Kirche ein Weltpriesterkolleg, das durch seine intensive Publikationstätigkeit eine Tragsäule des politischen Konservatismus<sup>18</sup> in Bayern wurde. Von einer „Sammlung“ der Exjesuiten durch den Papst kann aber nicht gesprochen werden.

Da es sich um ein Brieffragment handelt, bereiten Einordnung und Interpretation des Textes Schwierigkeiten. In den ersten 10 Zeilen schreibt Grässl relativ unverständlich über seinen kranken Bruder,<sup>19</sup> dann über die Gesellschaft Jesu:

„Liebste Aeltern, immer mehr und mehr [bricht]<sup>20</sup> die Hofnung [sic!] in meinem Herzen wieder auf, bald ein Jesuit wieder zu werden. Denn die Grössten Hindernisse seynd fast alle schon gehoben: der König in Frankreich ist gestorben, und statt diesem ein anderer auf den Thron gesetzt worden, der der Societät Jesu gewogen zu seyn scheint. Der Pabst ist auch gestorben, wie es ist vorgesagt worden, und was das merkwürdigste ist, er hatte sich nicht eher zu sterben getraut, bevor er seinen Irrsinn genug gethan.

Er hinterließ in einer blechernen Büchse nach seinem Tod etwas, das nur der auf ihn folgende Pabst eröffnen [sic!] dürftel! Und sehet: es ging 4 Monath her, bis ein Neuer Pabst erwählt wurde: denn unsere Feindt wollten immer einen Pabst haben, der aus ihrer Partey wäre. Allein, Gott sey Dank, es ward endlich Pius VI. erwählt, ein Freund der Jesuiten, und unerschrockender Verfechter der Religion, und der ganzen Kirche: Unsere Feind begehrt gleich, dass man die blecherne Büchse eröffne [sic!], um den Willen des verstorbenen Pabstens in allem zu erfüllen [sic!]: denn die Feind hofen [sic!], es würde die Aufhebung der Gesellschaft Jesu auf ein neues bestätigt seyn: allein sie fanden zu ihrer großen bestürzung eine Bulle, worin er die Aufhebung des Ordens zurückruffte, bereut, und dem neuen Babsten [sic!] befahl, die Jesuiten wieder zusammen zu rufen: der Pabst hat es auch schon wirklich im Sinn: zu Augsburg seynd sie schon wirklich wieder von den Pabsten selbst bestätigt worden.“

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<sup>18</sup> Dieter J. Weiss, „Grundlinien des politischen Konservatismus in Bayern,“ *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* 62 (1999) 523-42 (mit weiterführender Literatur).

<sup>19</sup> Diese schwer lesbaren Zeilen werden im Folgenden nicht publiziert, weil sie — durch die fragmentarische Überlieferung — völlig aus dem Zusammenhang gerissen sind, und keine weiteren Informationen zur Biographie Grässls geben.

<sup>20</sup> An dieser Stelle ist der Brief aufgrund einer Falzstelle und Stockflecken kaum lesbar.

## II. „Im Getümmel der Welt“: Die Münchener Jahre (ca. 1778-1787)

In den Jahren von ca. 1778 bis 1787 war Grässl in München mit pastoralen Aufgaben betraut und arbeitete als Privatlehrer.<sup>21</sup> Über seine Tätigkeit schrieb 1897 Dr. Anton Heiter, Speyrer Diözesanpriester in Buffalo (U.S.A.): „Er blieb in der Welt und verlegte sich mit Vorliebe auf das Studium moderner Sprachen. Sie sollten ihm später treffliche Dienste leisten.“ Als Hauslehrer unterrichtete er drei Knaben einer Münchner Adelsfamilie, die er „mit der Zärtlichkeit einer Mutter“<sup>22</sup> und der Liebe eines Vaters liebte.“<sup>23</sup>

Zu seiner Schwester hatte Lorenz Grässl eine so innige und liebevolle Beziehung, dass sich Heiter sogar dazu hinreissen liess, beide mit dem heiligen Geschwisterpaar Benedikt und Scholastika zu vergleichen. Dass Lorenz' Schwester eine tief religiöse Frau war, geht aus zwei erhaltenen Briefen ihres Bruders hervor, der sie wegen ihres tugendreichen Lebens lobte. Die Geschwister erhielten in ihrem Elternhaus eine sie prägende religiöse Erziehung, die sie über die Jahre hinweg entfalteten. Im Gebet und im geistlichen Gespräch fanden sie Wege, ihr Leben nach dem Evangelium auszurichten. Lorenz versorgte seine Schwester mit geeigneter religiöser Literatur. Im zweiten Brief weist er sie darauf hin, dass ihr die Lektüre eines Buches von „P. [Josef] Pergmayer“<sup>24</sup> helfen und manche ihrer Ängstlichkeiten „auflösen“ könnte. Im ersten Brief hatte Lorenz Grässl

<sup>21</sup> Richard J. Purcell, „Grässl, Lawrence“, in *Dictionary of American Biography* VII (London: Oxford University Press, 1931) 466. Für den genannten Zeitraum existieren für das Bistum Freising noch keine Schematismen. Auch das Erzbischöfliche Archiv München besitzt nach Mitteilung vom Mai 2000 keine Personal- oder Nachlassakten von Grässl. Herbermann („The Reverend Lawrence Graessel“, 210) erwähnt, dass Grässl 1786 als ordinierter Priester in München tätig war.

<sup>22</sup> Herbermann („The Reverend Lawrence Graessel“, 210) berichtet von der intensiven Prägung des jungen Grässl durch das Ordensideal des hl. Ignatius von Loyola. Von Ignatius' „mütterlicher“ Ausstrahlung schreibt Hugo Rahner, *Ignatius. Briefwechsel mit Frauen* (Freiburg: Herder, 1956) S. 6: „Immer haben die Gefährten, die ihn bis in seine Tiefen kannten, an ihm das Mütterliche gerührt, seine Heiterkeit und den lächelnden Glanz auf seinem Antlitz.“ Vgl. auch William W. Meissner, *Ignatius von Loyola. Psychogramm eines Heiligen* (Freiburg: Herder, 1997) S. 296.

<sup>23</sup> Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Heiter, *Pionier des Kreuzes*, II.

<sup>24</sup> Es handelt sich wohl um Joseph Pergmayer S.J. (\*4.ü.1713 Halbkofen [Bayern]; † 7.ix.1733 Landsberg; †23.iii.1765 München). Er stammte aus Häblkofen/Diözese Regensburg und konnte so Grässl durchaus bekannt sein. Von seinen sieben Monographien erschien nur eine zu seinen Lebzeiten; die übrigen in den Jahren 1768ff. Allerdings wurden allein 1778 sechs seiner Schriften zum ersten Mal publiziert, denen weitere Auflagen folgten. Nach: Sommervogel, VI, 528-32. Inwieweit die Schriften Pergmayrs die Spiritualität der Geschwister Grässl beeinflusst hat, wurde in der vorliegenden Studie nicht untersucht.

berichtet, dass er sich nach einer „kurze(n) Zeit . . . vom Weltgetümmel auf das einsame und unschuldige Land hinaus flüchten“ werde. Es ist möglich, dass der Verfasser hier auf seine Amerikareise anspielte, auch wenn es ihm bekannt gewesen sein dürfte, dass die „neue Welt“ alles andere als ein ruhiges Land war. Dass es sich auf jeden Fall um einen längerfristigen Abschied vom „Weltgetümmel“ handelte, zeigt die Bemerkung, er wolle zuvor noch die ihm zur Erziehung anvertrauten Knaben vor der „allgemeinen Verderbnis“ erretten. Möglich ist aber auch, dass der Privatgelehrte eine Stellung als Kooperator oder Benefiziat auf dem Land in Aussicht hatte und möglicherweise auch antrat; aber auch eine angeschlagene Gesundheit, die ihm einen frühen Tod<sup>25</sup> befürchten liess, ist als Motivation dieses Gedankens möglich. Der erste Brief<sup>26</sup> lautet:

„Liebste Schwester! Den Bergmaier<sup>27</sup> will ich dir mit nächstem schicken, wegen dem Einband konnte ich ihn dir diesmal noch nicht schicken. Dein Neuer Jahreswunsch gefiel mir recht wohl, besonders weil er etwas ungewöhnliches war; denn es ist schon so weit gekommen, dass man nicht mehr dasjenige wünscht, was einem zum nöthigsten wäre, sondern Reichthümer, und Reichthümer! Heißt es stäts: o sie bedauern mich, die goldenen Thoren: sie sind schon so vom Golde verblendet, dass sie es für unmöglich halten, in schlechten Kleidern, niedere Hütte und Armuth leben, und zugleich glücklich seyn können. Liebste Schwester! Wie glücklich kannst du leben, wenn du immer mit deinem Wenigen zufrieden, in Gott vereinigt bist: könnte ich dich beneiden, so würde ich's thun; aber dein Glück geht mir so nahe zu Herzen daß ich selbst daraus in meinen täglichen Berufsgeschäften die innigste und reinste Freude fühle: täglich bitte ich bey dem Altar unseren gemeinschaftlichen Bruder,<sup>28</sup> den Sohn unserer besten Mutter, er möchte dich den wahren Weg der Tugend, den du bisher /: du darfst nicht erröthen, wenn ich die Wahrheit rede :/ so hurtig gelaufen bist, noch immer sicher fortführen. Dann bitte ich auch

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<sup>25</sup> Eine psychologische und psychoanalytische Untersuchung dieses wiederkehrenden Motivs wäre biographisch bereichernd. Vgl. dazu: Meissner, *Ignatius*, SS. 333f (mit weiterführender Literatur).

<sup>26</sup> Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Undatierter Brief von Lorenz Grässl an seine Schwester, versehen mit der Ziffer „14.“ Herbermann („The Reverend Lawrence Graessel“, 210) waren anscheinend die Briefe an die Schwester Grässls nicht bekannt, da er der Meinung war, alle Briefe Grässls abgedruckt zu haben.

<sup>27</sup> Damit ist sicher der erwähnte Joseph Pergmayr gemeint, vgl. Sommervogel, „Pergmayr,“ VI, 528-32.

<sup>28</sup> Gemeint ist Jesus Christus. Grässl verwendet des öfteren die Bezeichnung „gemeinschaftlicher Bruder“ für Jesus.

für mich, dass ich nachkommen möchte, dass ich dich nicht aus dem Gesichte verliere: in diesem süßen Gespräche mit Gott dünkt es mir, dass ich schon mit dir, meine Schwester, im Himmel sey! Allein nur etliche Augenblicke noch, dann werden wir auch wirklich beysammen seyn: denn ohne Streitten verdient man ja keine Siegeskrone: bleib immer deinem Gott getreu, in deiner Arbeit, Armuth und Einsamkeit des Herzens: Nur noch eine kurze Zeit, so werde auch ich mich vom Weltgetümmel auf das einsame und unschuldige Land hinaus flüchten. Nur möchte ich noch zuvor die noch zarten Herzen meiner 3 Knaben vom allgemeinen Verderbniß retten. Viele Arbeit kostet es mich, daß sie mitten in ihrem Reichthum, Überflusse und Weichlichkeit, dem Geiste nach arm, enthaltsam und gegen sich selbst christlich strenge werden. Täglich muß ich ihnen diese Lektion erneuern: aber auch für mich ist es nützlich, wenn ich etliche Jahre der Welt zusehe: Viele Neigungen kann ich jetzt ausspähen, die ich sonst in mir nicht bemerkt hätte: und wenn ich sie itzt von der Wurzel hebe, so habe ich künftig keine so große Gefahr mehr, dass sie wieder nachwachsen können. Daher fort, meine liebe Schwester, recht fromm zu leben. Solt es Gott gefällig seyn, dass ich einst auf dem Lande einen Ort bekomme, wie angenehm soll [sic!] dann unsere Gespräche von der Tugend, ihren Mitteln, Gefahren selbst von dem Tode den Übergang zu einem seligen Leben jenseits des Grabes seyn. Sieh! Wie zärtlich ich geworden bin, seit dem ich eine Mutter dreyen Knaben bin; süß wär es mir, wenn ich länger mit dir sprechen dürfte, aber ich habe eine noch heiligere, und angenehmere Unterhaltung, ich muß zu unserem allgemeinen Bruder, J.C., in die heil. Meß; wie werd' ich's ihm erzählen :/ als wenn er gar nichts davon wusste :/ dass ich eine so fromme Schwester habe, dass ich mich eben so angenehm mit ihr unterhalte, dass auch sie ihn recht zärtlich liebe, dass sie, und ich bald möchten bey ihm im Himmel seyn. Genug, ich muß gehen. Lebe recht wohl und bete täglich für mich. Dein liebender Bruder. "

Ein zweiter, wiederum undatierter Brief an seine Schwester berichtet ebenfalls über ein „Wiedersehen“ der Geschwister in der Seligkeit Gottes.<sup>29</sup> Er scheint nach dem oben abgedruckten Brief entstanden zu sein, denn er erwähnt die Beilage eines Buches von „P. Pergmayer“; im ersten Brief hatte sich Grässl entschuldigt, das Buch wegen des Einbandes nicht beigelegt zu haben.

„Liebste Schwester! Die acht Ellen Leinwanth erhielt ich richtig: ich sage der liebsten Mutter herzlichen Dank dafür, daß Sie so mütterlich für mich

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<sup>29</sup> Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Undatierter Brief von Lorenz Grässl adressiert an seine Schwester (N.N.), bezeichnet mit der Ziffer „15.“

sorgte: dir aber, beste Schwester, übersende ich das letzte Buch von P. Pergmayr: lese fleißig darinnen. Diese Bücher werden dir gewiß viele Aengstlichkeiten, die du bisher hattest, auflösen: daher fahre fort, wie du angefangen, für die Ewigkeit, nicht für die Welt, zu leben: Können wir in der Welt nicht beieinander leben, so wird uns einst die selige Ewigkeit mit einander vereinen: die Haelfte unseres Leben [sic!] haben wir schon gekämpft: Vielleicht dürfen wir früher vom Kampfplatz abtreten! O die seligen Freuden dann! — bitte unseren lieben Gott auch für mich in der Stund deiner Betrachtung, dass mich der Muth nicht verlasse, die kurze Zeit, die ich noch habe, im Getümmel der Welt für alle ihre Reize unempfindlich zu bleiben, bald, hofe [sic!] ich, werden größere Leiden mich erwarten, und i[m En]<sup>30</sup> de ist's ja leichter from zu bleiben, lebe recht wohl Dein Bruder Lorenz.“

Schwierigkeiten bereitet die Datierung dieses Schriftstücks. Auszuschließen ist, dass der Brief in den USA abgefasst wurde, denn ein Versand von 8 Ellen Leinwand vom Bayerischen Wald in die USA ist äußerst unwahrscheinlich. Außerdem sind alle übrigen Briefe Grässls aus dem Ausland (1 Expl. 1787 aus London, 1 Expl. 1788 aus Philadelphia, 1 Expl. 1793 aus Philadelphia) weitaus länger und inhaltsschwerer als dieser Kurzbrief. Probleme bereiten bei einer Datierung in die Münchener Jahre Grässls aber seine Aussagen über die kurze Zeit, die er noch vor sich habe, dass er den „Kampfplatz“ vielleicht früher verlassen werde etc. Diese Stellen können aber Hinweis auf eine angeschlagene Gesundheit sein. Dies anzunehmen liegt nicht fern, denn in seinem Brief vom 9. Dezember 1788 aus Philadelphia berichtete er, dass sich seine Gesundheit gegenüber den Münchner Jahren deutlich gebessert habe. Zusätzlich ist eine (in diversen Schattierungen vorkommende) Todes- und Jenseitssehnsucht gerade im Alter zwischen 25 und 30 Jahren ein häufig zu beobachtendes Phänomen, das auch Grässl ergriffen haben könnte. Spiritualitätsgeschichtlich kommt hinzu, dass am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts eine Frömmigkeitsform vorherrschte, die die leidenschaftliche Sehnsucht nach dem Himmel lehrte und die Gläubigen ermutigte, den Abschied vom „Kampfplatz“ dieser Welt freudigst zu ersehnen.<sup>31</sup> Auch sie kann der Grund für Grässl stete Rede von

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<sup>30</sup> An dieser Stelle ist der Brief schadhaft.

<sup>31</sup> Auf die Schwierigkeit das „ewige Leben“ theologisch „redlich“ zu denken, weist Karl Rahner, „Erfahrungen eines katholischen Theologen,“ in *Vor dem Geheimnis Gottes den Menschen verstehen*, hg. von Karl Lehmann (München u.a.: Schnell & Steiner 1984) SS. 105-19, hier: 118f hin: „Mir will scheinen, dass die Vorstellungsschemen, mit denen man sich das Ewige Leben zu verdeutlichen sucht, meist wenig zur radikalen Zäsur passen, die doch mit dem Tod gegeben ist. Man denkt sich das ewige Leben, das man schon seltsam als ‚jenseitig‘ und ‚nach‘ dem Tod weitergehend bezeichnet, zu sehr ausgestattet mit Wirklichkeiten, die uns hier vertraut sind, als

einem „Wiedersehen“ in einem anderen Leben, von der „Süße“ die Welt zu verlassen, sein. Möglich ist auch, dass der Briefschreiber über die bevorstehenden, schweren Zeiten in Nordamerika nachsann. Dann muss der Brief 1785/86 entstanden sein, da in diese Zeit wohl die Kontaktaufnahme zum im August 1786 verstorbenen amerikanischen Exjesuiten Ferdinand Farmer (=Steinmeyer) fiel.<sup>32</sup> Eine Datierung auf die Jahre um 1785 legt sich daher nahe.

Ein dritter Brief datiert aus der Zeit vor Grässls Abreise in die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Am 1. August 1786 informierte der Sohn von München aus seine Eltern „mit zarter Rücksicht“,<sup>33</sup> dass er sie bald verlassen werde. Doch ist wiederum nicht ersichtlich, ob damit bereits seine Abreise in die Vereinigten Staaten gemeint ist. Denn ausdrücklich erwähnt Grässl seine angeschlagene Gesundheit. Vielleicht ist eher von einer schweren Erkrankung Grässls auszugehen, die in ihm die „Befürchtung“ hervorrief, nicht mehr lange zu leben. Anton Heiter nahm vielleicht vorschnell an, es handle sich um die Ankündigung von Grässls Abreise in die USA. Da der Sohn seinen Besuch in Ruhmannsfelden ankündigte, könnte es sich in der Tat um einen Abschiedsbesuch in seinem Elternhaus handeln. Die Rede von einer

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Weiterleben, als Begegnung mit denen, die uns hier nahe waren, als Freude und Friede, als Gastmahl und Jubel und all das und ähnliches als nie aufhörend und weitergehend. Ich fürchte, die radikale Unbegreiflichkeit dessen, was mit Ewigem Leben wirklich gemeint ist, wird verharmlost, und was wir unmittelbare Gottesschau in diesem Ewigen Leben nennen, wird herabgestuft zu einer erfreulichen Beschäftigung neben anderen, die dieses Leben erfüllen. ... Ich gestehe, dass es mir eine quälende, nicht bewältigte Aufgabe des Theologen von heute zu sein scheint, ein besseres Vorstellungsmodell für dieses Ewige Leben zu entdecken, das diese genannten Verharmlosungen von vornherein ausschließt.“ Einsichtsvoll zur Endzeit und persönlichen Endzeiterwartung auch: Johann B. Metz, „Gott. Wider den Mythos von der Ewigkeit der Zeit“, in *Ende der Zeit. Die Provokation der Rede von Gott. Dokumentation einer Tagung mit Joseph Kardinal Ratzinger, Johann B. Metz, Jürgen Moltmann und Eveline Goodman-Thau*, hg. von Tiemo Rainer Peter, Claus Urban (Mainz: Matthias Grünewald Verlag 1999) SS. 32-49; Joseph Ratzinger, „Das Ende der Zeit“, in *Ende der Zeit*, SS. 13-31.

<sup>32</sup> P. Ferdinand Steinmeyer S.J. und Lorenz Grässl könnten sich von Deutschland her gekannt haben, eventuell von Besuchen Steinmeyers in seiner Heimat. Es ist auch denkbar, dass bereits vor dem offiziellen Einladungsschreiben von P. Steinmeyer aus dem Jahr 1786 (Vincent J. Fecher, *A Study of the Movement for German National Parishes in Philadelphia and Baltimore* [Rom: Universitas Gregoriana, 1955] *Analecta Gregoriana* Vol. LXXVII, SS. 8f.) ein Kontakt zwischen den beiden ehemaligen Ordensangehörigen bestand. Steinmeyer: \*13.x.1720 Weissenstein; SJ 26.ix.1743 Landsberg; †17.viii.1786 Philadelphia. Nach Harry J. Sievers, S.J., „Farmer, Ferdinand“, in *The Encyclopedia Americana. International Edition*, vol. 11 (Danbury: Grolier Inc., 1997) 22.

<sup>33</sup> Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Heiter, „Pionier des Kreuzes“, III. Ebda., Brief von Lorenz Grässl an seine Eltern vom 1. August 1786, bezeichnet mit der Ziffer „12.“



„weiten, weiten Reise,“ wobei er im nächsten Satz mit einem Wiedersehen in einer bessern, „oberen Welt“ fortfährt, könnte ein Hinweis darauf sein, dass er sich über die Gefahren der Anreise in die U.S.A. bewusst war,<sup>34</sup> dass er sogar annahm, im angezielten Missionsgebiet nicht lange zu überleben. Vielleicht hatte Grässl kurz vor der Abfassung des Briefes die Einladung Farmers aus den Vereinigten Staaten erhalten, war aber ohne weitere Informationen über sein künftiges Einsatzgebiet. Die könnte ihn zu ihn beängstigenden Spekulationen veranlasst haben.<sup>35</sup> All dies mag in ihm die Befürchtung genährt haben, seine bayerische Heimat nie wieder zu sehen. Der Sohn hätte seine Eltern auch lange zuvor über seinen Wunsch, nach Amerika zu gehen, informiert haben können; dann wäre sein Satz „ich werde eine weite, weite Reise machen; ihr könnt’ euch schon einbilden, wohin ich gehe“ nur eine Bestätigung des früher Besprochenen. Als er am 3. August 1787 schließlich von London aus über sein neues Tätigkeitsfeld berichtete, erweckte er jedenfalls den Eindruck mit weitaus gediegeneren Informationen versorgt zu sein; deswegen scheint er auch hier nicht mehr vom baldigen „Hinwegscheiden“ geschrieben zu haben. Er ging schließlich in eine relativ ungefährliche Stadtmission nach Philadelphia und nicht in die Indianermission! Außerdem hatte er aufgrund der anstrengenden Anreise nach London bereits mehrere große Strapazen hinter sich gebracht, die ihm vielleicht gezeigt hatten, dass auch er Unbequemlichkeiten durchzustehen imstande war.

„Liebste Eltern, Es freut mich von Herzen, dass ihr noch alle gesund und zufrieden lebt, ich bin itzt auch nicht gesund und bin gesinnt, nach dieses [sic!] Monat euch in eurem stillen, einsamen Kämmerlein zu besuchen; ganz allein wird’ ich auf der Isar hinabeilen, mir noch einmal in meinem Leben genug mit euch zu schwazen; genug auch anschauen, dann wird’ ich für immer auf dieser Welt von euch Abschied nehmen, denn ich werde eine weite, weite Reise machen; ihr könnt’ euch schon einbilden,

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<sup>34</sup> Dass Grässl grosse Angst befallen hatte, zeigt er in seinem Londoner Brief vom 3. August 1787, in dem er die Befürchtung hegt, sein Schiff könne auf dem Weg von London nach Philadelphia entweder untergehen oder gekapert und er „von den Seeräubern nach Afrika in die Sklaverey weggeführt“ werden.

<sup>35</sup> Immer noch lesenswert über das deutsche Bild Amerikas ist Paul G. Gleis, „Amerika im Urteil Deutschlands um 1600,“ in Timpe, *Katholisches Deutschland*, SS. 43-54; ausführlich: Philipp Palmer, *German Works on America 1492-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952) University of California Publications in Modern Philology; grundlegend sind die umfassenden Bibliographien von Horst Dippel, *Americana Germanica 1770-1800* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976) Amerikastudien 42 und Paul Ben Baginsky, *Americana Germanica. Bibliography of German Works Relating to America, 1493-1800* (Bowie, Md: Heritage Books, Faes.-Reprint, 1994).

wohin ich gehe. Aber desto angenehmer wird mirs [seyn],<sup>36</sup> wenn ich euch in einer besseren, oberen Welt wieder finden werde, und wir werden gewiß einander finden, das hofe [sic!] ich sicher von unserem guten, allgemeinen Vater; dann wollen wir die ausgestandenen Trübsale dieser Wanderschaft einander erzählen, und eine Ewigkeit durch darüber uns erfreuen: es ist herzerquickend, wenn man nur daran denkt, an die künftige Freuden, wie angenehm muß es erst seyn, sie wirklich zu genießen. Ich verlasse nun gerne meine wenigen Bequemlichkeiten, um nur dort das Angenehme der Seligkeiten desto süßer zu schmecken. Lebet recht wohl, bis ich zu euch komme; dann wollen wir Alter, Krankheit und alles vergessen und nur uns miteinander erfreuen.

Am 14. Aug. an einem Mittwoch wird' ich, wenn kein Hinderniß dazwischen kömmt, abreisen, und den 16. in Deggendorf ankommen. Lebt recht wohl noch mal, und betet für mich, ich will es auch täglich bey'm Altar nicht vergessen. Euer Sohn Laur. Graessl.<sup>37</sup>

### III. „As long as there was a Exjesuit alive . . .“: Der steinige Weg zu einer amerikanischen Kirche<sup>38</sup> (1787-1791)

<sup>36</sup> Diese Stelle ist wiederum schwer lesbar. Sie lautet wohl „seyn.“

<sup>37</sup> Als Postskriptum fügt er u.a. an: „Meinen herzlichen, aufrichtigen Wunsch, lieber Vater, zum Namensfest; alles Glück und Vergnügen, hier und dort.“

<sup>38</sup> Zur Einführung in die amerikanische Kirchengeschichte für den Zeitraum 1785ff eignen sich die gut lesbaren Werke: James Hennessey, *American Catholics. A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Patrick W. Carey, *The Roman Catholics* (Westport u.a.: Greenwood Press, 1993), hebd. „Biographisches Lexikon der römisch-katholischen Führungspersonlichkeiten der USA bis 1990,“ 171-346; kommentierte Auswahlbibliographie 353-361; Ruth Bloch, *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1756-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Allgemeines zur amerikanischen Missionsgeschichte findet sich bei: Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990). Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church. New York's Irish And German Catholics 1815-1865* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975) zeichnet ein Bild für die Immigrantkirchen des 19. Jahrhunderts. Dennoch geht er auf deren Vorläufer am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts ein. Die Deutschen hätten nach der Säkularisation die Wichtigkeit der Pfarrei für die Seelsorge wieder erkannt und brachten dieses erneuerte Seelsorgskonzept mit in die Vereinigten Staaten: „They recognized the importance of the parish in the lives of the people, and to renew their fervor they urged the revival of parochial life. The German Catholics who emigrated to the United States brought these concerns with them. In a land noted for its diversity of nationalities German immigrants sought to establish their own brand of religion. This link with the fatherland was especially strong, and from the very beginning it presented serious problems of adjustment for the church in the United States. The revival of church life in Germany and an increasing sense of nationalism reinforced the distinctiveness of German Catholicism, and later immigrants reflected this loyalty to a specific religious heritage.“ 1808 traten erste Probleme dieses „religiösen Nationalismus“ in New York auf. Die deutsche Gemeinde wollte künftig nicht mehr mit den

Der Exjesuit Ferdinand Farmer gehört zu den wichtigen Gestalten der amerikanischen Kirchengeschichte. Sein unermüdlicher pastoraler Einsatz trug erheblich zur Formung der katholischen Gemeinden Nordamerikas bei. Er war mit dem Familiennamen Steinmeyer in Württemberg geboren, 1743 in die Gesellschaft Jesu eingetreten und 1751 nach Maryland/USA gekommen. Dort anglisierte er seinen Namen in „Farmer.“ Dieser als heiligmäßig beschriebene Seelsorger der St. Mary's Church in der Willings Alley in Philadelphia starb am 17. August 1786. Zuvor hatte er Grässl nach München einen Brief geschrieben, um ihn zu überzeugen, als katholischer Pfarrseelsorger bzw. Missionar nach Pennsylvania zu kommen.<sup>39</sup> Der Exjesuit John Carroll,<sup>40</sup> Superior für die amerikanischen Missionen und Apostolischer Präfekt, förderte überdies mit allen Anstrengungen die Anstellung von Exjesuiten aus allen Erdteilen in seinem nordamerikanischen Sprengel.<sup>41</sup> Er versuchte möglichst viele amerikanischen Exjesuiten, die nach der Aufhebung des Ordens im Ausland geblieben waren, „heimzuholen“; auch wenn Carrolls Aufnahmebereitschaft nicht nur den ehemaligen Mitgliedern des Ordens beschieden war, so galt sie ihnen doch in besonderer Weise.<sup>42</sup> Vielleicht war diese Aufgeschlossenheit gegenüber dem ignatianischen Geist für Grässl ein weiterer attraktiver Grund, Bayern zu verlassen. Denn wie er in seinem Brief über die Wiederherstellung der Gesellschaft Jesu selbst geschrieben hatte, war er im Herzen Jesuit geblieben;

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Iren und Franzosen zusammen Gottesdienst feiern und erbat stattdessen von Erzbischof John Carroll von Baltimore, einen Priester zu schicken, „who is capable of undertaking the Spiritual Care of our souls in the German language, which is our Mother Tongue“ (S. 69).

<sup>39</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 8 (mit weiterführender Literatur).

<sup>40</sup> John Carroll (\*8.i.1736 Maryland; †7.ix.1753 Watten; †3.xii.1815 Baltimore) war von 1774 bis 1789 Superior der amerikanischen Missionen. 1789 wurde er zum Bischof, 1808 zum Erzbischof von Baltimore ernannt. Grundlegend zur Biographie von John Carroll sind noch immer: John Carroll Brent, *Biographical Sketch of the Most Reverend John Carroll* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1843); John G. Shea, *The Life and Times of the Most Reverend John Carroll. Bishop and First Archbishop of Baltimore* (New York, 1888); Peter K. Guilday: *The Life and the Times of John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore* (New York: The Encyclopedia Press, 1922). Von den neueren Untersuchungen sind zu nennen Annabelle M. Melville, *John Carroll of Baltimore. Father of the American Hierarchy* (New York: Scribner, 1955); James Hennesey, „An Eighteenth-Century Bishop: John Carroll of Baltimore,“ *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 16 (1978) 171-205 (mit weiterführender Literatur).

<sup>41</sup> Nach Hennesey („An Eighteenth-Century Bishop,“ 186) kritisierten unter den Priestern besonders Patrick Smyth, *The Present State of the Catholic Missions Conducted by the Ex-Jesuits in North-America* (Dublin, 1788) und Claude de la Potterie, *The Resurrection of Laurent Risi: or, a True and Exact History of the Jesuits* (Philadelphia, 1789) John Carroll scharf wegen seiner, die Exjesuiten favorisierenden Haltung.

<sup>42</sup> Hennesey, „An Eighteenth-Century Bishop,“ 186.

die Seelsorge in den USA bot nun die Möglichkeit unter einer großen Zahl von gebildeten und eifrigen Ex-jesuiten zu leben und zu arbeiten.<sup>43</sup> Vielleicht dachte er sogar an einen Lebensstil, der dem eines jesuitischen Kollegiums entsprach, als er den Entschluss fasste, in die „neue Welt“ zu gehen. Dort wurde er gebraucht: Aufgrund seiner hervorragenden Kenntnisse in den modernen Sprachen konnte er in den Vereinigten Staaten der im Aufbau befindlichen Katholikenseelsorge von größerem Nutzen sein als der bayerischen Kirche.

Lorenz Grässl verließ noch im April 1787 Bayern und erreichte im Juni Großbritannien. Am 3. August 1787 schrieb er seinen Eltern von London aus und beschrieb seinen entbehrungsreichen Reiseweg. „Aus dem Briefe spricht der treuherzige, biedere Altbaier, der seine Heimath liebt über Alles und dem die rohe Welt so fremd, und das Meer so unheimlich und voller Gefahren“ vorkommt, kommentierte Heiter.<sup>44</sup> Doch hier, inmitten schlechter Verhältnisse, nach auszehrenden Strapazen, sprach Grässl nicht von einem „Scheiden“ aus dieser Welt, sondern von seiner neuen Aufgabe und dem Willen Gottes, dem er sich füge. Dies könnte ein Anzeichen dafür sein, dass sich sein (vermeintlich angeschlagener) Gesundheitszustand wieder gebessert hatte und ihm neue Energie für die anstehenden Aufgaben verlieh. Er wünschte sich in seinem Brief auch, sein Vaterland einmal wieder zu sehen und ihm dann von Nutzen sein zu können.

„London, in England den 3. August. Liebste Eltern! Ich bin jenseits des Meeres, aber noch immer in Europa: bald werdt ich auch England, wo ich nun bin, verlassen, und über das weite Weltmeer nach Amerika, in die neue Welt hinüberschiffen [sic!]. Schon yber 8 Wochen bin ich in London, wo ich recht oft an an euer kleines Kämmerlein in Ruhmannsfelden zurückdenke, auch im Geiste umarme, und mich dann herzlich freue, wenn ich denke, dass ihr alle noch recht gesund seid, und friedlich im Herrn beysamen lebet, mir ist diese Freude auf dieser Welt vielleicht wieder gestattet, auch noch ein mal in diesem Leben zusehen. Gott wollte mich in der neuen Welt haben, wo Tausent, und Tausent unserer Mitbrüder, ohne geistlichen Hirten herum irren; diese will ich seinem Schafstall sammeln, und kann ich mein Leben für sie geben, desto erfreulicher für mich; wie süs ist der Gedanken für mich wenn ich noch vor

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<sup>43</sup> George Washingtons Vizepräsident John Adams beschrieb John Carroll als einen „Roman Catholic priest and a Jesuit, a gentlemen of learning and abilities.“ Nach Hennesey, „An Eighteenth-Century Bishop,“ 171.

<sup>44</sup> Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Heiter, „Pionier des Kreuzes,“ III. Ebda., Brief von Lorenz Grässl an seine Eltern vom 3. August 1787, bezeichnet mit der Ziffer „3.“

euch in unser ewiges Vatterland soll wandern dürfen? Wo ich euch bei eurer Ankunft mit kindlicher Freude wider umarme und dann ewig geniessen kann. Ich bin nun in dem grossen London recht gesund, und erwarte täglich ein Schiff nach der neuen Welt; hier bin ich in der größten Stadt von Europa, eine Million Menschen lebet hür, ich muß oft meillen weite Gassen durchlaufen bis ich auf das freie Feld hinaus komme, wenn es in einem Theil der Stadt brennet, wirdt mans in dem andern Theil der Stadt erst durch die öffentliche Zeitung inne. Nur in einer Gassen sind bey nachts 10 oder 12 Nachtwächter, die die Stunden ausrufen, und haben genug zu thun, hier scheinen alle Schätze Asiens und Amerika versamlet zu sein, man hat zu villgelt [sic!], darum ist auch alles erschrecklich theurer. Ich muß für Erdäpfel, Schaf fleisch, Brod, und Wasser aus der Themse, und ein gleines [sic!] Kämmerlein wöchentlich 11 fl. bezallen und dieß aus Freundschaft, denn sonst bezahlt man 22 fl. und daher hab ich in meinem Leben noch keinen größeren Hunger als in London gelitten. Ich reiste im April von München ab, ich glaubte, ich müßte die ganze Welt verlassen, so hart kam es mich an, aus Baiern zu gehen, über Augsburg reiste ich nach Ulm, Stutgard, Heidelberg, Frankfurt am Main, Tag und Nacht in einem Postwagen; von Frankfurt aus setzte ich mich auf den Main bis nach Mainz. Von dort ging ich auf den (Rhein in)<sup>45</sup> einem Schif mit Segeln, bis nach Köln am Rein, da machte ich den Ersten Rast Tag, und besuchte die Hl. 3 Könige im Thom, dann ging ich über Achen nach Lütlich [sic!] in Westphalen. Dort blieb ich über 3 Wochen im Englischen Kollegio. Von wo ich entlich durch die Niederlanden über Brüssel, Ghent, Bruges nach Ostende bis ans Meer kam. Die Schifffart übers Meer nach England dauert 36 Stunden: es waren eben die Pfingstfeiertage: Wir hatten Donner, und Bliz und fürchterliches Weder auf dem Meer, ich war bey 24 Stundt krank. Es ist ein schmerzlicher Anblick, wenn das Schiff von den Wellen bald haus hoch in die Höhe, bald wieder tief hinunder geworfen würd: man glaubt alle augenblick, das Schif müsse stürzen, und man muß sich in Bette fest anhalten, wenn man nicht will herausgeworfen werden. Komme ich glücklich in der Neuen Welt an, so solt ihr künftiger Jahre einen langen Brief von mir erhalten. Ich komme nach Philadelphia, der größten Statt in Nordamerika.<sup>46</sup> Indessen hofe ich doch einmal wider mein Vatterland zu sehen, und noch etliche Jahre zum Nuzen desselben zu verwenden. Lebet indessen recht wohl. Bettet für mich, dass mich Gott möge glücklich nach Amerika kommen lassen.

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<sup>45</sup> An dieser Stelle ist der Brief schadhafft.

<sup>46</sup> Einen ersten Einblick bietet: Billy G. Smith (Hg.), *Life in Early Philadelphia. Documents from the Revolutionary and Early National Periods* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).

Ich hänge ganz von seinem väterlichen Willen ab, soll ich von den Wellen verschlungen werden oder von den Seeräubern nach Afrika in die Sklaverey weggeführt werden, so denk ich allzeit an die Litaney, die wöchentlich zu Haus beteten. Dein Heiligster Will geschehe, o Gott. Liebste Eltern, alle diese guten Gesinnungen hab ich eurer guten Auferziehung zu danken. Gott belohne euch in Ewigkeit dafür. Lebet alle im Hause wohl, ewig wohl. Euer ergebenster Sohn Lorenz.“

Die Abreise von London datiert auf den 17. August 1787, die Ankunft in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika auf den Oktober 1787. Lorenz Grässl traf in einem Land ein, in dem die katholische Kirche vor schweren Problemen stand. Ein organisiertes Pfarrsystem war nicht existent, nationale Gruppen drängten zur Institutionalisierung eigener, landessprachlicher Gemeinden, und der Zentralismus Roms erschwerte durch allerlei unnötigen Bürokratismus ein gedeihliches Beginnen.<sup>47</sup> Aus der Bevölkerung schlug den Katholiken, besonders dem Klerus, eine über zwei Jahrhunderte von den Briten gepflegte anti-papistische Aversion entgegen. Grässls Ankunftsmonat warf bereits mächtige Schatten voraus und wurde zu einem Schicksalsmonat: „Er eröffnete ein neues Kapitel in der amerikanischen Kirchengeschichte.“<sup>48</sup> Wenige Tage vor Grässl erreichten nämlich auch die Kapuzinerpatres und leiblichen Brüder Johann Karl und Peter Helbron den Hafen von

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<sup>47</sup> Eine ausführliche und gut lesbare Darstellung der Spannungen zwischen Rom und der Kirche der Vereinigten Staaten bietet Patrick W. Carey, *People, Priests and Prelates. Ecclesiastical Democracy and the Tensions of Trusteeship* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987) Notre Dame Studies in American Catholicism 8, SS. 341-54 mit Auswahlbibliographien. Die Tatsache, dass seit 1785 alle Kleriker der USA ihre diversen Fakultäten direkt von der Propagandakongregation in Rom erhielten, brachte die amerikanischen Geistlichen in eine prekäre Abhängigkeit von der „fernen Autorität in Rom und ermöglichte den Widerstand von Laien und Priestern gegenüber ihren örtlichen Kirchenoberen“ (Carey, *People, Priests and Prelates*, S. 241). Einen Führer durch das Archiv der Kongregation für die u.a. die USA betreffenden Schriftstücke bietet: Luca Codignola, *Guide to Documents relating to French and British North America in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome 1622-1799* (Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1991). Die Animositäten, die Carroll gegen die römische Propagandakongregation hegte, haben ihre Wurzel in der Mitwirkung dieser päpstlichen Institution an der Auflösung des Jesuitenordens. Er versuchte mit immensem Einsatz, den Einfluss der Propagandakongregation zurückzudrängen; sein theologisches Argument bestand darin, zu zeigen, dass diese nur für eine „Mission“ zuständig sei, die amerikanischen Katholiken aber eine „Kirche“ konstituieren. „He shared with many eighteenth-century Jesuits the conviction that the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith had played a role in the downfall of the Jesuits, and he was convinced that the influence of the Congregation in America was to be resisted at all costs“ (Hennessey, „An Eighteenth-Century Bishop,“ 174). Die maschinenschriftliche und unveröffentlichte Dissertation von Jo Ann Manfra, *The Catholic Episcopacy in America 1789-1852* (University of Iowa, 1975) war dem Verfasser nicht zugänglich.

<sup>48</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 3.

Philadelphia.<sup>49</sup> Sie waren einem auf den 23. Juni 1785 datierten Aufruf gefolgt, der 1786 in der „Mainzer Monatsschrift von geistlichen Sachen“ publiziert worden war, und deutsche Priester zur Seelsorge in den USA einlud.<sup>50</sup>

Ferdinand Farmer war 1786 gestorben und seine englischsprachigen Mitbrüder Father Robert Harding und Father Robert Molyneux<sup>51</sup> waren der Aufgabe, unter den deutschen Auswanderern die Seelsorge aufrecht zu erhalten, aufgrund der nicht behebbaren sprachlichen Barrieren nicht gewachsen. Auf einer Visitationsreise im Herbst 1787 versprach der Apostolische Präfekt John Carroll, der 1784 zum Superior der katholischen Missionen in den 13 amerikanischen Staaten ernannt worden war, einer deutschen Delegation, einen deutschen Geistlichen für St. Mary's in Philadelphia/Pennsylvania<sup>52</sup> ausfindig zu machen. Er versprach es, indem er

<sup>49</sup> Nach Guilday, *Life and Times of John Carroll*, S. 646 ist es unsicher, ob Grässl vor oder nach den Helbron-Brüden in Philadelphia ankam. Doch die Quellen widerlegen diese Ansicht. Die deutschen Katholiken Philadelphias bestätigen 1799 die Ankunft des Sailerfreundes nur wenige Tage nach den Kapuzinern („paucis diebus post hos duobus Religiosos adveniebat [Graessl]“), John Carroll in einem Brief vom März 1788. (Zitiert bei Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 7) Hanley („Grassel,” 705): „Grassel was retained at St. Mary's Church (1788) over the opposition of the German board of Trustees, who in time built Holy Trinity Church insisting on the right to choose their own pastors.” Ausführlich über Johann Karl Helbron berichtet Martin Griffin („The Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia. Its First Pastor, the Rev. John Baptist Charles Helbron. The First Opposition to Ecclesiastical Authority,” *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 21 [March 1910] 1-45); Hennessey (*American Catholics*, S. 83) nennt als Familiennamen „Helbron”; Fecher (*Study of the Movement*, S. 3) erklärt, dass die archivalischen Quellen stets „Helbron” schreiben.

<sup>50</sup> Ansharius a Moguntiaci Zawart, „P. Petrus Baptista ab Hilbringen (Carolus Andreas Helbron) O. M. Cap. Ven. Servus Dei in Oblivione Jacens,” *Collectanea Franciscana* 6 (1936) 384-401, hier: 384; ebda.: „Die 17. aug. 1786 P. Ferdinandus Farmer . . . confratrem Laurentium Grässl, S.J., Monachii degentem, Philadelphiam cooperatorem et successorem in cura catholicorum germanorum [sic!] vocavit, qui post mortem P. Ferdinandi Farmer, mense oct. 1787, Philadelphiam appulsus parochus Germanorum constitutus est.”

<sup>51</sup> \*24.vii.1738 Formby (Lancashire); SJ 7.ix.1757 Watten; †9.xii.1808 Georgetown (Maryland) (Henry Foley, S.J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 7 Bd. in 8 [Roehampton/London: Manresa/Burns and Oates, 1875-83] VII/1, 514; Geoffrey Holt, S.J., *The English Jesuits 1650-1829: A Biographical Dictionary* [London: Catholic Record Society, 1984] SS. 167-68).

<sup>52</sup> Ausführlich zur Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Philadelphia Joseph L. Kirlin, *Catholicity in Philadelphia. From the Earliest Missionaries Down to the Present Time* (Philadelphia: John Jos. McVey, 1909) sowie James Connelly (Hg.), *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: The Archdiocese of Philadelphia, 1976). Für Grässls Zeit in Philadelphia gibt Dale B. Light, *Rome and the New Republic. Conflict and Community in Philadelphia Catholicism between the Revolution and the Civil War* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996) mit

hinzufügte, dass ein deutscher Ex-Jesuit namens Grässl erwartet werde, der ausdrücklich für die Stelle vorgesehen sei. Doch zwischenzeitlich hörten die Gemeindemitglieder von den Kapuzinern. „Word soon spread, and influential members of the German community came to investigate. Apparently they liked what they saw, and found in the younger of the two Capuchins just the man they were looking for: he was German, he was talented, and — a prime requisite in those days — he was eloquent.”<sup>53</sup> Die Deutschen waren dem jungen Kapuziner so zugetan, dass sie sogar die Schiffspassage bezahlten und bei Carroll den Antrag stellten, Johann Karl Helbron als Pfarrer der deutschsprachigen Katholiken von St. Mary's zu ernennen. Der Superior lehnte ab. Statt dessen gab er dem „juvenis sacerdos“ Lorenz Grässl die Stelle an St. Mary's, während er die Brüder Helbron der ländlichen Seelsorge zuteilte.<sup>54</sup> Die Gemeinde nahm dies nicht stillschweigend hin, sondern stellte eine erneute, verschärfte Petition an

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ausführlicher Bibliographie (SS. 417-41) eine exzellente und detaillierte Einführung. Für die Unstimmigkeiten, die sich in St. Mary's während der ersten Jahre Grässls dort ergaben, bietet m.W. die gründlichste Darstellung Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, SS. 3-34. Die alte Pfarre von St. Mary's wurde seit 1741 von deutschen Priestern, die meist aus dem Jesuitenorden stammten, versorgt. Das beeindruckende Wirken der deutschsprachigen Seelsorger in Pennsylvania, Theodor Schneider S.J. (\*7.iv.1703 Geinsheim; SJ 25.ix.1721 Mainz; †10.vii.1764 Bally [Pennsylvania]), Matthias Sittensberger (Manners) S.J. (\*20.ix.1719 Deutschland; SJ 14.ix.1737 Deutschland; †16.vi.1775 Bohemia [Maryland] [Holt, *English Jesuits*, S. 230]) und Ferdinand Steinmeyer (Farmer) S.J., James (Augustine) Frambrach S.J. (\*6.i.1723 Deutschland; SJ 19.x.1744 Deutschland; †26.viii.1795 Maryland [Foley, *Records*, VII/1, 279; Holt, *English Jesuits*, S. 96]), James Pellentz S.J. (\*19/20.i.1727 Deutschland; SJ 19.x.1744 Deutschland; †13.ü/iii.1800 [Foley, *Records*, VII/1, 580; Holt, *English Jesuits*, S. 187]), Frederick Leonard S.J. (\*28.ix.1728 Deutschland; SJ 23.x.1747 Deutschland; †27/28.x.1764 Port Tobacco [Maryland] [Foley, *Records*, VII/1, 452; Holt, *English Jesuits*, S. 149]), Luke Geissler S.J. (\*1737 Deutschland; SJ 1755 Deutschland; †11.viii.1786 Pennsylvania [Foley, *Records*, VII/1, 291; Holt, *English Jesuits*, S. 99]), John Baptist de Ritter S.J. (†3.ii.1786/7 [Foley, *Records*, VII/2, 653; Holt, *English Jesuits*, S. 212]), Jean B. Diderick S.J. (\*25.iii.1726 Luxembourg; SJ 7.ix.1745; †5.vii.1793 Notley Hall [Maryland] [Holt, *English Jesuits*, SS. 79-80]) schildert Lambert Schrott, „Pioneer German Catholics in the American Colonies (1734-1784)“, *Historical Records and Studies, Monograph Series XIII* (1933) 1-142, hier: 43-88; N.A. Weber, „The Rise of National Catholic Churches in the United States“, *The Catholic Historical Review* 1 (1916) 422-34, hier: 423 erwähnt, dass auf Theodor Schneider S.J. und William Wappler S.J. weitere Jesuiten folgten: „The most remarkable among whom were Lawrence Graessel, . . . Ferdinand Steenmeyer [sic!], . . . Anthony Kohlmann.“

<sup>53</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 6.

<sup>54</sup> Fecher (*Study of the Movement*, S. 7) zitiert die Aufzeichnungen der deutschsprachigen Gemeinde von 1799: „Germani a Jesuitarum Superiore Joanne Carroll tum temporis Vicario Generali ut illum juvenem [Grässl war erst 34, d. Verf.] sacerdotem in regionem mitteret et uni ex duobus religiosis . . . locum in urbe traderet, petebant. Sed omnia erant frustranea: juvenis sacerdos locum hunc obtinebat, et ipsis duobus religiosis [die Helbron-Brüder, d. Verf.] duo alia loca in regione adsignabantur.“



Carroll. Er erwiderte darauf am 24. November 1787, dass die Gemeinde nie zuvor das Privileg der Nomination des Pfarrklerus besessen habe und er es ihr deshalb auch nicht zuerkenne. Es gebe „weighty and important considerations of justice, prudence, and gratitude,“ die ihrem Wunsch entgegenstünden. Unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Gerechtigkeit sei es unvertretbar, Grässl, der auf Einladung Ferdinand Farmers mit hoffnungsvoller Erwartung in die USA aufgebrochen sei, abzuweisen. Zudem fühle er sich dem Zeugnis von Robert Molyneux und Francis Beeston,<sup>55</sup> die sich ausdrücklich für Grässl aussprachen, dankbar verpflichtet. Warum es klug oder nicht opportun sei, Helbron *nicht* zum Pfarrer zu ernennen, erwähnte Carroll nicht. Doch der Grund liegt wohl in seiner reservierten Haltung gegenüber dem Kapuzinerorden. Denn kurz vor der Auseinandersetzung mit der deutschen Gemeinde musste der Superior die „bitteren Früchte der Einmischung von Laien in die Ernennung von Geistlichen“<sup>56</sup> machen. Ein irischer Kapuziner hatte Aufsehen erregt, weil er seinen Amtsvorgänger ersetzte, nachdem er sich der Unterstützung der Laien versichert hatte. „Without postulating any prejudice against the Friars as a body, one can hardly blame Doctor Carroll, fresh as he was from an unpleasant experience, for finding the coincidence disturbing, and for being rather cautious lest the history of New York repeat itself in Philadelphia.“<sup>57</sup> In einem Brief an seinen Freund Charles Plowden<sup>58</sup> erklärte Carroll, dass er Grässl als Pfarrseelsorger favorisiere und „that as long as there was an Exjesuit alive, willing and capable of serving a Congregation, which had been raised by that body of men, he should have the preference.“<sup>59</sup> Doch die Deutschen ließen sich wiederum nicht entmutigen. Sie brachten vor, dass zwar Ferdinand Farmer von der kirchlichen Obrigkeit ernannt worden war, man aber bei diesem „Vorzeigepriester“<sup>60</sup> nichts dagegen einwenden konnte. Bei Grässl verhalte sich das ganz anders: Er sei völlig unerfahren in pastoraler Arbeit, während Pater Johann Karl Helbron erfahren und geeignet für den Posten erscheine. Carroll habe der Gemeinde zwar berichtet, dass Grässl erwartet werde, aber er hätte hinzugefügt, dass wenn er allein käme, er nicht versprechen könne,

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<sup>55</sup> \*15.vi.1751; SJ 7.ix.1771 Ghent; †9.xii.1806/09/10 (Foley, *Records*, VII/1, 47; Holt, *English Jesuits*, SS. 29-30).

<sup>56</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 9.

<sup>57</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 9.

<sup>58</sup> \*1.v.1743 Plowden Hall, Salop; SJ 7.ix.1759 Watten; †13.vi.1821 Jouguè (France) (Foley, *Records*, VII/1, 602; Holt, *English Jesuits*, SS. 195-96).

<sup>59</sup> Hennesey, „An Eighteenth-Century Bishop,“ 186.

<sup>60</sup> Fecher (*Study of the Movement*, S. 9) schreibt „model priest.“

ihn nach St. Mary's zu schicken; wenn aber zwei Priester kämen, könnte einer von beiden St. Mary's betreuen. Die deutschen Katholiken hatten zwar sicher nichts gegen Grässl, aber wenn Carroll ihn zum Pfarrer ernannte, dann könnte er — so hofften die Deutschen — zusätzlich doch auch Helbron ernennen.<sup>61</sup> Die Deutschen versprachen sogar, beide Priester zu unterstützen. Doch Helbron war Carroll nun heimal suspekt. Zu wortgewaltig und aufbrausend hatte er dem Präfekten die Stim geboten;<sup>62</sup> Grässl hingegen schätzte er als einen „most amiable ex-Jesuit.“<sup>63</sup>

So blieb Carroll hart. Grässl erhielt die Stelle in der Stadt, während die Helbrons auf dem Land blieben. Enttäuscht und verdrossen beschlossen einige Deutsche nun, sich von St. Mary's zu trennen, um ihre eigene Kirche zu errichten. Am 9. Februar 1788 traf sich diese Gruppe zum ersten Mal. Auch wenn die Spalter ihren Frieden und ihre christliche Harmonie beteuerten und edlere Motive als die abgelehnte Pfarrbesetzung für ihre Trennungspolitik vorbrachten, fachten sie die Zwietracht weiter an. Viele agierten allem Anschein nach nur gegen ihren neuen Pfarrer Lorenz Grässl, weil er Jesuit gewesen war.<sup>64</sup> Dies musste Carroll in seinen Befürchtungen bestärken, die Motive der „Pfarrgründer“ seien doch nicht so „rein,“ wie sie sich ausgaben. Am 20. März 1788 entschuldigten sie sich aber bei Carroll mit den Worten: „We are always ready to obey our dear mother the Holy Catholic Church . . . We never intend nor ever will in the least dispute her authority. Therefore we acknowledge our involuntary error and with the greatest humility we beg Your Right Reverence's pardon and absolution.“<sup>65</sup> Auch sicherten sie dem Superior zu, gegen die Inkorporation ihrer „unworthy society of Catholic Germans“ in die Pfarrei St. Mary's nicht zu opponieren, wenn das neue Pfarrvermögen davon ausgenommen werde.

Die Grundsteinlegung der neuen deutschen Kirche Holy Trinity sollte baldmöglichst vorgenommen werden. Carroll hatte sogar eigens jedem unter seiner Autorität stehenden Priester erlaubt, die Grundsteinlegung vorzunehmen. Die Deutschen befanden sich aber nun unter Zeitdruck, weil

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<sup>61</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 10. Light (*Rome and the New Republic*, S. 4) zitiert die Eingabe der deutschen Gemeinde: „Should it still be your determination to have the said Mr. Cresler [Grässl, d. Verf.] appointed against our will, we beg leave humbly to request that you will be pleased to leave us the Rev. Mr. Helbron . . . here, who we will support in all necessities at our own expense.“

<sup>62</sup> Carey, *People, Priests and Prelates*, S. 27.

<sup>63</sup> Purcell, „Grässl, Lawrence,“ 466.

<sup>64</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 13.

<sup>65</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 14.

sich alle Priester der Stadt weigerten, die Zeremonie durchzuführen; so mussten die Gründer der neuen Pfarrei einen Ersatz suchen. Sie fanden ihn in den beiden Helbron-Brüdern und Father John Baptist Causse. Die Feier am 29. Mai 1788, zu der zwischen zwei- und dreitausend Menschen kamen, wurde in größter „harmony and enjoyment, to the highest glory of God and to the honor of the German nation“ abgehalten.<sup>66</sup> Am 13. September 1788 erfolgte die Inkorporation nach St. Mary's unter dem Titel „The Religious Society of German Roman Catholics of the Holy Trinity Church in the City of Philadelphia“ durch die „Pennsylvania Legislature“; Lorenz Grässl wurde in der Urkunde als einer der Pfarrer von St. Mary's genannt. Noch vor Fertigstellung der Kirche hielten die Verantwortlichen der neuen Kirchenstiftung eine Versammlung ab, um einen neuen Pfarrer zu wählen. Drei Priester standen zu Wahl: Lorenz Grässl, Johann Karl Helbron, John Baptist Causse. Fünf votierten für Grässl, zwölf für Causse und 75 für Helbron. Für diesen erbaten sie nun von Carroll alle weiteren Approbationen in einem Brief vom 22. März 1789. Doch Carroll wies sowohl den Wahlakt als auch seinen Ausgang aufs schärfste zurück. Innerhalb der nächsten Monate entzündete sich daher ein unglückseliger Kampf zwischen dem unnachgiebigen deutschen Kapuziner und dem auf seiner Entscheidung insistierenden amerikanischen Exjesuiten; ein Kampf, der auf beiden Seiten verbissen und wenig versöhnlich geführt wurde. Als schließlich am 22. November 1789 die Holy Trinity Church eröffnet wurde, übernahm Helbron die angebotene Aufgabe, der ersten Eucharistiefeier vorzustehen und dort als Pfarrer zu fungieren, obwohl ihm Carroll untersagt hatte, innerhalb der Stadtgrenzen von Philadelphia geistliche Dienste zu verrichten. Nun kam es zum vollständigen Bruch: „On their own admission, the Germans knew full well that Carroll had forbidden Helbron to exercise his ministry within ten miles of Philadelphia, but, paying no attention to this unfriendly person, they nevertheless invited the Capuchin to be their pastor . . . The Capuchin too had crossed the Rubicon.“<sup>67</sup> Carroll hatte im Vorfeld die Priester Beeston, Grässl und Francis Fleming beauftragt, Helbron Ermahnungsschreiben zu überbringen. Alle drei Tage sollte ihm eines in Anwesenheit von Zeugen überbracht werden. Doch nun war aus einer „Unstimmigkeit“ ein Skandal geworden. Der gerade zum amerikanischen Bischof ernannte Carroll musste seine Autorität in die Waagschale werfen und entzog Helbron am 2. Dezember 1789 alle Fakultäten: „I have already restrained your faculties. I now revoke them entirely, and recall all spiritual powers and authority which you

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<sup>66</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 15.

<sup>67</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 22.

ever received from me.”<sup>68</sup> Und öffentlich ließ er verlautbaren, „to all whom it may concern, that in virtue of his authority received from the Holy See, he has restrained Mr. J.C. Helbron from exercising any pastoral function what so ever . . . and that all who shall knowingly have recourse to his ministry for any of the aforesaid exercises in cases of extreme necessity will incur heavy guilt, and the absolution given by him in the sacrament of Penance will be null and void.”<sup>69</sup> Der Kapuziner kümmerte sich allerdings nicht um diese Weisung und fuhr fort, die Sakramente zu spenden und zu predigen. Nach langem Ringen kam es Ende Dezember 1789 zu einer Einigung, bei der beide Seiten ihre scharfen Anschuldigungen und Beleidigungen zurücknehmen mussten. Carroll feierte als Zeichen des Friedens und der wiederhergestellten Einheit an Weihnachten 1789 in Holy Trinity die hl. Messe. Helbron musste seinerseits öffentlich nicht nur die Autorität des Heiligen Stuhls anerkennen, sondern auch die Carrolls. Grässl fiel die Aufgabe zu, alles, was bei diesem Akt der Versöhnung auf Englisch zurückgenommen worden war, ins Deutsche<sup>70</sup> zu übersetzen. Doch beim Friedensschluss konnte man dessen Brüchigkeit voraussehen. Schon im Februar 1790 beschwerte sich Helbron im Namen der Gemeinde bei Bischof Carroll, dass es ihm verwehrt werde die Titel „Pfarrer“ (bzw. „Pastor“) und „Gemeinde“ (bzw. „Congregation“) für Holy Trinity zu benutzen. Außerdem protestierten Pfarrer und Gemeinde gegen die Abhängigkeit von St. Mary’s, da diese mehr eine irische denn eine deutsche Pfarrei sei. Gegen den Pfarrklerus von St. Mary’s und damit auch gegen Grässl brachte er vor, dass dieser oft an seinem Pfarrhaus vorbeigehe, aber nie eintrete.<sup>71</sup>

Carroll hatte sich also anscheinend in Pater Johann Karl Helbron *nicht* getäuscht: Schon kurz nach der „Rekonziliation“ des widerspenstigen Kapuziners hatte er an die römische Propagandakongregation geschrieben, dass Helbron zwar zur Ordnung gebracht werden konnte, er ihm aber immer noch nicht trauen könne. Carroll hätte ihm nie erlaubt, dort zu pastoren, wenn er nicht einen noch größeren Skandal befürchtet hätte. Rom sicherte ihm schließlich am 14. August 1790 zu, eine Erlaubnis vom Ordensgeneral der Kapuziner einzuholen, so dass er Helbron bei der nächsten Unstimmigkeit nach Europa zurückschicken könne. „Bishop Carroll now had an ace to play in case Father John Charles should attempt to resume the game. But

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<sup>68</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 23.

<sup>69</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 24.

<sup>70</sup> Fecher (*Study of the Movement*, S. 26) zitiert eine Quelle, in der es heißt, Grässl „shall recall in Dutch.“ Hier hat wohl der Verfasser „Dutch“ (=Holländisch) mit „Deutsch“ verwechselt, wie es noch heute im amerikanischen Sprachgebrauch vorkommt.

<sup>71</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 32f.

he never made use of it: there was no need."<sup>72</sup> Denn während im Sommer 1790 Carroll für seine Bischofskonsekration in England weilte, geriet die Holy Trinity Gemeinde in eine schwere finanzielle Krise. Im Sommer 1791 betrug die Schuldenlast bereits 2.300 Pfund. Johann Karl Helbron sollte eine Spendenfahrt nach Spanien unternehmen und holte hierzu Carrolls Erlaubnis ein; sein Bruder Peter Helbron übernahm unterdessen die Pfarrei. Am 13. November 1791 verließ Johann Karl Helbron die Vereinigten Staaten und kehrte nie wieder zurück. Man findet ihn einige Zeit später als Vikar in Anglet in Südfrankreich. Dort wurde er ein Opfer des blutigen Revolutionsregimes, das ihn für eine Predigt am 24. November 1793 inhaftierte und in Bayonne guillotinierte.<sup>73</sup>

So alltäglich man den Streit um die Besetzung der Pfarrei Holy Trinity auch ansehen mag, es war der erste Versuch amerikanischer Katholiken sich explizit auf den *jus patronatus* zu beziehen, um die Ernennung eines

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<sup>72</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 34.

<sup>73</sup> Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 34. Die genaueren Umstände beleuchtet: Jean B. Daranatz, *Curiosities du Pays Basque*, Bd. I (Bayonne, 1927) SS. 54f, 305f, 329-32 (zitiert nach Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 34). Zur Antipathie, die Carroll gegen Helbron hegte, mag das Gerücht beigetragen haben, dass der rastlose Kapuziner in der Heimatprovinz um Dispens von seinen Gelübden gebeten haben soll und nur aus lauter Abenteuerlust in die Neue Welt aufgebrochen sei (Carroll berichtete am 23. April 1792 an die Propagandakongregation in Rom: „Nuper cognovi ipsum, paulo antequam in America venisset, a religiosa sua professione absolutionem sollicitavisse, cumque repulsam passus fuisset, primam arripuisse occasionem ex monasterii septis egrediendi, et in has provincias proficiscendi“ (Zitiert nach Fecher, *Study of the Movement*, S. 217 Anm. 73). Dagegen berichtet Zawart, („P. Petrus Baptista,“ 399): „Totum hoc opus improbum P.J. Pellenta Trevirensis SJ . . . indigne ferentis Cappucinum P. L. Graessl SJ (vel etiam ipsi?) praeferri fuisse videtur. Haec fama, quam non nisi auditu cognoscebat, J. Carroll pergrata venit, quia ansam praebuit Cappucinum apud Cardinalem L. Antonelli detrahendi.“ Fecher (*Study of the Movement*, S. 217) entkräftet aber die Sicht, die Carroll bösartigste Intentionen unterstellt, mit einem weiteren Zitat aus Carrolls Brief, in dem er über Helbron schreibt: „Quae tamen non ita volo intelligi, quasi contra continentiae votum quidquam peccaverit.“

Johann Karl Helbrons Bruder Peter wurde nach dessen Abreise Pfarrer der deutschsprachigen Gemeinde. Er war zuvor preussischer Militärkaplan gewesen und besaß eine autoritäre Persönlichkeit. Ein Zeitgenosse beschrieb ihn als „a man of culture and refinement, punctiliously neat and precise in his priestly attire . . . sitting on his horse with a military grace and repose.“ Er vernachlässigte seine priesterlichen Aufgaben, ließ Sterbende ohne sakramentalen Beistand, und verließ ohne Mitteilung wochenlang die Gemeinde, um auf die Jagd zu gehen. „The Germans were clearly dissatisfied with their authoritarian and inattentive pastor, but nothing could be done because, for all his faults, Helbron was preferable to Laurence Graessl and there was no other German priest in Philadelphia.“ Nach: Light, *Rome and the New Republic*, S. 26. Warum die Deutschen aber unter diesen Umständen immer noch Helbron voraugen, wird bei Light nicht erwähnt.

Seelsorgers zu rechtfertigen.<sup>74</sup> Carroll hatte diese ernste Infragestellung seiner Autorität nicht hingenommen und zusätzlich die aufmüpfigen Deutschen daran erinnert, dass sie schliesslich Katholiken und keine Presbyterianer seien.<sup>75</sup> Auch der irische Priester Patrick Smith (bzw. Smyth) war mit John Carroll in Streit geraten. Auf seiner Rückkehr nach Europa verfasste er das Pamphlet „*The Present State of the Catholic Mission conducted by the Jesuits in North America*“ (Dublin, 1788, Nachdruck Washington, D.C., 1925). Smith beschuldigte Carroll der eindeutigen und in seinen Augen ungerechten Parteinahme für den Exjesuiten Grässl, während sich Smith auf die Seite des „humble Capuchin“ stellt. Er gibt folgende Geschichte des unseligen Pfarrstreites:

„It may not be improper to relate the unhappy disturbance which brought reproach on our holy religion at Philadelphia last spring. The anecdote may help to enforce the main drift of this paper. Two German Capuchin monks arrived in Philadelphia at a time when their countrymen, who from a very respectable part of the citizens of that metropolis, began to despair, in consequence of the Emperor's ecclesiastical arrangement, of procuring, in future, missionaries from the Austrian territory. One of the gentlemen preached remarkably well, and was, on account of the excellent testimonies he produced, and the abilities he displayed, considered as a proper successor of the venerable Mr. Farmer, lately diseased. . . . The good Capuchin was but just riveted in the affections and esteem of his countrymen when a German ex-Jesuit landed as his competitor. The Superior of his missions sided very naturally with his brother; and though the Capuchin had a prior right, had much superior talents, at least as a preacher, and was otherwise irreproachable in his morals, he must forthwith yield to the favored son of Loyola.“<sup>76</sup>

Smith nennt ferner Carrolls Eingreifen in den Pfarrstreit eine „tyrannische Massnahme,“ eine „Barbarei“ und „Unrecht.“ Carroll entgegnete mit den Worten:

„The ecclesiastical Superior appointed each [also Helbron und Grässl, d. Verf.] to his respective station and nominated Mr. Graessel to remain in Philadelphia. He was induced by several considerations: 1<sup>st</sup>. Mr. Graessel, in consequence of Mr. Farmer's invitation, quitted his employment and

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<sup>74</sup> Die deutschen Katholiken brachten demnach ihr Verständnis, der Erbauer der Kirche habe das Recht, den Pfarrer zu bestellen, aus ihrer Heimat mit; nach Carey, *People, Priests and Prelates*, SS. 27 f.

<sup>75</sup> Hennessey, „An Eighteenth-Century Bishop,“ 202.

<sup>76</sup> Zitiert bei Martin Griffin, „The Church of the Holy Trinity, Philadelphia,“ 29-30.

prospects in Bavaria, bringing with him the original letter of invitation, and in full expectation of remaining at Philadelphia. 2ndly. His education having been the same as those who were to be his companions in Philadelphia, and they having expressed their wish for his appointment, the Superior thought so much was due to their services and enjoyment not to refuse their request. 3d. He thought likewise it was a just way of rewarding the members of that body, who, under God, had brought Religion to its present state in Philadelphia, provided their talents were equal to their charge. Let the Catholics of Philadelphia say, whether Mr. Graessel's have not appeared as such. Mr. Smyth says the other Gentleman had recommended himself in Philadelphia by superior talents at least for preaching. He makes assertions without the least support of truth; neither of the candidates had been heard in Philadelphia, when the appointment was made; and I nearly believe, that one of them has never been heard there, even to this day; tho' I am sure he would be heard with pleasure. He [Smyth, d. Verf.] adds that the new church [Holy Trinity, d. Verf.] will continue a *monument of German resentment*. For my part I rather trust it will be a *monument of German piety*.<sup>77</sup>

#### IV. „Um die zerstreuten Schäfchen zu versammeln“: Kirchenpolitik und Seelsorge (1787-1793)

Während der traurigen Kämpfe in seiner Pfarrei schloss sich Grässl im März 1788 einer Gruppe Ex-Jesuiten unter dem Vorsitz von John Carroll an, die in einer Petition Papst Pius VI. baten, dem amerikanischen Klerus zu erlauben, einen Bischof zu wählen; denn vom Standpunkt der Kirchendisziplin war ein Bischof unabkömmlich, ja im wörtlichen Sinne „notwendend“, denn nur von einer bischöflichen Autorität vor Ort konnte man erwarten, den rebellischen Klerus zu bändigen, die Zwistigkeiten zwischen Laien, Priestern und Obrigkeit zu schlichten und zu verhindern, dass Nordamerikas Kirche eine Splitterkirche werde.<sup>78</sup> Die Petition kam aber auch den politischen und kirchenpolitischen Anforderungen der Zeit entgegen: Denn die amerikanische Regierung unterstützte die Aufstellung eines in den Staaten residierenden Bischofs, da eine Einflussnahme Roms auf

<sup>77</sup> Zitiert bei Griffin, "The Church of the Holy Trinity," 30-31.

<sup>78</sup> Carey, *People, Priests and Prelates*, S. 241; Hanley, „Grassell“ 705; zusätzliche Informationen über das zeitliche Umfeld der Wahl Grässls zum Koadjutor bieten Donald C. Shearer (Hg.), *Pontificia Americana. A Documentary History of the Catholic Church in the United States 1784-1884* (Washington: J. F. Wagner, 1933); Peter Guilday (Hg.), *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy (1792-1919)* (Washington: National Catholic Welfare Council, 1923). Zu den Synoden, an denen Grässl als Delegierter teilnahm, berichtet: Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore (1791-1884)* (New York: Macmillan, 1932).

diverse Interna der amerikanischen Gemeinden missliebig beäugt wurde.<sup>79</sup> Dieses Gesuch wurde am 12. März 1788 von Carroll, Father John Ashton<sup>80</sup> und Father Robert Molyneux unterzeichnet.<sup>81</sup> Mit der Ernennung Carrolls am 14. September 1789 zum Bischof und der Gründung der Diözese Baltimore am 6. November 1789 wurde der Eingabe in gewissem Sinne Recht gegeben und der Misere einer Kirche ohne eigentliche Autorität Abhilfe geschaffen; Carrolls Konsekration erfolgte 1790 in England. Die Präsenz des neuen Bischofs „stabilized American Catholicism and enabled the systematic development of other institutions which provided for the religious and cultural needs of the new nation. Now American Catholicism was no longer a Jesuit or ex-Jesuit mission“<sup>82</sup> (even though Rome consider the United States missionary territory until 1908 — a fact that periodically irritated some in the American church).<sup>83</sup> Die Diözese umfasste das gesamte Land östlich des Mississippi mit Ausnahme von Florida. In diesem riesigen Sprengel lebten 1789 aber nur ca. 30 000 Katholiken; 30-40 Priester waren für die Seelsorge vorhanden.<sup>84</sup> Erst 1805 wurden weitere Diözesen geschaffen.<sup>85</sup>

Einige Forscher sind der Ansicht, Grässl habe nach seiner Ankunft in den USA zuerst in verschiedenen Missionsstationen gearbeitet, ehe er nach Philadelphia kam.<sup>86</sup> Durch die Quellen über den „Investiturstreit“ von St.

<sup>79</sup> Hennesey, „An Eighteenth-Century Bishop“, 174. Carroll beschrieb die Propagandakongregation als eine ausländische, politische Macht, die Einfluss auf die amerikanische Kirche nehme. Dies war mit den Grundgedanken der jungen und unabhängigen (!) amerikanischen Republik unvereinbar.

<sup>80</sup> \*3.v.1742 Ireland; SJ 7.ix.1759 Watten; †4.ii.1815 Port Tobacco (Maryland) (Foley, *Records*, VII/1, 20; Holt, *English Jesuits*, S. 21).

<sup>81</sup> Hennesey, „An Eighteenth-Century Bishop“, 182: „They informed the Pontiff that the Superior [= Carroll, der Verf.] a simple priest who has only delegated authority, had been accused by rebels in the New York City congregation of St. Peter's of wielding an authority that was illegal, because it was set up by a foreign tribunal and was dependent on this tribunal both its exercise and its duration.“

<sup>82</sup> Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Colonial and Federal*, 4 Bde. (New York/London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907-17).

<sup>83</sup> Carey, *Roman Catholics*, S. 22.

<sup>84</sup> John H. Markert, „Der amerikanische Katholizismus“, in Timpe, *Katholisches Deutschland*, 38-42.

<sup>85</sup> Arthur J. Ennis, „The New Diocese of Philadelphia“, in Connelly, *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, SS. 63-112, hier: 63 (mit weiterführender Literatur).

<sup>86</sup> So z.B. Purcell, „Grässl“, 466: „Um Schwierigkeiten zu vermeiden“ wurde Grässl nun für 12 Monate auf Missionsreisen durch Pennsylvania, Delaware und New Jersey geschickt, „during which he suffered much fatigue but gloried in his ability to hear confessions in French, English,



Mary's kann diese These aber nicht verifiziert werden. Diese Annahme kam wohl aufgrund der Kenntnis eines Briefes von Grässl an seine Eltern vom 9. Dezember 1788 zustande. Darin umreißt er, in Philadelphia befindlich, seine pastoralen Tätigkeitsfelder. Er hatte, wie er schreibt, „viel in den amerikanischen Wäldern herumzureiten, um die zerstreuten Schäfchen zu versammeln.“ In seinem bekannten, in Johann Michael Sailer's Briefsammlung abgedruckten, Abschiedsbrief, erwähnte er ebenfalls, dass er sich eine schwere Krankheit auf der letzten Missionsreise durch *Nova Caesarea* zugezogen habe. Dies lässt auf eine intensive Betreuung amerikanischer Katholiken auch in den ländlichen Gegenden schließen, wobei er sich nicht allein der Deutschen, sondern aller Katholiken annahm, deren Muttersprache er beherrschte.<sup>87</sup> Aber diese Tätigkeit lag wohl nicht vor seiner Berufung nach Philadelphia; aufgrund der Quellen über St. Mary's, des Briefes vom 9. Dezember 1788 und des Abschiedsbriefes vom 19. Juni 1793, dem die besagte Missionsreise voranging, scheint sich eine seelsorgliche Versorgung umliegender ländlicher Gemeinden von Philadelphia aus nahe zu liegen.<sup>88</sup> Unermüdet brachte Grässl „the comforts of their religion to those, already Catholics, who lived in the sparsely settled districts of New Jersey, as well as by his kind and sympathetic manner to lead the straying sheep the true fold. He thus continued the good work begun by Father Schneider and Farmer.“<sup>89</sup> Im Januar 1788 hatte sich Grässl sogar gegen die „Blättem“ [=Pocken] impfen lassen, um die in seinem Sprengel erkrankten Kinder seelsorglich betreuen zu können.<sup>90</sup> Der „newcomer“ aus Bayern verstand es also, trotz der anfänglichen Zwistigkeiten, die allerdings nur in geringem Maße seiner Person galten, die Herzen der Menschen und auch seiner Mitbrüder für sich zu gewinnen.<sup>91</sup>

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German, Dutch and Spanish.“

<sup>87</sup> Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Brief von Lorenz Grässl vom 9. Dezember 1788 adressiert an seine Eltern in Ruhmannsfelden, bezeichnet mit der Ziffer „7“: „Meine Sprachen, die ich in Europa gelernt, thun mir nun gute Dienste. Ich habe schon viele deutsche, englische, französische, welsche, holländische, spanische Beichten gehört.“

<sup>88</sup> So auch Herbermann, „The Reverend Lawrence Graessel“, 211. 1793 scheint Grässl auch in der Gemeinde St. Bernhard in Mount Hope gewirkt zu haben (nach: <http://www.rc.net/paterson/stbernard/timeline.htm>).

<sup>89</sup> Herbermann, „The Reverend Lawrence Graessel“, 211.

<sup>90</sup> Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Brief von Lorenz Grässl vom 9. Dezember 1788, bezeichnet mit der Ziffer „7.“

<sup>91</sup> Purcell, „Grässl“, 466.

Er ermutigte z.B. den angesehenen Verleger Matthew Carey,<sup>92</sup> der zu den Honoratioren der Katholiken Philadelphias gehörte, zur Publikierung katholischer Bücher. Er war ebenfalls unter den ersten, die die am 26. Januar 1789 angekündigte neue Quart-Bibel aus Carey's Verlag unterstützten und subskribierten.<sup>93</sup> Zudem war er ein bekannter und geschätzter Lehrer und Vermögensverwalter am College von Philadelphia.<sup>94</sup> Der Brief vom 9. Dezember 1788 gibt einige Anhaltspunkte über seine Tätigkeit:

„Liebste Aeltern, Ich lebe nun in Amerika über ein Jahr lang, und bin gesund. Könnt' ich auch von ihnen hören, dass sie noch gesund und wohl auf sind, so würd es mich herzlich erfreuen. Ich verließ London den 17. August 1787 und langte in Amerika an den [. . . Oktober].<sup>95</sup> Meine Reise über das große Weltmeer hat oft gefährlich ausgesehen, allein Gott hat mich trotz allen Stürmen, und [freibeutherischen]<sup>96</sup> Seeräubern, glücklich, und gesund nach meinem Bestimmungsort gebracht. Ich musste in Amerika drei verschiedene Länder theils zu Wasser, theils zu Pferd durch einsame Wälder reisen, bis ich nach Philadelphia kam. Hier hatt' ich genug zu arbeiten in dem Weinberg des Herrn, und [. . .]<sup>97</sup> ist mein Trost in der grossen Entfernung von meinen lieben Eltern, und Freunden.<sup>98</sup> Ich hab viel in den amerikanischen Wäldern herumzureiten, um die zerstreuten Schäfchen zu versammeln. Meine Sprachen, die ich in Europa gelernt, thun mir nun gute Dienste. Ich habe schon viele deutsche, englische, französische, welsche, holländische, spanische Beichten gehört. Meine Gesundheit ist, Gottlob, besser, als sie in München war. Die letzte [sic] Jahre gewesen: ich habe mir letzten Jenner, 1788 die Blattern einpropfen lassen, um nachher desto tauglicher für die Mission zu sein, und hab sie glücklich überstanden.

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<sup>92</sup> Raymond H. Schmandt, "Catholic Intellectual Life in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia. An Essay," in Connelly, *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, S. 587-644, hier: 587-589. Die Ausgabe „The Pennsylvania Gazette“ vom 28. Januar 1789, in dem das genannte Subskriptionsangebot unterbreitet wurde, ist via Internet einsehbar unter: <http://www.palinet.org/available/text/gaz4/00000755/00075525.htm>.

<sup>93</sup> Herbermann, „The Reverend Lawrence Graessel“, 211.

<sup>94</sup> Purcell, „Grässl“, 466.

<sup>95</sup> An dieser Stelle fehlt ein Papierstück, so dass das Datum unleserlich bleibt. Der Monat heißt sicher Oktober, wobei nur „ober“ zu lesen ist. Der Riss zieht sich über 12 Zeilen hin; eine inzwischen vergilbte Klebestelle erschwert zusätzlich die Entzifferung.

<sup>96</sup> Auch diese Stelle ist schwer lesbar; sie lautet aber vermutlich: „freibeutherischen.“

<sup>97</sup> Unleserlich.

<sup>98</sup> Interessanterweise erwähnt er seine Geschwister erst am Briefende.

Ich bin nun seit dem bei vielen kranken Kindern gewesen, die diese Krankheit hatten, ohne mindeste Gefahr! Wollt' ihr mir einmal schreiben /: welches mir sehr lieb wär :/ so schickt den Brief nach München zu den Herrn Stoker,<sup>99</sup> und ich wird' ihn sicher erhalten. Ist es der Wille Gottes, dass ich in Amerika sterbe, und euch auf dieser Welt nicht mehr sehen kann, so werden wir uns mit der süßen Hoffnung trösten, dass unsere Trennung nicht lang dauert auf dieser Erde, daß uns unser guter Vater im Himmel bald wieder zusammen bringen wird', und dann ewig - - -  
<sup>100</sup>Dahin wollen wir immer unsere Augen aufthun, und alles Leide auf dieser irdischen Wanderschaft wird uns leicht ankommen. Lebet recht wohl, meine liebsten Aeltern, Geschwister und Freunde. Denket meiner im Gebet, auch ich will täglich für euch bethen. Euer getreuer Sohn Lorenz Graessl.<sup>101</sup>

#### V. „Ein schwaches Lichtlein an dem Hochaltar eines prächtigen Domes“: Die Bischofsernennung (1793)

Trotz vieler Bemühungen war der amerikanische Klerus ebenso wie die Masse der Gläubigen immer noch eine „amorphe“ Masse, die sich aus einer schillernden Vielfalt von Priestern unterschiedlichster Herkunft zusammensetzte. Ein *geformter* nationaler Klerus und eine starke nationale Kirche war deshalb Carrolls vordringlicher Wunsch. Eine Synode, bestehend aus delegierten Priestern, sollte ein erster Schritt auf diesem steinigen Weg sein. Vom 7. bis 10. November 1791 fand diese erste amerikanische Synode in Baltimore statt, die mehrere Dekrete verabschiedete, welche die amerikanische Kirche für die nächsten 37 Jahre prägen sollten.<sup>102</sup> Lorenz Grässl vertrat die Katholiken von Philadelphia;<sup>103</sup> das Vertrauen, das ihm seine Mitbrüder mit diesem Auftrag zuerkannten, war gerade wegen seiner geringen zeitlichen Erfahrung in der amerikanischen Seelsorge beachtlich. Bei diesem Zusammenkommen wurde auch die Wahl eines Nachfolgers für Carroll thematisiert. Denn die Bulle Pius VI. „*Ex Hae Apostolicae*“ vom 6. November 1789, die die Diözese Baltimore errichtete, bestimmte, dass die künftigen Bischöfe in Rom ausgewählt werden sollten. Dies verursachte eine unübersehbare Missstimmung, da man sich wieder an das Gängelband Roms genommen glaubte. Carroll versuchte eine sowohl die selbstbewussten und

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<sup>99</sup> Herbermann („The Reverend Lawrence Graessl“, 219) übernimmt die Lesart „Stoker.“

<sup>100</sup> Es folgen im Original drei lange Gedankenstriche.

<sup>101</sup> Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Brief von Lorenz Grässl vom 9. Dezember 1788, adressiert an seine Eltern in Ruhmannsfelden, bezeichnet mit der Ziffer „7.“

<sup>102</sup> Carey, *The Roman Catholics*, S. 22.

<sup>103</sup> Purcell, „Grässl“, 466.

unabhängigen Amerikaner als auch den Heiligen Stuhl zufriedenstellende Lösung zu erarbeiten. Anfangs dachte er, dass der gesamte Klerus sich an einer Bischofswahl beteiligen könnte. Dann favorisierte er die Idee, dass nur eine ausgewählte Anzahl von Priestern das Wahlrecht erhalten sollte. Diesen Vorschlag trug er auf der Synode vor. Diese empfahl, dass nur die zehn Priester, welche am längsten in Amerika arbeiteten, bei der Bischofswahl stimmberechtigt sein sollten. Doch die behandelte Thematik hatte eine weitaus praktischere Komponente, die zu einer baldigen Lösung drängte: Carroll hatte zu seiner Bischofskonsekration eigens nach Großbritannien reisen müssen. Sollte er plötzlich sterben, müsste sein (gewählter oder ernannter) Nachfolger wiederum diese Reises Strapazen auf sich nehmen und seine amerikanische Kirche ohne Hirten zurücklassen. Um dies zu vermeiden, sollte ein Koadjutorbischof von Carroll geweiht werden, der dessen Stelle nach seinem Tod einnehmen würde.

Ein Wahlkomitee, wie es 1789 angeregt worden war, wurde aber nie institutionalisiert. Carroll allein nominierte im Mai 1793 Lorenz Grässl zum Koadjutor mit Nachfolgerecht. Kardinal Leonardo Antonelli (1730-1811) in Rom berichtete er, er habe diesen Vorschlag aber erst nach „der Konsultation der älteren und tüchtigeren Arbeiter im Weinberg des Herrn“ auf den Weg gebracht.<sup>104</sup> „Considering the fact that he was not yet forty years of age and that he had been in the country not more than five years, his election to the episcopacy bears eloquent testimony to his piety and magnetic personality.“<sup>105</sup> John Carroll bat ferner am 21. September 1793 bei Grässls Bischofsweihe in Rom um eine Dispens: Er fürchtete nämlich, dass eine grosse Anzahl „Sektierer“ aus den deutschen Gemeinden anwesend sein könnte, die nur darauf aus sei, den Amtseid des neuen Bischofs falsch zu verstehen. Deshalb solle man bei dem von Grässl zu leistenden Eid die Worte auslassen dürfen, in denen die unablässige Verfolgung von Häretikern und Schismatikern zu seinen Aufgaben gezählt wird. Diese Dispens wurde am 16. Januar 1794 — lange nach dem Tod des Weihekandidaten — von Kardinal Antonelli gewährt.<sup>106</sup>

Grässls Charakter muss diese Wahl in höchstem Maß erschreckt haben; er

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<sup>104</sup> Hennessey, „An Eighteenth-Century Bishop,“ 189ff.

<sup>105</sup> Herbermann, „The Reverend Lawrence Graessel,“ 21; Grässls Nachfolger als Bischofskoadjutor wurde Leonard Neale, der sich allerdings als kein besonderer Glücksriff erwies. Dazu ausführlich: M. Bernetta Brislen, „The Episcopacy of Leonard Neale, Second Archbishop of Baltimore,“ *Historical Records and Studies* 34 (1945) 20-111. Erwähnung findet Grässl auch bei Martin Griffin, „History of the Right Rev. Michael Egan, D.D., First Bishop of Philadelphia,“ *American Catholic Historical Researches* 9 (1892) 65-80.

<sup>106</sup> Middleton, „Documents,“ 191.

hatte das Bischofsamt nie erstrebt und es war ihm auch höchst unwillkommen. Doch er sollte nie Stab und Mitra tragen, denn schon im Sommer 1793 erkrankte er auf einer seiner Missionsreisen durch New Jersey (Grässl schreibt „*Nova Caesarea*“) schwer. Es ist unbekannt, ob er sich von diesem Infekt<sup>107</sup> wieder gänzlich erholt hat. Er meinte auf jeden Fall, an ihm zu sterben zu müssen. Johann Michael Sailer leitete Grässls letzte Zeilen in seinem Werk „Briefe aus allen Jahrhunderten der christlichen Zeitrechnung“ mit den Worten ein: „Nicht ohne Thräne der Freundschaft im Auge las ich diesen Brief eines meiner geliebtesten Mitschüler in Ingolstadt, und ich denke, ohne Rührung soll ihn kein Auge lesen können. Er sey die Krone dieser Sammlung.“<sup>108</sup> Und Joseph Kirlin überschreibt die Übersetzung von Grässls Abschiedsworten: „Never was there more worthy monument to a hero than the following letter, the heart-cry of an affectionate son, the valedictory of a martyr priest.“<sup>109</sup>

„Philadelphia, den 19ten Jun. 1793. Liebster Vater, Mutter, Schwestern! armer Bruder Bernard! Wer immer von euch noch bey Leben, seydt mir tausendmal gegrüßet! Sehr oft hatte ich an euch gedacht, meine Liebsten! wenn ich so einsam durch die tagelangen, stillen Wälder Amerikas gewandert bin; wenn ich, wie eine Stimme des Rufenden in der Wüste, den in den Wäldern zerstreuten, nach dem Worte Gottes hungrigen Seelen das Evangelium predigte, dann dachte ich oft an mein liebes, waldichtes Ruemansfelden — den Ort meiner ersten Jugend, wo meine; besten Freunde an mich denken, für mich beten. Oft wünschte ich mich wieder zurück, euch alle noch einmal in diesem Leben zu sehen; allein Wünsche waren: nicht genug, mich über den weiten Ozean in eure Arme zurückzuführen. Noch mehr: meine Wünsche, Gott Lob! wollten niemals dem Willen Gottes entgegenstreben — Es war aber der Wille unseres besten Vaters im Himmel, daß ich mein kurzes Erdenleben zum Besten der amerikanischen Katholiken aufopfern sollte. Und wie gut, unendlich gut ist Gott für seine Kinder! Er war schon zufrieden mit diesem geringen Opfer, mit meinem guten Willen, und will mit meinem guten Willen, und will mich nun bald aus dieser mühsamen irdischen Wanderschaft zu sich

<sup>107</sup> Es ist nicht bekannt, ob sich Grässl mit dem Gelbfieber bereits in New Jersey infiziert hatte; auch ein anderer Infekt wäre denkbar. Vielleicht hat ihn diese Krankheit so weit geschwächt, dass sein Körper keine Widerstandskräfte mehr gegen das Gelbfieber aufzubringen vermochte. Kirlin (*Catholicity*, S. 147) meint, er habe sich auf seinen auszehrenden Reisen in Pennsylvania und New Jersey eine Lungentuberkulose zugezogen und dies habe sein Immunkräfte zum Erliegen gebracht.

<sup>108</sup> Sailer, *Briefe*, S. 498.

<sup>109</sup> Kirlin, *Catholicity*, S. 147.

in die ewige Ruhe hinüberbringen (so hoffe ich in Demuth des Herzens von seiner unendlichen Barmherzigkeit). Liebste Freundel ich bin nun krank, und nach allem menschlichen Ansehen werden meine Tage auf Erde nur wenig mehr seyn — glaublich, bevor ihr dieses leset, wird mein Leib schon im stillen Grab ruhen; allein, trösten wir uns alle mit der herrlichen Aussicht in die Ewigkeit; dort, hoffe ich zu Gott, werden wir alle einander wieder sehen, und nimmer getrennt werden. Meine Krankheit habe ich mir in der letzten Mission durch die sandichten Wege von Nova Caesarea an einem heißen Sommertage zugezogen. Schmerzen an der Brust, kurzer Athem, ein trockener Husten, ein täglich am Abend zurückkehrendes Fieber, nächtliche auszehrende Schweisse — dieses sind die Wirkungen der Krankheit, wie sie immer selbe nennen wollen. Das beste ist: ich sterbe gern — der Tod war mir niemals fürchterlich: er ist der süsseste Trost eines leidenden Christen auf Erde: und wer hat nicht zu leiden auf Erde? — Er ist der Anfang eines bessern Lebens in einer Welt, wo wir ewig leben werden — wenn wir uns nur bestreben, seinem freundlichen Besuche keine Hindernisse durch unsere Sünden in Weg zu legen. Erwartet von mir keine lange Beschreibung von unserer Stadt, Lande, Nation usw. Ihr wisset, in den Augen eines Sterbenden verschwindet die ganze Welt — Mein einziges Geschäft ist nun, mit Geduld zu leiden und selig zu sterben. Ich hatte einst viele aufrichtige Freunde in dem ruhigen, eremitischen Gotteszelle — grüßet sie mir alle mit meinem letzten herzlichen Abschiedsgrusse. — Ist der fromme, mir ewig verehrungswürdige, in heiliger Einsamkeit ergraute Prälat noch bey Leben, o so saget ihm, ich sey bis an das Ende meines Lebens für seine Freundschaft dankbar gewesen; saget ihm, er habe vielmehr Ursache, mir zu meinem Tode Glück zu wünschen, denn er selbst wisse aus eigner Erfahrung, wie drückend die Inful eines Prälaten, wie schwer der Stab eines geistlichen Hirten sey. Von dieser fürchterlichen Last befreyet mich der freundliche Tod. — Dieses scheint euch geheimnisvoll; ich muß es euch erklären: wir haben nur einen Bischof in den großen, weiten Staaten von Amerika; sollte dieser sterben, so müßte wieder ein anderer von der Geistlichkeit erwählt, nach Europa reisen, um die Weihung zu erhalten — deßwegen erlaubte der Pabst, einen Coadjutor-Bischof zu wählen, der unserm würdigen Bischof einst nachfolgen sollte. Man wählte im Anfang May, und wählte, liebste Aeltern! Euern amen Lorenz — Ich sollte noch in diesem Leben ein Bischof seyn! Nichts konnte mich mehr beunruhigen, als diese Nachricht — allein, Gott erhörte mein Gebet, er will mich Unwürdigen von dieser schweren Bürde befreien, um einen Würdigeren Platz zu machen — Indessen mein Name, Geburtsort etc. nach Rom abging, um vom Pabste die Guttheissung meiner Erwählung zu erhalten, werde ich die ganze Welt verlassen, um ewig auszuruhen von dem Leiden meiner irdischen kurzen Pilgerschaft. Sehet, dieses ist eine andere

Ursache, warum der Tod mir so süß, so erwünscht kommt. Ich würde die schwere Last eines amerikanischen Bischofs gerne angenommen haben, allein, ich würde immer Ursache gehabt haben, zu zittern vor der schweren Verantwortung, und wegen meiner geringen Talente — ein schwaches Lichtlein, das vielleicht eine dunkle Zelle beleuchten kann, wenn es an dem Hochaltar eines großen prächtigen Doms aufgestellt wird, was wird daraus folgen? — Es braucht keine weitere Erklärung — Lebet nun ewig wohl, ihr alle! Freunde meines Herzens! Betet für mich, dass mich Gott stärken möge in meinem letzten Kampfe — Ich bete immer für euch — Euer bis in den Tod getreuer, aufrichtig liebender Lorenz.“<sup>110</sup>

#### VI. „Ein Schlachtopfer der Liebe“: Grässls Tod in der Gelbfieberepidemie des Jahres 1793

Doch anscheinend erholte sich Grässl soweit, dass er die seelsorgliche Arbeit wieder verrichten konnte. Im August 1793 suchte das Gelbfieber Philadelphia heim, breitete sich wie ein Flächenbrand aus und beherrschte die Stadt bis Ende Oktober 1793.<sup>111</sup> Mehr als 4000 Menschen, 12 Prozent der Bevölkerung, starben an der ansteckenden Krankheit.<sup>112</sup> Tausende verließen die sterbende Stadt, um der Seuche zu entgehen. Die Kranken wurden in den Lazaretten hilflos zurückgelassen und nur wenige fanden sich, das Risiko der Pflege auf sich zu nehmen. Fast alle Priester und Pastoren flohen aus der Stadt;<sup>113</sup> nur eine Hand voll mutiger Seelsorger blieb zurück.

<sup>110</sup> Abgedruckt bei Pömbaehner, *Bayerische Bibliothek*, III, 599-601. Das Original dieses Briefes wurde auf Bitten des Regensburger Bischofs Ignatius von Senestrey von einem Nachkommen der Familie Grässl an diesen abgegeben (Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Undatiertes Schreiben des Lederermeisters Georg Lukas, wohl Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts). Im Bischöflichen Zentralarchiv Regensburg befinden nach Auskunft vom 5. Mai 2000 keine Personal- oder Nachlassakten von Grässl; auch im Regensburger Priesterverzeichnis von Theodor Ries ist dieser nicht erwähnt.

<sup>111</sup> Grundlegend dazu ist der exzellente Sammelband von J. Worth Estes, Billy Smith (Hg.), *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation. The Public Response to the 1793 Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic* (Canton: Published for the College of Physicians of Philadelphia and the Library Company of Philadelphia by Science History Publications, 1997), die Grässl allerdings mit keinem Wort erwähnen.

<sup>112</sup> Susan E. Klepp, „Appendix I: „How Many Precious Souls Are Fled?": The Magnitude of the 1793 Yellow Fever Epidemic.“ in Estes, *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation*, S. 163-82 (mit weiterführender Literatur) hier: 176. Klepp analysiert die Seuche auf dem Hintergrund der für die Stadt Philadelphia erhobenen durchschnittlichen Sterblichkeit jener Jahre.

<sup>113</sup> Mit beissendem Spott belegte der Zeitzeuge Philip Freneau die fliehenden Priester in einem Gedicht, das er in der „National Gazette“ veröffentlichte: „Priests retreating from their pulpits / Some in hot, and some in cold fits / In bad temper / Off they scamper / Leaving us - unhappy culprits“ Nach Richard G. Miller, „The Federal City 1783-1800“, in *Philadelphia. A* 300

Grässl war unter ihnen.

„But Father Graessel never faltered. Night and day as long as his strength held out he was ready to aid and minister to the sick, to comfort them in their sufferings, to attend to their wants, both spiritual and temporal. Catholic or Protestant, black or white, all received the same kind treatment at his hands. This he continued until he himself, some time in October 1793, fell a victim to the dread disease.“<sup>114</sup>

Sein Tod war der Bevölkerung lange nicht bekannt geworden, da auch die Zeitungen z.T. nicht erschienen. Matthew Carey erwähnte ihn später zweimal in seinem, in mehreren Auflagen und Übersetzungen erschienenen Werk „A Short Account of the Malignant Fever Lately Prevalent in Philadelphia, with a Statement of the Proceedings that took place on the Subject in Different Parts of the United States.“<sup>115</sup> In der vierten Auflage aus dem Jahr 1794 heißt es:

“To the clergy it has likewise proved very fatal. Exposed in the exercise of the last duties to the dying to equal danger with the physicians, it is not surprising that so many of them have fallen. Their names are, the Rev. Alexander Murray of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Rev. F.A. Fleming and the Rev. Lawrence Graesl [sic!] of the Roman Catholic, the Rev. James Sproat of the Presbyterian, the Rev. William Dougherty of the Friend's Society . . . . We shall long have to mourn the severe loss the city has felt in being bereft of so many valuable citizens, and had the 17,000 who retired been in the city during the prevalence of the disorder and lost as large a proportion of their number as those did who remained, we should instead of 4000 dead have lost nearly 6000, and perhaps had to deplore in the number another Clow, a Cay, a Lea, a Sims, a Dunkin, a Strawbridge, men of extensive business, whose loss will be long felt; a Pennington, a Glenworth, a Hutchison, a Sargeant, a Howell, a Waring men endowed by Heaven with eminent abilities; a Fleming, a Graesl, a Sproat, men of exalted piety and virtue; a Wilson, an Adgate, a Baldwin, a Carrol, a Tompkins, an Offley, citizens of the most estimable character.“<sup>116</sup>

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*Year History*, hg. Russell F. Weigley u.a. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1982) SS. 155-205, hier: 190.

<sup>114</sup> Herbermann, „The Reverend Lawrence Graessel,“ 213.

<sup>115</sup> Herbermann, „The Reverend Lawrence Graessel,“ 213.

<sup>116</sup> Matthew Carey, *A Short Account of the Malignant Fever Lately Prevalent in Philadelphia, with a Statement of the Proceedings that took place on the Subject in Different Parts of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1794) zitiert nach Herbermann, „The Reverend Lawrence Graessel,“ 213; Sally F. Griffith, „A Total Dissolution of the Bounds of Society: Community Death and Regeneration



de La Saucedá. Après ce premier succès, l'évangélisation fut menée de front par quatre jésuites. Le P. Ramírez et le F. Carrera se concentrèrent sur la conversion des Tépéhuanes de la région de La Saucedá, tandis qu'au P. Espinosa et au F. Beltrán fut confiée la conversion des indigènes de la région de la Lagune.<sup>65</sup> Ainsi, depuis l'arrivée du P. Ramírez plus de 200 Tépéhuanes s'étaient convertis. La plupart habitait des villages de la vallée de La Saucedá.<sup>66</sup> Toutefois, en mai, l'absence du P. Ramírez, en voyage vers Zacatecas, et une épidémie de variole en cours à travers les territoires tépéhuane et zacatéque freinèrent le processus d'évangélisation. Plus de 150 indigènes tépéhuanes des villages voisins de Guadiana succombèrent à cette épidémie. En juin, le P. Ramírez reprit son travail et remonta le cours de la rivière Santiago pénétrant dans le territoire des Tépéhuanes des vallées orientales.<sup>67</sup>

C'est donc un peu plus de vingt ans après avoir débarqué sur le sol de la Nouvelle-Espagne et quelques années après s'être établis à Guadiana (Durango), que les jésuites commencèrent à évangéliser les Tépéhuanes des vallées orientales<sup>68</sup> du Durango situées au nord de la ville de Guadiana. C'était l'été 1596. De juin 1596 au printemps 1597, des églises et des chapelles furent édifiées pour la première fois par le P. Ramírez et le F. Carrera dans plus d'une dizaine d'établissements indigènes: à Tenerapa, à Papasquiario (Santiago Papasquiario) et le long de la rivière Santiago, dans les vallées d'Atotonilco et de Santa Catarina (Tepéhuanes), ainsi que dans la région de Guanaceví.<sup>69</sup>

Toutefois, comme le contrôle social de la population ne pouvait se faire qu'en regroupant et sédentarisant la population autant indigène qu'espagnole, au cours de l'été 1597, malgré l'opposition des chamans et d'une partie de la population, trois missions furent fondées sur l'emplacement de villages indigènes: Santiago Papasquiario sur la rivière Santiago,

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<sup>65</sup> Alegre et al., *Historia*, II, 469-70; ARSI, Mex.14, ff. 157<sup>v</sup>-159<sup>r</sup>, 178<sup>r</sup>; Decorme, *La Obra*, II, 46; Dunne, *Pioneer*, pp. 34-35; *Mon. Mex.*, VI, 237-39; Saravia, *Apuntes*, I, 233-34; Zambrano, *Diccionario*, II, 638; XII, 350.

<sup>66</sup> En 1575 se trouvait dans cette vallée le village de Cacaría où vivaient 200 familles indigènes et un autre village proche de La Saucedá, Capinamais, avec une population estimée à un millier d'indigènes. Vers 1580, ces deux villages comptaient chacun plus ou moins un millier d'habitants. Voir J. Lloyd Mecham, *Francisco de Ibarra and Nueva Vizcaya* (Durham, 1968 [reprint]) p. 231.

<sup>67</sup> ARSI, Mex.16, f. 152<sup>v</sup>; *Mon. Mex.*, VI, 327.

<sup>68</sup> On désigne par "vallées orientales," la région formée par les bassins des rivières Santiago, Tepéhuanes, Ramos et Zape-Sextín, située dans la partie nord-ouest de l'état du Durango (voir carte 2).

<sup>69</sup> Alegre et al., *Historia*, II, 470-71; AHPM, Colección Ant. Mss. II 31, ff. 23<sup>v</sup>-24<sup>r</sup>; ARSI, Mex. 14, ff. 157<sup>r</sup>, 159<sup>v</sup>-160<sup>r</sup>, 177<sup>r</sup>, 179<sup>r</sup>, 195<sup>v</sup>-196<sup>r</sup>; Mex. 16, ff. 152<sup>v</sup>-157<sup>r</sup>; Pérez de Ribas, *Historia*, pp. 576-79; *Mon. Mex.*, VI, 233, 241-42, 329, 332, 425-28.

kostete, drang bald auch in seine Heimat. Ein Brief von Ignaz Pummer<sup>121</sup> vom 12. März 1794 betrauerte den Tod von Grässl als den Verlust seines besten Freundes. Pater Heinrich Kemper verfasste am 18. Februar 1794 in Lüttich einen lateinischen Bericht über den Tod des ernannten Bischofs, den der Beichtvater der verwitweten Churfürstin ins Deutsche übersetzte. Er richtet sich ausdrücklich an die „Patern der bayerischen Provinz.“ Dass der Verfasser damit die in Bayern verbliebenen Jesuiten meinte, ist nicht auszuschliessen.

„Ich mache Euer Hochwürden, und allen Ehrwürdigen Patern der bayerischen Provinz den glorreichen Tod des Hochwürdigen Lorenz Grässl bekannt, der zu Philadelphia im nordischen America als ein Schlachtopfer der Liebe verschied. Eine ansteckende Krankheit entvölkerte beym Ende des verflossenen Jahres diese Stadt. Er ist wegen seinen ganz besonderen Seelen und Naturgaben zum Coadjutor des Baltmorischen Bischofen erwählt worden, dem er in seiner bischöflichen Würde nachfolgen sollte. Unterdessen aber versah er noch immer zu Philadelphia das Amt des unermüdeten Missionars um eben dieser Zeit, da dort die schreckliche Pest wüthete. Alle übrigen Diener verschiedener Religionen entzogen sich der herannahenden Gefahr durch die Flucht, nur er allein, mit noch einem Gesellen der Mission, ein Irländer, aus dem Orden der heiligen Dominicanum hielten zum größten Trost aller Einwohner standhaft aus, und zeigten dadurch den wahren Unterschied zwischen einem Hirten, und einem Miethlinge. Ganze Tage und ganze Nächte brachten sie ununterbrochen im Dienste der Kranken zu, welch immer für einen Glauben oder Sekte sie auch seyn mochten; bis endlich beyde, vom vielen Arbeiten entkräftet, als ein Opfer des Eyfers und der Liebe unterliegen mussten. Der Tag seines seligen Hinscheidens ist noch nicht bekannt.“<sup>122</sup>

## VII. „The saintly and heroic“: Die Erinnerung an Lorenz Grässl

Nun wird deutlich, warum Johann Michael Sailer so beeindruckt und so entsetzt über den Verlust seines Studienfreundes war. Seines Schicksals erinnerte er sich wohl gerade in den Momenten, in denen ihn selbst die Last der Regensburger Inful zu Boden drückte. Wenn Grässl länger gelebt hätte, wäre es ihm vielleicht auch vergönnt gewesen, wie Sailer *die* prägende Gestalt

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<sup>121</sup> Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Brief von Ignaz Pummer aus München vom 12. März 1794 an „P.r. Gerhard des löbl. Stifts und Klosters Gotteszell Professen“, bezeichnet mit der Ziffer „10.“ Diesem Brief ist der lateinische Originalbericht des P. Heinrich Kemper angefügt.

<sup>122</sup> Pfarrarchiv Ruhmannsfelden/Diözese Regensburg: Übersetzung des Briefes von P. Heinrich Kemper vom 18. Februar 1794 durch P. Ungerer, bezeichnet mit der Ziffer „11.“

für eine ganze Priestergeneration zu werden. Joseph Kirlin bezeichnete ihn in seiner Geschichte des Katholizismus in Philadelphia als einen Mann, dessen selbstloses Leben am Ende die Krone der Märtyrer zierte; es habe keinen eifrigeren und hingebungsvolleren Priester in Philadelphia gegeben, dem man die Bischofswürde hätte antragen können. Der amerikanische Kirchenhistoriker Henry Herbermann fasst zusammen:

„The meagerness of the information that we possess about his life should not lead us to the erroneous deduction that he was not a heroic character. On the contrary, what little knowledge we have been able to glean from the sources available must force upon us the conviction that he was a man whose life if known in all its full detail would be an inspiration and a model to future generations. The unfortunate circumstances . . . are responsible for the meager knowledge we have of the saintly and heroic Father Graessel.”<sup>123</sup>

### Summary

Lorenz Grässl joined the Society of Jesus in 1772, where he made friends with Johann Michael Sailer, the future bishop of Regensburg. After the Suppression of the Society, he studied at the University of Ingolstadt and was ordained around 1780. He later worked as a private tutor for a noble family in Munich. In 1785, he established contact with the ex-Jesuit Ferdinand Steinmeyer (known in English as Farmer); in 1787, he travelled to the United States in order to accept a position as missionary. Another ex-Jesuit John Carroll, superior of the American clergy, appointed Grässl pastor of St. Mary's Parish in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Since important members of the parish were much more in favor of the Capuchin priest Johannes Helbron, who also came from Germany, they rejected Grässl's appointment; this initiated an unpleasant period of strife between these parish members and John Carroll that lasted until 1791. But Lorenz Grässl did not get involved in the dispute; his main goal was the pastoral care for his parish. He worked not only in Philadelphia, but also in the surrounding area to care for the pastoral needs of the European immigrants. In May of 1793, he was appointed coadjutor bishop and successor of the first American bishop, John Carroll. But meanwhile during an outbreak of yellow fever in Philadelphia, Grässl, along with a few other Catholic and non-Catholic pastors, refused to leave

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<sup>123</sup> Herbermann, „The Reverend Lawrence Graessel,” 209. Obwohl nach der Einschätzung der Zeitzeugen und späterer Historiographen Grässl durchaus ein heroischer Tugendcharakter zuerkannt werden darf, erwähnt ihn F.G. Holweck, „An American Martyrology,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 6 (1921) 495-516 nicht; andere „Diener Gottes” wie Junipero Serra, Bischof Johann N. Neumann u.a. sind aufgenommen, weil ihnen damals bereits ein heroischer und heiligmässiger Charakter zuerkannt war.

the city but remained to take visit the sick and bring them the sacraments. Grässl died from the same fever. His letters from 1775/76 to 1793, edited in this article, provide an insight into this nearly forgotten pioneer and hero of American Catholicism, to whom some historians refer as a “forgotten martyr.”

# LA NUEVA EXPRESIÓN DE LA POBREZA RELIGIOSA DE LA COMPAÑÍA DE JESÚS: GÉNESIS, VALORACIÓN Y PERSPECTIVAS

Urbano Valero, S.J.\*

La Compañía de Jesús ha estado empeñada recientemente durante bastante años, de modo más sistemático de 1946 a 1975—antes, por tanto, ya y después del Concilio Vaticano II—en acomodar el régimen original de su pobreza religiosa a las nuevas circunstancias, internas de la misma Compañía y externas a ella, propias del ámbito en que se desarrollaba su vida y apostolado, profundamente cambiadas con respecto a aquellas en que nació.<sup>2</sup> Esta acomodación se proponía mantener el espíritu original, encamándolo en las nuevas situaciones, a través de “nuevas estructuras,” y pretendía actualizar la pureza primera de la pobreza de la Compañía en unas circunstancias ambientales fuertemente cambiadas, procurando captar sus exigencias y responder a ellas con sinceridad y sin ficciones forzadas. Así lo atestiguan expresamente las Congregaciones Generales 31 (1965-66) y 32 (1974-75):

Para que esta pobreza esté más plenamente en vigor, busca la Compañía adaptarse y renovarse en este respecto, tanto por una vuelta a la genuina doctrina evangélica y a la inspiración primera de la Compañía, como por una adaptación de nuestro derecho a las condiciones nuevas de los tiempos, de manera que se cambie en cuanto sea preciso la letra de la norma, pero no el espíritu de la misma, que ha de conservarse íntegro.

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<sup>2</sup> Sobre este mismo tema, Ignacio Iglesias, S.I., “Cincuenta años de itinerario sobre la pobreza en la Compañía de Jesús (1938-1987),” *Manresa* 59 (1987) 289-307.

Esta adaptación y renovación ha de alcanzar no solamente las normas jurídicas, sino las formas de nuestra pobreza, de manera que respondan verdaderamente a nuestros tiempos, a su mentalidad, su vida y su apostolado y constituyan un testimonio visible del Evangelio.<sup>3</sup>

Esto es lo que más desea nuestra Congregación y lo que pide a Dios en favor de la Compañía: una pobreza profundamente renovada,—sencilla en su expresión comunitaria, y feliz en el seguimiento de Cristo;—entusiasta en compartir todos los bienes, unos con otros, y con los demás;—apostólica en la indiferencia activa y en la disponibilidad para toda clase de servicio a los demás;—inspiradora en la selección de ministerios, para que se ayude a los que más lo necesitan;—espiritualmente eficaz, de modo que en todo lo que se haga, el mismo género de vida sea anuncio de Cristo.<sup>4</sup>

Así lo expresaba también el P. Pedro Arrupe<sup>5</sup> en su carta a toda la Compañía, de 8 de septiembre de 1976, al promulgar los nuevos Estatutos de la Pobreza.<sup>6</sup>

De esta acomodación, preparada durante treinta años con largos y concienzudos estudios y realizada escrupulosamente con la mejor intención, se ocuparon principalmente las Congregaciones Generales 31 y 32. Después de un periodo experimental de aplicación de los resultados, la Congregación General 33 (1983) la aprobó definitivamente. La reforma ha sido profunda y de largo alcance. Como algunos de sus puntos podrían comprometer las disposiciones respectivas de la "Fórmula del Instituto," documento fundacional constitutivo de la Compañía, aprobada por los Papas Paulo III (1540) y Julio III (1550),<sup>7</sup> se pidió y se obtuvo la aprobación de aquellos puntos por la Santa Sede.<sup>8</sup>

En este estudio nos proponemos: exponer la génesis de esta reforma y sus líneas esenciales; examinar el grado y el modo de su coherencia con la pobreza

<sup>3</sup> CG 31 d. 18 nn. 5-6. En este artículo seguiré el modo corriente de citar empleado en la Compañía de Jesús, y usaré la sigla CG como abreviatura de Congregación General. Aunque he usado la edición española de los documentos de las más recientes Congregaciones Generales (*Congregación General XXXI, Documentos* [Zaragoza, 1966]; *Congregación General XXXII de la Compañía de Jesús* [Madrid: Razón y Fe, 1975]; *Congregación General XXXIII* [Bilbao: Mensajero, 1983]; *Congregación General 34* [Roma: Curia del Preposito General, 1995]), me referiré simplemente a los decretos y sus números respectivos, sin hacer mención de la página en la edición española, para que los lectores puedan comprobar más fácilmente las referencias en su propio idioma.

<sup>4</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 14.

<sup>5</sup> \*14.xi.1907 Bilbao; SJ 15.i.1927 Loyola; electus 22.v.1965; †5.ii.1991 Roma (*DHCJ*, II, 1697).

<sup>6</sup> *Acta Romana* 16 (1973-76) 911ss

<sup>7</sup> La "Fórmula del Instituto" se puede encontrar generalmente en la introducción a las ediciones corrientes de las *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús*.

<sup>8</sup> La aprobación definitiva fue comunicada por carta del Secretario de Estado de Su Santidad, Card. Agostino Casaroli, de 3 de noviembre de 1983 (*Acta Romana* 18 [1980-83] 1100).

original de la Compañía; valorar su aptitud para el fin pretendido y para dar un efectivo testimonio de pobreza evangélica, conforme al carisma propio de aquella, en el mundo actual; y apuntar las, o, al menos, algunas condiciones necesarias para su aplicación efectiva, pedidas, en realidad, por ella misma explícita o implícitamente.

### I. Antecedentes

1. Los problemas relativos a la pobreza personal e institucional de la Compañía estuvieron muy presentes en sus mismos orígenes, en los fundadores (diversas y sucesivas deliberaciones sobre la materia)<sup>9</sup> y, de modo especial, en San Ignacio,<sup>10</sup> particularmente en el prolongado discernimiento que recoge su *Diario espiritual*.<sup>11</sup> En estas deliberaciones se trataba de expresar el deseo de suma "pobreza espiritual," con el que los primeros compañeros querían seguir al Señor, en adecuadas formas concretas de "pobreza actual." El conjunto del régimen de pobreza religiosa de la Compañía se expresa ya con bastante claridad en los documentos iniciales.<sup>12</sup> Solamente el punto concreto de la posibilidad de recibir rentas fijas y estables, por parte de las sacristías e iglesias, siguió ocupando a San Ignacio, como muestran las deliberaciones recogidas en el *Diario espiritual*, quedando zanjado en sentido negativo, según se establece definitivamente en la "Fórmula del Instituto" aprobada por Julio III, mediante la Bula "*Exposcit debitum*," de 12 de agosto de 1550.<sup>13</sup> Este régimen de pobreza se declara y se puntualiza más pormenorizadamente en las *Constituciones*.

De acuerdo con todos estos documentos, la pobreza religiosa originaria de la Compañía se configura así:<sup>14</sup>

#### 1.1. Como presupuesto, se parte de una distinción radical entre el régimen de

<sup>9</sup> *Constitutiones I*, pp. 34 ss; pp. 78-81.

<sup>10</sup> Véase Manuel Ruiz Jurado, S.J., "La pobreza en el carisma fundacional ignaciano," *Manresa* 52 (1980) 47-64.

<sup>11</sup> El texto español del *Diario Espiritual* puede encontrarse en San Ignacio de Loyola, *Obras*, ed. Ignacio Iparraguirre, S.I., Cándido Dalmases, S.I., Manuel Ruiz Jurado, S.I. (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1997) pp. 359-430.

<sup>12</sup> Así ya en la "*Prima Societatis Iesu Instituti Summa*," de agosto 1539, *Constitutiones I*, pp. 14-23.

<sup>13</sup> *Constitutiones I*, pp. 373-83; cfr. "Deliberatio S. P. N. Ignatii de Paupertate, 1544," pp. 78-81.

<sup>14</sup> Sigo en esta síntesis a Antonio de Aldama, S.I., *Iniciación al estudio de las Constituciones* (Roma: CIS, 1979) pp. 215-21. Para una información más amplia, Antonio de Aldama, S.I., *La vida religiosa en la Compañía de Jesús, Comentario a la Parte VI de las Constituciones* (Roma: CIS, 1989) pp. 71-252. Véase también la síntesis de Ladislav Lukács, S.I., "De origine collegiorum externorum deque controversiis circa eorum paupertatem obortis. Pars altera: 1557-1608," *AHSI* 30 (1961) 4-8; Thomas M. McCoog, S.I., "The Finances of the English Province of the Society of Jesus in the Seventeenth Century: Introduction," *Recusant History* 18 (1986) 14-33, especialmente 15-17.

pobreza de las Casas e iglesias y el de los Colegios de los Escolares. Para comprender mejor lo que esto significaba realmente entonces, se podría formular lo mismo diciendo que en la "Fórmula" y en las *Constituciones* se prevé un régimen de pobreza "para la Compañía profesa," o simplemente "para la Compañía," y otro distinto para las casas y colegios donde se preparaban los que habían de "entrar" en ella mediante la incorporación definitiva. El régimen de pobreza de las Casas era, en realidad, el "régimen de pobreza de la Compañía" y de los definitivamente incorporados a ella; mientras que el régimen de pobreza de los Colegios, aunque bajo la supervisión de la Compañía profesa, era el régimen de los que se preparaban para "entrar" e incorporarse a ella.

1.2. El régimen de pobreza de las Casas de la Compañía ("de la Compañía," según se acaba de decir) se basaba en los siguientes principios fundamentales:

a) imposibilidad de percibir rentas fijas y de tener posesiones:

a) rentas fijas: "en las Casas o iglesias que la Compañía aceptará para ayudar a las ánimas, no se pueda tener renta ninguna, ni aun para la sacristía o fábrica [edificio de la iglesia]; ni para otra cosa alguna, en manera que la Compañía tenga alguna disposición de ella; confiando en el Señor nuestro, a quien ella, mediante su divina gracia, sirve, que sin que tenga renta, mandará proveer en todo cuanto pudiere ser en su mayor alabanza y gloria."<sup>15</sup> "lo cual se entiende no solamente de los particulares, pero aun de las iglesias o Casas de la Compañía Profesa."<sup>16</sup>

b) posesiones: "no solamente renta, pero ni posesiones algunas tengan las casas o iglesias de la Compañía, en particular ni en común, fuera de lo que para su habitación y uso necesario o muy conveniente les fuese; como sería si se tomase para los que convalecen, y se recogen para insistir en las cosas espirituales, algún lugar apartado de la común habitación por mejor aire o otras partes que tenga; y entonces sea cosa que no se alquile a otros ni dé frutos equivalentes a la renta."<sup>17</sup> Por ello, "no tendrá la Compañía derecho civil para retener cosa alguna estable, fuera de lo que para habitación y uso fuere oportuno; cualquier cosa estable que fuese dada, sea obligada la Compañía a deshacerse de ella lo más presto que pueda, vendiéndola para socorrer a la necesidad de los pobres de la Compañía o fuera de ella."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> *Cons.* [555]; cfr. "Fórmula del Instituto," n. 7. En adelante me referiré a las *Constituciones* con la abreviatura *Cons.*, con el correspondiente número marginal del párrafo.

<sup>16</sup> *Cons.* [4].

<sup>17</sup> *Cons.* [561; 4]; cfr. "Fórmula del Instituto," n. 7.

<sup>18</sup> *Cons.* [562]; cfr. "Fórmula del Instituto," n. 7.



b) renuncia efectiva y definitiva a los propios bienes, desde la entrada misma en la Compañía: “. . . antes que en alguna Casa o Colegio de ella [la Compañía] comiencen a vivir en obediencia, deben distribuir todos los bienes temporales que tuvieren y renunciar y disponer de los que esperaren. . . haciendo la tal distribución conforme a la propia devoción y apartando de sí toda confianza de poder haber en tiempo alguno los tales bienes,”<sup>19</sup> “o no dejándolos luego por algunas causas honestas, prometerá de dejarlos prontamente todos (como está dicho) pasado un año de su entrada, cuando quiera que por el Superior le fuere ordenado durante lo demás del tiempo de probación, el qual acabado, antes de la profesión los Profesos, y de los tres votos los Coadjutores, con efecto los han de dejar y distribuir a pobres (como es dicho).”<sup>20</sup>

c) gratuidad de los ministerios: “todas personas que están a obediencia en la Compañía se acuerden que deben dar gratis lo que gratis recibieron; no demandando ni aceptando estipendio ni limosna alguna en recompensa de Misas i Confesiones o predicar o leer o visitar, o cualquier otro oficio de los que puede ejercitar la Compañía, según nuestro Instituto.”<sup>21</sup>

d) como consecuencia, vivir de limosna—“los Profesos vivan de limosna en las casas, cuando no son enviados fuera; y no tengan cargo ordinario de Rectores de los Colegios o de la Universidades de la Compañía (si por la necesidad de ellas no fuese, o notable utilidad); ni se ayuden en las Casas de las rentas de ellas;”<sup>22</sup>—“los Coadjutores estando en las Casas de la Compañía vivirán de limosna como en ellas se vive.” No habiendo necesidad, “no deberán residir en ellos [los Colegios], sino en Casas de la Compañía, como de los Profesos se ha dicho.”<sup>23</sup>

e) tenor de vida de pobres: “su comer, beber, vestir, calzar y dormir, si a la Compañía le place seguir, será como cosa propia de pobres.”<sup>24</sup> “Y en el comer y vestir y las demás cosas exteriores seguirá el uso común y aprobado de los honestos sacerdotes, para que lo que de esto se quitare cada uno, o por necesidad o por deseo de su espiritual aprovechamiento, lo ofrezcan a Dios

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<sup>19</sup> *Cons.* [53].

<sup>20</sup> *Cons.* [54]; cfr. [255, 287, 348, 571].

<sup>21</sup> *Cons.* [4, 565]; cfr. “Fórmula del Instituto,” n. 7.

<sup>22</sup> *Cons.* [557].

<sup>23</sup> *Cons.* [560].

<sup>24</sup> *Cons.* [81]; cfr. *Cons.* [296, 297, 577-81].

como servicio razonable de sus cuerpos, no de obligación, sino de devoción.”<sup>25</sup>

Los motivos de este régimen de pobreza eran para San Ignacio<sup>26</sup> y los primeros compañeros primordialmente espirituales y apostólicos, tales como:—experiencia del valor espiritual de la pobreza evangélica, considerada “como madre,” y de su fuerza de edificación para con el prójimo;—imitación de Cristo pobre y de los Apóstoles que participaban de su pobreza;—confianza total en la divina providencia, desde el despojo y carencia de bienes materiales;—más libertad y edificación de los prójimos en el servicio apostólico. Así, en numerosos lugares del *Diario espiritual*, en la “Fórmula del Instituto” (n. 7) y en las *Constituciones* [287, 555, 565]. A estos motivos se añadiría la participación en la suerte de los pobres, porque “la amistad con los pobres nos hace amigos del Rey eterno.”<sup>27</sup>

Desde un punto de vista institucional, la pobreza de la Compañía es vista por Ignacio como “muro y baluarte de la religión,”<sup>28</sup> que “la conserva en su ser y disciplina y la defiende de muchos enemigos,” por lo que instauró el voto simple que habían de hacer los Profesos “de no ser en alterarlo que a la pobreza toca en las Constituciones, si no fuese en alguna manera . . . para más estrecharla.” Por eso, la fiel observancia de la misma es enumerada entre los medios que importan “para la conservación y aumento de todo este cuerpo.”<sup>29</sup>

1.3. El régimen de pobreza de los Colegios era sustancialmente distinto:<sup>30</sup> por necesidad de sustentar a los Escolares que en ellos vivían y se formaban, éstos podían tener bienes y posesiones y percibir rentas fijas para ese fin; pero, sin que “la Compañía,” teniendo a su cargo su gobierno y superintendencia, pudiera beneficiarse de ellos ni de ellas.<sup>31</sup> Este régimen, por la misma forma en que surgieron en la Compañía los Colegios para alumnos externos,<sup>32</sup> se aplicó tradicionalmente a éstos, “según la práctica perpetua de la Compañía recibida

<sup>25</sup> “Fórmula del Instituto,” n. 8.

<sup>26</sup> Véase Ruiz Jurado, “La pobreza,” 52-57.

<sup>27</sup> Carta a los Padres y Hermanos de Padua, 7 agosto 1547, escrita por Juan de Polanco, por comisión de San Ignacio, *Epp. Ign.* I, 572-77. En ella se nos presenta con gran fuerza la motivación específica de la pobreza de la Compañía.

<sup>28</sup> *Cons.* [553, 816].

<sup>29</sup> *Cons.* [816].

<sup>30</sup> McCoog, “Finances,” 18-19, equipara el régimen de pobreza de las Casas al modelo de la pobreza de las Ordenes mendicantes y el de la de los Colegios al de las Ordenes monásticas.

<sup>31</sup> *Cons.* [5, 557]; cfr. “Fórmula del Instituto,” n. 8.

<sup>32</sup> Cfr. Ladislaus Lukács, S.I., “De origine collegiorum, Pars prior: 1539-1556; Pars altera: 1557-1608,” *AHSI* 29 (1960) 189-245; 30 (1961) 3-89.

desde el tiempo del Santo Fundador.<sup>33</sup> Es interesante notar aquí cómo la rápida, podría decirse vertiginosa, multiplicación de los colegios, especialmente para externos, y, en muchos casos, muy pequeños, en las tres últimas décadas del siglo XVI y la simultánea escasez de "Casas profesas" en aquel momento, con el consiguiente encuadramiento claramente mayoritario de los Profesos y Coadjutores formados en ellos, tuvieron como consecuencia que en esa época la mayor parte de la Compañía viviera bajo el régimen de pobreza de los Colegios, y no, como habría sido la primera intención fundacional y parece que la intención prevalente de las *Constitutiones*, bajo el régimen propio de las "Casas," que sería, como se ha dicho, el régimen de pobreza "de la Compañía." La vigencia de este régimen se fue haciendo, al menos comparativamente, escasamente visible en la Compañía. Un doble movimiento, que se fue imponiendo en el cambio de siglo, por el que, por una parte, se tendía a restringir las fundaciones de Colegios y, por otra, a fomentar la creación de Casas Profesas y, más aún la nueva figura de "Residencias de misiones" o, diríamos hoy, "Residencias para ministerios," con el mismo régimen de pobreza de las "Casas profesas,"<sup>34</sup> fue poco a poco recomponiendo la situación.<sup>35</sup> Como consecuencia de él, para la mitad del siglo XVII, los tipos definidos de domicilios de la Compañía, que llegan casi hasta nuestros días,<sup>36</sup> eran tres: las Casas profesas, las Residencias de ministerios asimiladas a ellas y los Colegios, que, incluían tanto los reservados principalmente para los estudiantes jesuitas,

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<sup>33</sup> Así lo declaró la CG VI (1608), en su decreto 18; cfr. *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, 3 vols. (Florentiae: Ex Typographia a SS Conceptione, 1892-93) II, 295 s. Sobre esta conclusión y sobre las agitadas preocupaciones y controversias, que ocuparon a la Compañía durante las décadas precedentes, véase Lukács, "De origine collegiorum, Pars altera," 8-45 y McCoog, "Finances," 20-21. Sin embargo, no obstante la gran luz que estos estudios proyectan sobre el proceso del origen de los Colegios de externos en la Compañía y, concretamente, sobre el asunto específico del régimen de su pobreza, con las consecuencias que de él derivaban, no parece que pueda concluirse de ellos con certeza que estos efectos hubieran sido expresamente previstos y pretendidos por San Ignacio, aunque indudablemente él impulsó el proceso. La CG VI, de hecho, para zanjar el problema, se remite acertadamente a la praxis, no a la mente, de Ignacio y a la tradición siguiente, recurriendo al principio de la costumbre como el mejor intérprete de la ley, y haciendo uso de su competencia, por privilegio, para declarar las dudas acerca del Instituto y de la Fórmula.

<sup>34</sup> Recuérdese, a este propósito, las definiciones de "Domus Professae": quae ad spiritualia Societatis ministeria exercenda destinantur et in quibus praecipue elucere debet puritas Instituti nostri" y de "Residentiae": domus ad sacra ministeria destinatae, et nondum in Domos Professas erectae," que recogía hasta hace muy poco tiempo el *Epitome Instituti Societatis Iesu* (Romae: Apud Curiam Praepositi Generalis, 1962) n. 29 §1, 2º y 5º.

<sup>35</sup> Sobre este proceso, que está también presente en el estudio de Lukács, y sobre sus implicaciones legislativas en la Compañía, véase especialmente McCoog, "Finances," 18-21.

<sup>36</sup> Cfr. *Epitome Instituti*, n. 29 §1, donde se añaden posteriormente las "Casas de Ejercicios" y las "Casas de Escritores."

incluidas sus casas de formación, como los colegios de externos. Los Colegios, en este sentido amplio, llegaron a ser la columna vertebral del habitat y de la población de la Compañía, aparte de constituir una de sus mayores contribuciones a la cultura occidental.<sup>37</sup>

1.4. Como aplicación y consecuencia del régimen típico de pobreza “de la Compañía,” (el de las Casas), aparte de la repercusión de la misma en la vida personal, en cuanto a incapacidad de los formados para adquirir y poseer bienes, tenor de vida propio de pobres, vida de pobreza participada en común:

a) “la Compañía y las Provincias, en cuanto distintas de sus Colegios y casas, no pueden [podían] retener réditos ni posesión alguna para el sustento ni para otra cosa alguna, ni derecho civil ni acción civil respecto de ningún rédito estable”;<sup>38</sup>

b) las Casas (profesas) no podían percibir rentas fijas ni poseer bienes más que los estrictamente necesarios para la habitación y el uso, propio de personas pobres, contentándose con lo que les viniera de los fieles por vía de limosna;

c) no se podían recibir estipendios de misas ni de ministerios ni remuneración por trabajos realizados, sino a título de simple limosna libremente ofrecida;

d) no se podían recibir “minervalia” o pensiones por la enseñanza impartida a los alumnos externos.

2. Este régimen ha estado formalmente vigente hasta las modificaciones introducidas por la CG 31 y la formulación de los Estatutos de la pobreza confeccionados por mandato suyo (d. 18 n. 20), promulgados *ad experimentum* hasta la siguiente Congregación General el día 15 de septiembre de 1967.<sup>39</sup>

Sin embargo, ante el apremio de necesidades vitales, hubo que obtener dispensas pontificias del derecho propio para poder recibir pensiones por enseñanza en los Colegios en algunos lugares (Estados Unidos de América, Inglaterra e Irlanda)<sup>40</sup> y estipendios de misas y, en el caso de parroquias,

<sup>37</sup> McCoog, “Finances,” 22.

<sup>38</sup> Así todavía el *Epítome Instituti*, n. 522 §1.

<sup>39</sup> *Acta Romana* 15 (1967-72) 67-90.

<sup>40</sup> Gregorio XVI, por rescripto de 13 de enero de 1833, concede al Prepósito General de la Compañía de Jesús la facultad de dispensar, según su arbitrio y prudencia, a los Padres de la Compañía dedicados a la educación de la juventud en dichas regiones, de las disposiciones de las Constituciones de la Compañía que prohíben recibir compensación económica por la enseñanza; cfr. *Institutum*, I, 359.

derechos de estola en América y en otros países de misión.<sup>41</sup> La Compañía, por su parte, nunca estuvo satisfecha con estas dispensas y se esforzó cuanto pudo para no tener que hacer uso de ellas. Sobre la recepción de estipendios de misas, el *Epitome Instituti* contenía disposiciones claramente restrictivas, que se mantuvieron hasta la CG 31. La principal de ellas decía así: "La dispensa apostólica concedida para recibir estipendios por Misas y ministerios no se comunique sino por causas gravísimas, y los Superiores cuiden especialmente de que el uso prolongado de ella, aunque legítimo, no dañe a nuestro espíritu ni disminuya el amor de la pobreza. Para ello el Prepósito General cuide de dirigir el uso práctico de esta dispensa, según tiempos y lugares."<sup>42</sup> La CG 31, aun reconociendo que "conforme al derecho vigente de la Iglesia, el recibir estipendios o limosnas de Misas, de suyo no repugna a la gratuidad," añade todavía que "en la práctica se tenga en cuenta la edificación y caridad con los pobres, tanto de dentro como de fuera de la Compañía,"<sup>43</sup> conforme a las normas que dará el P. General.<sup>44</sup> Por lo que se refiere a las pensiones de enseñanza, todavía en la CG 31 (1965) y los Estatutos de la Pobreza de 1967,<sup>45</sup> aun reconociendo que "las pensiones de los Colegios no se oponen de suyo a la gratuidad de los ministerios," dicen que "por la misma intención de la Compañía en el ministerio de educar y formar a la juventud según la mente de San Ignacio, debe decididamente procurarse, según lo permitan las situaciones y circunstancias de los tiempos, volver por diversos medios a la práctica de enseñar sin el recurso a las pensiones."<sup>46</sup>

Todo ello demuestra que la Compañía, a pesar de las dificultades con que se iba encontrando, principalmente por razones apostólicas (falta de medios para promover y sostener obras y actividades que se ofrecían como de gran servicio de Dios y ayuda de las almas) y por razones de estrecha penuria en la vida y

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<sup>41</sup> Cfr. *Institutum*, I, 361.

<sup>42</sup> *Epitome Instituti*, n. 927 §1. Esta disposición reproduce el n. 2 del d. 15 de la CG 26 (1915), que inmediatamente antes dice: "Acercas de nuestra pobreza, después de haber discutido muchos puntos en la Congregación, todos estuvieron de acuerdo en esta especie principios: que reclamemos y, en la medida de nuestras fuerzas, consigamos la gratuidad absoluta y perfecta de nuestros ministerios, excluida por completo toda especie de estipendio con que ellos parezcan ser compensados; y en la misma selección de ministerios no esperemos el fruto temporal, sino abracemos con mayor prontitud y ardor aquéllos que más contribuyen a la gloria de Dios y al bien de las almas, aunque, como sucede ordinariamente, sean más humildes y laboriosos" (*Acta Romana* 2 [1915-18] 36).

<sup>43</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 16 b.

<sup>44</sup> Estas normas de hecho fueron dadas por el General, P. Pedro Arrupe, a 15 de septiembre de 1967 (*Acta Romana* 15 [1967-72] 62).

<sup>45</sup> *Acta Romana* 15 (1967-72) 70.

<sup>46</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 16 c.

sustento de no pocos de sus miembros, mantuvo siempre vivi el deseo de ser fiel, lo más posible, a la letra misma del régimen original de su pobreza, a lo que sin duda ayudó eficazmente el voto simple de los Profesos de no modificar el régimen de la pobreza, si no fuera para estrecharla más.

3. Pero la práctica fiel y rigurosa de ese régimen, a pesar de los más vivos deseos de ella y de los serios esfuerzos realizados por la Compañía para conseguirla,<sup>47</sup> se fue haciendo progresivamente difícil con el paso del tiempo y con la aparición de nuevas circunstancias,<sup>48</sup> particularmente, a lo largo del siglo XX, sobre todo, a partir del segundo tercio de ese siglo.

La aparición de nuevas formas e instituciones de apostolado (Casas de Ejercicios, Casas de Escritores, Centros de investigación y acción social, revistas) y la exigencia de importantes sumas de dinero por parte de ellas y de las ya existentes y que se multiplicaban (Colegios y Universidades, sobre todo), la escasez de limosnas recibidas de los fieles, hicieron que el régimen tradicional de pobreza de la Compañía entrara en crisis y se mostrara inadecuado para la situación y características del momento presente: o no se podía cumplir, sino muy difícilmente, o había que renunciar a obras de apostolado sumamente útiles para nuestro tiempo.

Por otra parte, las circunstancias históricas y socio-económicas habían cambiado radicalmente, en relación con el tiempo en que surge la Compañía. Las condiciones de los nuevos tiempos podrían estar pidiendo formas de expresión de la pobreza de la Compañía, que fieles al espíritu original y a los principios inspiradores que de él derivaban, se ajustaran mejor a las circunstancias y espresaran más significativamente aquel espíritu y aquellos principios, sin empeñarse en mantener prácticas menos conformes con el espíritu del tiempo, que a la vez resultaban sofocantes para la vidas apostólica de la Compañía. Influyó también el cambio de mentalidad, por ejemplo, respecto de la legitimidad y aun ejemplaridad de vivir del propio trabajo más que (y no) de limosnas, de modo compatible con una vida auténticamente pobre y exigido por ella.

Se iba incubando una desazón e inquietud progresiva—en realidad, un verdadero problema de conciencia colectivo—que desembocaría en una más clara percepción del mismo y de la necesidad inaplazable de su solución.

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<sup>47</sup> A ello, en parte, puede deberse su abundante legislación, marcadamente—y quizá también exageradamente—detallada y prolija en esta materia.

<sup>48</sup> Así ya en 1824 se obtiene del Papa la facultad de que el P. General pueda dispensar en ciertos casos de la prohibición de recibir *estipendios de misas* (*Institutum*, I, 662 n. 523) e igualmente para momentos y situaciones de dispersión (n. 525). De modo semejante, el 18 de enero de 1833, se obtuvo la posibilidad de dispensar de la prohibición de recibir *pensiones* de los alumnos de los Colegios en los Estados Unidos de América, Inglaterra e Irlanda, véase *Institutum*, I, 359.

## II. Génesis y Contenido

### 4. Toma oficial de conciencia de la nueva situación.

Las Congregaciones Generales, a lo largo del segundo tercio del siglo XX, se van haciendo cargo paulatinamente de este problema; pero un intento de solución global del mismo tardó bastantes años en llegar.

La CG 28 (1938) "para que la pobreza religiosa, que es firme muro y baluarte de la religión, se conserve indemne aun en nuestros tiempos y se promueva su observancia," hizo unas recomendaciones apremiantes, principalmente de carácter espiritual (formación esmerada de los jóvenes jesuitas en el espíritu y práctica de la pobreza; dependencia de los Superiores en el uso de las cosas temporales; práctica fiel de la vida común de parte de súbditos y Superiores; importancia de mostrarse como verdaderos seguidores de la pobreza evangélica para aumentar el fruto del trabajo apostólico),<sup>49</sup> e insistió normativamente en el cumplimiento de algunas disposiciones sobre la administración de bienes y en concreto sobre la observancia de la Instrucción de Administración temporal de bienes.<sup>50</sup>

La CG 29 (1946) trató un buen número de cuestiones particulares relativas a la pobreza común de la Compañía (por ejemplo, sobre el estado jurídico de la Curia Provincial separada de las demás Residencias y Colegios; de la edición de libros; del Arca Seminarii; del sujeto de dominio de los bienes muebles e inmuebles; de las rentas de las Casas de Ejercicios, y otras semejantes). La Congregación decidió, después de discutir las diversas cuestiones, no introducir modificación alguna en nuestro derecho, sino pedir al Preósito General que constituyera, según su prudencia, una Comisión para considerar diligentemente las dificultades que para nuestra pobreza se derivan de las presentes circunstancias económicas,<sup>51</sup> y que presente las conclusiones de su trabajo a la futura Congregación General.<sup>52</sup>

La CG 30 (1959) trató diversas cuestiones concretas relativas a la pobreza. En este ámbito, recomendó a todos los jesuitas la consideración asidua y la fiel

<sup>49</sup> *Acta Romana* 9 (1938-40) 27 s.

<sup>50</sup> *Acta Romana* 9 (1938-40) 28 s.

<sup>51</sup> *Acta Romana* 11 (1946-50) 23.

<sup>52</sup> El P. General Jean B. Janssens (\*22.xii.1889 Mechlin; SJ 23.ix.1907 Drongen; electus 15.ix.1946; †5.x.1964 Roma [DHCJ, II, 1690]) en su carta de 15 de septiembre de 1951 a toda la Compañía "Sobre nuestra pobreza" (*Acta Romana* 12 [1951-55] 108-124), alude al trabajo que está realizando la Comisión sobre la "pobreza en común" y se extiende ampliamente sobre diversos aspectos de las exigencias que para las personas y para las comunidades comporta la pobreza propia de la Compañía, sin asomarse todavía a posibles soluciones para los nuevos problemas y situaciones.

ejecución de algunos puntos vitales, de carácter profundamente espiritual apostólico, de los escritos y pensamiento de San Ignacio, que recordaba especialmente.<sup>53</sup> Seguidamente, expresaba su dolor por el hecho de que la Compañía casi en ninguna parte había podido prescindir por completo de hacer uso de la dispensa apostólica sobre los estipendios y volver así a la plena gratuidad de los ministerios, y hacía algunas recomendaciones para atenuar todo lo posible la situación, en el sentido de tratar de reducir al mínimo posible el recurso a tal dispensa.<sup>54</sup> Concedió que se pudieran fundar Casas de Escritores separadas de los Colegios de los Nuestros con la facultad de tener rentas fijas y estables (para lo que pediría la confirmación de la Santa Sede), y no estimó oportuno establecer nada nuevo sobre las pensiones de enseñanza en los Colegios y sobre la administración y los rendimientos procedentes de los libros editados con fondos propios.<sup>55</sup> Al mismo tiempo, la Congregación estableció y declaró, a nivel de criterios, algunos puntos relativos al modo externo de vivir en la Compañía, que sustancialmente han sido recogidos en la legislación posterior (d. 46),<sup>56</sup> estableció algunas pautas relativas a la vida común de quienes están al frente de las obras apostólicas propias de la Compañía o confiadas a ella (d. 47), y a los premios de seguros que podían percibir las casas profesas y asimiladas, por un lado, y los Colegios, por otro, conforme al tradicional régimen de pobreza propio de unas y otros (d. 48).<sup>57</sup> Asuntos particulares, como se ve. Pero la Congregación era y se declaraba consciente de que quedaban pendientes otras cuestiones, como el alcance del voto de no relajar la pobreza, la aceptación de pensiones en los Colegios de alumnos externos, la pobreza de las Casas de Ejercicios, de las casas para obras sociales, obras de juventud y semejantes, y, sobre todo, la cuestión fundamental, a saber, "qué principios se han de establecer para poner en práctica la pobreza ignaciana en las condiciones cambiadas de nuestro tiempo." Para examinar y resolver estas cuestiones "difícilísimas y gravísimas," que requerían un estudio más prolongado del que ella podía hacer, encargó al P. General la constitución de una nueva Comisión de peritos, que examinara a fondo todos los problemas de la pobreza y presentara el fruto de su trabajo a la próxima Congregación General. Para que la Comisión pudiera trabajar más fácilmente, la Congregación dio facultad al P. General para recurrir, según su prudente juicio, al Sumo Pontífice, a fin de que, informado objetivamente del estado de la cuestión, o bien declare que el voto

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<sup>53</sup> Cfr. *Acta Romana* 13 (1956-60) 317.

<sup>54</sup> *Acta Romana* 13 (1956-60) 318.

<sup>55</sup> *Acta Romana* 13 (1956-60) 318 s.

<sup>56</sup> *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús y Normas Complementarias* (Roma: Curia del Preposito General de la Compañía de Jesús, 1995) nn. 177-78 de las Normas.

<sup>57</sup> *Acta Romana* 13 (1956-60) 338 ss.



de no relajar la pobreza no es un obstáculo para realizar esta investigación, o, si prefiere, suspenda, al menos ad cautelam, ese voto a los miembros que formen parte de la de la Comisión, para que puedan deliberar con tranquilidad de espíritu sobre las mejores soluciones.<sup>58</sup>

#### 5. Las decisiones de la CG 31 (1965-66).

Aprovechando los resultados de los trabajos realizados por la citada Comisión, la CG 31, "después de considerar atentamente la necesidad de una renovación y adaptación del Instituto en materia de pobreza," encuadrando el tema de la pobreza en el nuevo momento histórico eclesial y motivándolo en toda su profundidad en el ámbito personal y comunitario,<sup>59</sup> especialmente desde el punto de vista apostólico, tomó algunas decisiones muy importantes, respecto de ella. Tales fueron:

la interpretación oficial del voto simple de no relajar la pobreza que formulan los Profesos, en el sentido de que "alterar lo que toca a la pobreza sería alargar la mano a tener alguna renta o posesión para el uso propio o para sacristía o para fábrica o para algún otro fin, fuera de lo que toca a los Colegios y Casas de Probación."<sup>60</sup>

una declaración oficial de que, además de las limosnas y rentas, tal como se admiten en las Constituciones, también el fruto o remuneración del trabajo, hecho conforme al Instituto, es fuente legítima de bienes materiales, necesarios para la vida y el apostolado de los jesuitas; sin embargo, la selección de estos trabajos debe hacerse conforme a las normas de la debida obediencia y a la naturaleza de nuestros ministerios, apartada toda ansia de ganancia o de provecho temporal.<sup>61</sup>

una interpretación oficial del significado y consecuencias de la gratuidad de los ministerios de la Compañía que suena así: "la naturaleza de la gratuidad debe explicarse por su fin, que es al mismo tiempo la libertad interna (o sea, la ausencia de la búsqueda de provecho propio y temporal), la libertad externa (es decir, la independencia de vínculos de obligación indebida) y la edificación del prójimo que nace de esta libertad y del amor de Cristo y de los pobres";<sup>62</sup> y que tuvo como consecuencias la posibilidad de poder aceptar, (no pedir) estipendios de misas y por otros ministerios, y percibir derechos de autor y otras remunera-

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<sup>58</sup> *Acta Romana* 12 (1951-55) 319.

<sup>59</sup> CG 31, d. 18, nn. 1-13.

<sup>60</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 14; *Cons.* [554]. Esta declaración oficial no pudo menos de dar a los Congregados una mayor libertad de espíritu en las deliberaciones sobre la materia.

<sup>61</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 15.

<sup>62</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 16 a.

ciones y subvenciones por trabajos realizados, pensiones de enseñanza (aunque todavía se insiste en que se debe procurar decididamente volver, en cuanto sea posible, a la práctica de enseñar sin el recurso a las pensiones).<sup>63</sup>

Además, la CG 31 instituyó una Comisión de Definidores, con el encargo de preparar gradualmente el esquema de la acomodada renovación y de la revisión de todo nuestro derecho relativo a la pobreza, que, una vez concluida, el P. General promulgaría "ad praxim et experimentum" para toda la Compañía hasta la próxima Congregación General. Este "esquema" está constituido por los Estatutos de la pobreza de 1967,<sup>64</sup> cuya principal innovación, aparte de recoger las ya establecidas por la CG 31, fue otorgar a la Compañía misma y a las Provincias, en cuanto distintas de las Casas y Colegios, la capacidad de poseer bienes y percibir réditos fijos y estables, si bien solamente para ciertos fines, taxativamente determinados. Estos fines eran: respecto de la Compañía y de las Provincias, la ayuda a las obras apostólicas, y respecto de éstas, además, el sostenimiento de los Escolares y de los que se encuentran en probación, la atención al cuidado de ancianos y enfermos y la fundación de nuevas casas y obras o el complemento de fundaciones ya incoadas. Esto es una importantísima novedad<sup>65</sup> en relación con toda la tradición de la Compañía, según la cual, "por nuestro derecho, la Compañía y las Provincias, como distintas de sus Colegios y casas, no pueden retener réditos ni posesiones algunas para el sustento ni para ninguna otra cosa,"<sup>66</sup> y por las nuevas posibilidades de adquisición y posesión de bienes que abre en la Compañía.

#### 6. La CG 32 (1974-75).

Esta Congregación continuó la acción de la precedente y concluyó la reforma de la pobreza en la Compañía, preparada con profundos y muy concienzudos estudios y discusiones, realizados durante más de veinte años. Es de suma importancia advertir que la Congregación se movió simultáneamente en dos líneas de acción: urgir con insistencia una más exigente práctica de nuestra

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<sup>63</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 16 b-e. Todas estas disposiciones fueron sometidas a la aprobación de la Santa Sede, que efectivamente las aprobó y declaró que la "Fórmula del Instituto" habría de interpretarse en esta materia según la mente de los Decretos que, dados por la Congregación, han sido aprobados por el Papa Pablo VI (Carta del Secretario de Estado de Su Santidad, H.J. Card. Cicognani, de 6 de junio de 1966 [*Acta Romana* 14 (1961-66) 1006-07]).

<sup>64</sup> El esquema es calificado en la edición española de los Decretos de la CG 31 como "proyecto de reforma del Epítome," por lo cual lleva entre paréntesis los números correlativos de éste.

<sup>65</sup> "De suma trascendencia," según se dice en la introducción al decreto 12 de la edición española de los decretos de la CG 32 (*Congregación General XXXII*, p. 185).

<sup>66</sup> *Epítome Instituti*, n. 522 §1.

pobreza personal y comunitaria,<sup>67</sup> y, como medio para ello,<sup>68</sup> renovar algunas estructuras jurídicas y administrativas que necesitaban ser acomodadas a la situación actual de la Compañía y del mundo.

Esta Congregación General, consciente de su deber, se ha esforzado por dar una respuesta a las voces de la Compañía [provocadas por las deficiencias en la pobreza efectiva de individuos, comunidades y obras], y lo ha hecho no con meras exhortaciones verbales, sino renovando las mismas estructuras de la administración de bienes, con este único objetivo: que salga confirmada la práctica de una auténtica pobreza. El fin de las reformas formuladas es, en definitiva, "dar una respuesta a las exigencias de una pobreza no ficticia, sino real."<sup>69</sup>

Por eso, llama insistentemente a la conversión del corazón, como condición primaria del éxito de la reforma y a la responsabilidad conjunta de Superiores y compañeros en ella. "Hay que reconocer que, más que las innovaciones legislativas, favorece la vida de pobreza el reconocimiento del pecado y la sincera conversión del corazón. . . . La ley puede, sí, ayudar al espíritu, pero ninguna reforma legislativa sirve para nada, a no ser que todos los jesuitas, conforme a la invitación de Cristo Nuestro Señor, abracen con magnanimidad la pobreza evangélica."<sup>70</sup> La obra de la Congregación quedó plasmada en su Decreto 12 (cuyo significativo título es "Una pobreza más auténtica") y en los Estatutos de la pobreza de 1976, redactados por encargo y con instrucciones de la misma, que reelaboran y cuasi-codifican toda la materia en el estado actual. Como clave básica para la interpretación de la reforma, la Congregación dice: "La autenticidad de nuestra pobreza no consiste tanto en la privación de bienes temporales, cuanto en que vivamos—y lo manifestemos—de Dios y para Dios, tendiendo sinceramente a la perfección de aquel ideal que corona todo el itinerario de los Ejercicios: 'Dadme vuestro amor y gracia, que ésta me basta.'"<sup>71</sup>

6.1. Las líneas fundamentales del Decreto 12 están resumidas, antes de ser formuladas por extenso, en el mismo decreto así:

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<sup>67</sup> En este punto es de notar el vigor con que se actualiza la motivación tradicional de la pobreza religiosa, acomodada a nuestros tiempos, poniendo especial acento, como elementos nuevos, en la imitación de Cristo en su servicio generoso y libre a toda clase de abandonados (CG 32 d. 12 nn. 3-4) y en la relación de la pobreza con el compromiso de la Compañía por la promoción de la justicia y el servicio a los pobres (n. 10).

<sup>68</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 11.

<sup>69</sup> CG 32 d. 12 nn. 6-7; cfr. CG 31 d. 18 n. 7.

<sup>70</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 13.

<sup>71</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 14.

Eje de toda la reforma es la distinción entre instituciones apostólicas y comunidades de los jesuitas que en ellas trabajan. Las instituciones se rigen por la legislación de los Colegios, con lo que pueden tener los bienes productivos y rentas que necesiten. Las comunidades, en cambio, quedan asimiladas a las casas, y, por lo mismo, no se les permite tener rentas fijas. Reconocida la remuneración del trabajo como fuente legítima para el sustento, se insiste ahora menos en las limosnas como único medio legítimo para el mantenimiento de nuestras comunidades. Pero, por otro lado, se insiste más en el uso apostólico de todos los ingresos. Las comunidades habrán de llevar una vida sencilla y frugal, conforme a un presupuesto, que se debe previamente someter a aprobación. No se les permite la acumulación de capital; al contrario, y según el método que se establezca en cada Provincia, el superávit se ha de distribuir todos los años, teniendo en cuenta las necesidades, sea de otras comunidades, sea del apostolado, sea de los pobres. Las instituciones apostólicas, en cuanto sea posible, estén sometidas a la misma ley de fraternidad y solidaridad con otras obras apostólicas. Ni los capitales ni las rentas de las instituciones pueden ceder en ventaja de las comunidades, excepto la aprobada remuneración por los servicios prestados. Si una institución se suprime, sus bienes han de aplicarse a otros usos apostólicos.<sup>72</sup>

Consiguientemente, se establece:

—por derecho de la Compañía, la distinción entre comunidades destinadas al apostolado e instituciones apostólicas, en cuanto al destino, uso y administración de bienes, y que necesariamente ha de tener su reflejo en las respectivas contabilidades separadas; más aún, se recomienda que, siempre que sea posible, se establezca una separación en personas jurídicas distintas, poniendo a salvo el fin apostólico de la institución y la autoridad de la Compañía sobre ella;

—las comunidades destinadas al apostolado, todas ellas, se regirán por el régimen de pobreza previsto en las Constituciones para las Casas (profesas), es decir: no rentas ni posesiones; gratuidad de ministerios, según la nueva interpretación de la misma; vivir del trabajo de sus miembros, según el Instituto (o de limosnas); elaboración de un presupuesto comunitario anual, aprobado por el Provincial, que establezca un estilo de vida austero y sobrio, propio de una familia de condición modesta, cuyos miembros en edad laboral forzosamente han de trabajar para sustentarla; distribución del superávit de cada año, según las normas establecidas por el Provincial;

—se declara auténticamente que las rentas seguras y estables que se prohíben a nuestras comunidades son taxativamente las rentas que provienen de bienes,

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<sup>72</sup> CG 32 d. 12 nn. 11-12.

tanto muebles como inmuebles, ya sean propios de la Compañía o estén colocados en fundaciones, cuyos rendimientos pueda reclamar como suyos la Compañía mediante acción judicial;

—las instituciones apostólicas, todas excepto las iglesias, se regirán por el régimen previsto en las Constituciones para los Colegios, es decir: podrán tener bienes y rentas fijas, según la necesidad; la medida de esta necesidad estará dada por el criterio de la funcionalidad, según el criterio de cada región, debiendo, al mismo tiempo, ser signos de pobreza evangélica, rechazada cualquier forma de lujo, y manteniendo siempre su carácter apostólico; también entre ellas se dará una solidaria comunicación de bienes; en caso de extinción, sus bienes deben ser aplicados a otras obras apostólicas y nunca a la comunidad, la Provincia o la Compañía;

—las casas de formación ("Seminaria Nostrorum") conservan su propio régimen original de pobreza, y a ellas quedan equiparadas las casas o enfermerías destinadas al cuidado de ancianos y enfermos;<sup>73</sup>

—se permite a las Provincias velar por la seguridad de ancianos y enfermos, sea por medio de un arca propia o en común con otras Provincias, sea participando en instituciones estatales o de otro género;

—se consagra definitivamente, por parte de la Compañía, la capacidad limitada de ésta y de las Provincias para poseer bienes y percibir rentas fijas y estables sólo para fines determinados;

—se confirma y se amplía la interpretación oficial de la gratuidad de los ministerios en estos términos: "Declara la Congregación General que legítimamente pueden percibirse los derechos de autor, los emolumentos u honorarios, las subvenciones y parecidas entradas que se tienen como fruto del ingenio y de la habilidad de los Nuestros; igualmente las remuneraciones anejas a ciertos ministerios estables, como capellanes de hospitales, catequistas y otros análogos. Pero en la selección de ministerios o trabajos no se decidan los Nuestros por la intención del lucro";<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> En congruencia con este, en una parte muy significativa, nuevo régimen de pobreza de las comunidades, los domicilios de la Compañía han recibido, a partir de la CG 34, una nueva clasificación oficial: 1º casas para desempeñar ministerios apostólicos, que pueden tener instituciones u obras apostólicas anejas (Instituciones pastorales, Parroquias, Casas de Ejercicios, Revistas, Colegios de externos, Universidades, Centros de investigación y/o de divulgación doctrinal, etc.); 2º casas para servicio de la Compañía: bien para la formación de los Nuestros en espíritu y letras (Seminarios de los Nuestros, o Casas de probación y formación) o para la asistencia de ancianos y enfermos (Enfermerías) (*Normas Complementarias*, n. 401 §1). Queda así abolida la anterior clasificación contenida en el *Epitome Instituti*, n. 29.

<sup>74</sup> CG 32 d. 12 H.

—la Congregación finalmente introdujo con fuerza el principio y el dinamismo de la comunicación de bienes de comunidades y de instituciones apostólicas, tanto hacia dentro como también hacia fuera de la Compañía, elaborando cauces eficaces para dar salida un deseo ya antes sentido.<sup>75</sup>

Estas reformas, al menos en cuanto a la letra, del derecho de la Compañía en materia de pobreza, son muy profundas,<sup>76</sup> y, así, en buena parte, hubieron de ser sometidas a la aprobación de la Santa Sede, por si pudieran ser contrarias en algún modo a lo dispuesto en la Fórmula del Instituto. La Santa Sede otorgó esta aprobación, primero “ad experimentum” hasta la próxima Congregación General,<sup>77</sup> y después (1983) de modo definitivo.<sup>78</sup>

6.2. Los Estatutos de la pobreza de 1976<sup>79</sup> son, como hace poco se ha dicho, una cuasi-codificación de todo el derecho de la pobreza de la Compañía, precedida de una selección de textos iluminadores y motivadores sobre la materia, tomados de las Congregaciones Generales precedentes. No contienen, en general, mucha materia nueva de importancia; pero sí algunas disposiciones importantes, particularmente interesantes para nuestra propósito, por lo que tienen de incitaciones y mecanismos prácticos para hacer eficaz la aplicación del régimen de la pobreza elaborado por las Congregaciones Generales precedentes.

Tales son:

a) respecto de las comunidades:

—en la Compañía todas las comunidades deben dar limosnas a los pobres, según lo que determine el Provincial, de acuerdo con las posibilidades de cada una (n. 62 §2);

—investigue cada año el Provincial, en una consulta especial, en qué medida y de qué modo la Provincia misma y cada una de las comunidades e instituciones apostólicas puedan ayudar a otras comunidades e instituciones de la Provincia, si algunas lo necesitan, y cómo puedan contribuir a aliviar las necesidades de otras Provincias y a sostener el Fondo Caritativo y Apostólico de la Compañía; y de todo esto traten en la visita anual con los Superiores locales y los Directores de las instituciones apostólicas (n. 63).

<sup>75</sup> Cfr. CG 31 d. 18 n. 9.

<sup>76</sup> Así lo apreciaba el Papa Pablo VI, según se manifiesta en la Carta del Secretario de Estado, Card. G. Villot, de 2 de mayo de 1975 (*Acta Romana* 16 [1973-76] 456-58).

<sup>77</sup> Cfr. carta citada en la nota anterior.

<sup>78</sup> Carta del Card. Secretario de Estado, Card. Agostino Casaroli, de 3 de noviembre de 1983 (*Acta Romana* 18 [1980-83] 1100).

<sup>79</sup> *Acta Romana* 16 (1973-76) 911 ss.

b) respecto de las instituciones apostólicas:

—los Superiores y Directores, recordando que somos enviados a predicar en pobreza, cuiden con máxima diligencia que nuestras instituciones apostólicas, rechazada toda forma de lujo, se mantengan en los límites de la funcionalidad, al modo de otras instituciones y obras semejantes de la misma región, y habida cuenta siempre de la finalidad apostólica de nuestras instituciones. Corresponde a los Provinciales determinar lo que sea necesario para que las instituciones apostólicas pertenecientes a la Compañía siempre muestren su carácter apostólico y sean signo de pobreza evangélica. Se ha de ponderar prudente y espiritualmente la oportunidad de retener instituciones ricas y pujantes, que exijan grandes capitales (n. 65).

c) respecto de las Arcas (o fondos) de la Provincia:

—el Provincial, con la aprobación del General, debe disponer de los bienes sobrantes de las Arcas de la Provincia, salva la finalidad de los bienes y la intención de los bienhechores, por lo menos presumida razonablemente;

—por lo menos una vez al año el Provincial, con los consultores, el Ecnómico y el Revisor de las Arcas, considere cómo ha cumplido esta prescripción y cómo la cumplirá en el futuro (n. 75).

De otra parte, es preciso caer en la cuenta de que los Estatutos, a pesar de descender a bastantes pormenores, dejan importantes y significativos espacios abiertos, que, para la cabal ejecución y cumplimiento de los mismos, es necesario llenar. Tales serían, por ejemplo: la remisión a normas más concretas de los Provinciales para determinar el tenor de vida en una Provincia o región (n. 32); la remisión en ocasiones a los usos aprobados de la Provincia (n. 18 §3); la necesidad de determinación, por parte del Provincial, de la remuneración o asignación económica que se puede percibir por el trabajo realizado en una institución apostólica de la Compañía (n. 49); la determinación por el mismo de las normas locales de comunicación de bienes (nn. 58, 60); y otras muchas. Sin esta compleja operación, difícilmente podrá ser eficazmente puesta en práctica la reforma de la pobreza de la Compañía en ellos contenida.

7. La CG 33 (1983): confirmación de las Congregaciones anteriores.

La CG 32 preveía que las normas por ella formuladas “requieren un cierto tiempo para su ejecución.”<sup>80</sup> Posiblemente los ocho años transcurridos entre aquella Congregación General y la siguiente no fueran suficientes para lograrla plenamente. La CG 33 examinó las respuestas de las Congregaciones Provinciales, que en general fueron bastante satisfactorias, sobre la experiencia de la

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<sup>80</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 15.

aplicación del decreto 12 de la CG 32, advirtiendo que los cambios introducidos en las estructuras administrativas nos habían ayudado mucho en los últimos años a vivir una pobreza ignaciana más auténtica, pero reconociendo abiertamente que no se habían asimilado plenamente en la vida las profundas consecuencias de los cambios y la fuerza inspiradora que los animaba. Por eso exhortaba a un nuevo esfuerzo a ser pobres con Cristo pobre, de modo que se pueda decir de nosotros con razón que "predicamos en pobreza,"<sup>81</sup> y aduciendo nuevos motivos para ello. Como se esperaba, la Congregación aprobó definitivamente los cambios introducidos por la CG 32 e hizo una declaración formal en el sentido de que los decretos 18 y 12 de la Congregaciones Generales 31 y 32, respectivamente, "respondían plenamente a las exigencias de la pobreza de nuestro Instituto en los tiempos actuales."<sup>82</sup> Por primera vez, esta Congregación formuló *expressis verbis* su deseo de asumir para la Compañía la opción preferencial por los pobres y de que ésta inspirara, directa o indirectamente, la vida de todos los jesuitas y la selección y orientación de sus ministerios, proclamando formalmente que la pobreza hace creíble nuestra misión.<sup>83</sup> Quedaba así formalmente terminada, con la subsiguiente aprobación pontificia definitiva,<sup>84</sup> la reforma del régimen de la pobreza de la Compañía, comenzada más treinta años antes.

#### 8. La CG 34 (1995): balance de la situación y nuevo impulso.

Con la convicción de que esto era así y sin volver a cuestionarlo, la Congregación General 34 hizo un serio balance de la situación y, al dar nuevo impulso a la puesta en práctica del nuevo régimen de pobreza, recomendó especialmente algunos puntos para lograrlo. La Congregación, en efecto, verificó que "gracias al vigoroso llamamiento de las últimas Congregaciones Generales, se ha podido apreciar un esfuerzo por vivir la pobreza, personal y comunitaria, de manera más auténtica. Se ha fomentado el trabajo con y por los pobres; la generosidad y hospitalidad de nuestras casas ha aumentado; hay mayor claridad en los gastos por la separación entre comunidad y obra; hay una mayor solidaridad financiera y una más afinada sensibilidad de la justicia. En resumen, se ha ganado en desprendimiento, sencillez de vida, solidaridad y compartir fraterno, actitudes que caracterizan la pobreza evangélica prometida. Por todo esto hay que dar gracias a Dios."<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> CG 33 d. 1 nn. 25-27.

<sup>82</sup> CG 33 d. 2 nn. 2-3.

<sup>83</sup> CG 33 d. 1 n. 48.

<sup>84</sup> Carta del Card. Secretario de Estado, Card. Agostino Casaroli, de 3 de noviembre de 1983 (*Acta Romana* 18 [1980-83] 1100).

<sup>85</sup> CG 34 d. 9 n. 1.



Pero, a pesar de estas mejoras, hay de reconocer que todavía no se ha llegado a la profunda renovación que pedía en esta materia la CG 32 en su d. 12. Los postulados recibidos expresan malestar y desasosiego por un estilo de vida acomodado y "obligan a preguntar si ese modo de vida ofrece un testimonio creíble del voto de pobreza evangélica."<sup>86</sup>

Es decir, se siente que algo se ha hecho y mejorado, pero, al mismo tiempo, aún queda mucho por hacer. Por eso la Congregación insistía "en algunas de las recomendaciones más urgentes que nos han legado las últimas Congregaciones Generales"; tales como es el estilo de vida personal y comunitario, la transparencia y dependencia de la comunidad en ingresos y gastos, del discernimiento espiritual sobre la calidad evangélica de nuestras vidas, la comunicación de bienes, la experiencia de cercanía y solidaridad con los pobres, los problemas planteados por las instituciones y medios apostólicos que en sí mismos no son pobres, para terminar presentando la pobreza como "gracia."<sup>87</sup> Incitaciones, por tanto, a llevar a la práctica seriamente el proyecto de reforma aprobado.

### III. Valoración

#### 9. Valoración de la reforma: aciertos, riesgos y desafíos.

La reforma, como se ha visto, fue preparada y realizada muy concienzudamente y ciertamente con muy buena voluntad y pureza de intención. Su propósito básico, está dicho, era mantener en todo su vigor el mismo espíritu original de la pobreza de la Compañía, expresada en formas nuevas, realmente posibles y practicables en el momento presente y acomodadas a sus exigencias, tales que nos ayudaran a ser realmente pobres, según nuestra vocación, y sirvieran de verdadero testimonio ante el mundo y superaran los forzamientos y aun ficciones que había que vivir, de hecho, en el régimen anterior; formas nuevas, para encarnar y expresar con más pureza el intento y el espíritu original. Tal fue indudablemente la intención y la convicción de las Congregaciones Generales 31 a 33, al elaborar y consagrar definitivamente el actual régimen de pobreza en la Compañía.<sup>88</sup>

Pero cabe preguntarse: ¿Se ha conseguido realmente este objetivo? La pregunta, en estos términos generales, visto el sentido en que se formula, encerraría otras tres, que es preciso examinar por separado, para responderla adecuadamente. La primera es si y en qué medida los principios básicos del régimen original de pobreza de la Compañía están presentes en el régimen actual. La segunda sería si las nuevas formas adoptadas por éste expresan la

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<sup>86</sup> CG 34 d. 9 n. 2.

<sup>87</sup> CG 34 d. 9 nn. 7-18.

<sup>88</sup> Vid. *supra*, notas 2 y 3.

imagen de pobreza que la Compañía desea vivir hoy. Y la tercera es si estas formas son capaces de hacer que nuestra vida sea realmente un anuncio de Cristo pobre.

Antes de entrar en el examen de estas preguntas, es preciso caer en la cuenta de que, para poder responder a ellas debida y justamente, es necesario tener ante la vista una idea cabal, completa, y no sumaria ni fragmentaria, del nuevo régimen de pobreza de la Compañía, con todos sus elementos y matices, sin reducirlos ni simplificarlos, ni pretender asimilarlos a otras modalidades de comprender y vivir la pobreza religiosa, legítimas ellas e incluso posible y quizá realmente más perfectas, o, por lo menos, más exigentes en apariencia, pero distintas; y tratar de entenderlo y valorarlo desde ello y desde su motivación y lógica propia. Por otra parte, al haber nacido el nuevo régimen de la pobreza de la Compañía por modificación del anterior, se corre el peligro por parte de quienes han conocido y vivido éste de quedarse solamente con las diferencias entre lo nuevo y lo viejo, dejando en penumbra o en sombra elementos y aspectos del régimen original, que permanecen y que incluso inspiran el nuevo. Se necesita leer y recibir lo nuevo con atención y sin prejuicios reductores, para poder captar todo contenido. Esta tarea no es fácil, dada la complejidad y la riqueza de matices del nuevo régimen. Es sumamente conveniente—se podría decir, necesario—partir de un buen conocimiento del régimen original para poder comprender el nuevo en todo su significado y alcance.

#### 9.1 Presencia de los principios originales en el nuevo régimen.

a) Ni rentas ni posesiones: Lo que antes valía en este punto para las Casas (profesas) ahora vale para todas las comunidades dedicadas al apostolado (que son normalmente todas las comunidades de los jesuitas formados), que no podrán beneficiarse ni de los bienes ni de las posibles rentas de las instituciones apostólicas, más que en la cantidad correspondiente a la remuneración que sus miembros, según la determinación del Provincial, puedan recibir de ellas por el trabajo o servicios prestados. Ello implica, como medio necesario, que se haya hecho o se haga la separación preceptiva, al menos en cuanto a la contabilidad y la administración, entre unas y otras, y que esta separación sea efectiva, de modo que los bienes dedicados a la institución apostólica no reporten beneficio alguno a la comunidad. La importancia de la efectividad y seriedad de esta separación para la verdad real del nuevo régimen de pobreza es enorme. Si ésta falta o se falsea, todo el sistema se habrá corrompido. Sería algo así como que en el antiguo régimen los Profesos y Coadjutores formados pudieran vivir de las rentas de los Colegios e incluso habitar en ellos sin necesidad, cosa que San Ignacio prohibía neta y claramente en las *Constituciones*.<sup>89</sup> Las comunidades,

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<sup>89</sup> *Cons.* [567-570].

además, están obligadas a formular anualmente un presupuesto de gastos, expresivo de su tenor de vida y, si se practica la vida común de pobreza, también del de sus miembros, que necesita ser aprobado por el Provincial. Las comunidades no pueden acumular bienes, sino que anualmente deben desprenderse, según las normas aprobadas por el Provincial, de los excedentes que hayan podido tener,<sup>90</sup> practicando así la comunicación de bienes. Si, por necesidad, han de ser los titulares jurídicos de los bienes y derechos de la institución apostólica,<sup>91</sup> ha de entenderse que ésta es una titularidad meramente formal, sin que pueda redundar en beneficio económico alguno para ellas.

Por el contrario, las instituciones apostólicas, exceptuadas las iglesias, que siguen el régimen original de las Casas, en analogía a lo que desde el principio sucedía con los Colegios para los Escolares, pueden tener bienes propios y percibir rentas fijas, en cuanto ello sea juzgado necesario por el Provincial, y manteniéndose siempre en los límites del nivel de funcionalidad propios de instituciones semejantes en la región.

Por tanto, el esquema original, en su conjunto, se prolonga con unas claras adaptaciones: el régimen original de pobreza de las Casas se aplica ahora, e incluso con más rigor, a todas las comunidades dedicadas al apostolado; mientras que el régimen original de los Colegios se aplica a todas las instituciones apostólicas. Ahora bien, la simple equiparación de todas las instituciones apostólicas a los Colegios de Escolares, en términos generales, presenta una cierta desviación literal del sistema original de la pobreza de la Compañía. En él lo que ahora llamamos instituciones apostólicas, unidas a las Casas, seguían el régimen de pobreza de éstas y no el de los Colegios. Por eso, cuando San Ignacio trata de delimitar el objeto del voto de no relajar la pobreza, además de excluir la modificación en lo que toca a tener alguna renta o posesión para el uso propio, equipara "la sacristía" y "la fábrica" de la Iglesia, a "cualquier otro fin," es decir a cualquier otra institución apostólica,<sup>92</sup> fuera de los Colegios y

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<sup>90</sup> Se les permite conservar, como máximo, también con permiso del Provincial, una suma equivalente a los gastos de un año, para gastos imprevistos que puedan producirse (CG 32 d. 12 n. 25). Obviamente, esta posible reserva debe revisarse y ajustarse cada año.

<sup>91</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 22.

<sup>92</sup> Muestra de esto ha sido en el pasado, por ejemplo, la solución adoptada para las antiguas Casas de Escritores, hasta la CG 30, considerándolas como adscritas a un Colegio de Escolares, con base mínima en las *Constituciones* [558]. La CG 24 (1892), "post longam deliberationem," declaró (d. 19) que los "Colegios de Escritores," dotados de rentas estables, no son conformes a las *Constituciones* (*Institutum*, II, 519).



Casas de Probación.<sup>93</sup> Parece, por tanto, justo reconocer que en este punto ha habido un ensanchamiento material de la pobreza en el ámbito institucional de la Compañía, motivado por justas razones apostólicas y claramente delimitado a lo que éstas exigen,<sup>94</sup> ensanchamiento ciertamente inspirado, aunque sólo analógicamente fundamentado, en la distinción del doble régimen original de pobreza Casas-Colegios.<sup>95</sup> Por otra parte, es necesario situar este ensanchamiento en sus justos límites reales, toda vez que la mayor parte de las instituciones apostólicas anteriormente existentes y las más importantes, como eran los Colegios de alumnos externos y las Universidades de la Compañía ya funcionaban desde los tiempos de San Ignacio con el régimen de pobreza de los Colegios de Escolares.<sup>96</sup> Ese ensanchamiento viene acompañado, al mismo tiempo, de las garantías necesarias para que la pobreza de las Casas-comunidades y, consiguientemente, de las personas, no sufriera menoscabo. Tales garantías son principalmente la separación, al menos administrativa, de comunidades e instituciones apostólicas y la recomendación de que éstas, siempre que sea posible se hagan depender de personas jurídicas distintas de la de la comunidad religiosa.<sup>97</sup> El nuevo régimen, en este punto, podría traducirse exactamente en estos términos: los bienes de la Compañía dedicados al apostolado, que pueden ser cuantiosos, aunque siempre deben estar limitados por las mismas necesidades apostólicas, sólo pueden ser usados y aprovechados para el apostolado, no para el sostenimiento o provecho de las comunidades apostólicas ni de sus miembros, que deben seguir un tenor de vida siempre sobrio y frugal,<sup>98</sup> acomodado al de los pobres del medio en que viven. Lo que en los orígenes era: “una es la pobreza de las Casas—o, como decíamos, al principio, ‘de la Compañía’—y otra la de los Colegios,” ahora habría que traducirlo a “una es la pobreza de las comunidades apostólicas de la Compañía y de sus miembros—o, manteniendo la expresión anterior, ‘de la Compañía’—y otra la de sus instituciones apostólicas.” El paralelismo estricto ha cambiado; pero el espíritu

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<sup>93</sup> “Alterar lo que toca a la pobreza sería alargar la mano a tener alguna renta o posesión para el uso propio o para sacristía o para fábrica o para algún otro fin, fuera de lo que toca a los Colegios y Casas de Probación” (*Cons.* [554]).

<sup>94</sup> CG 32 d. 12 nn. 32-33.

<sup>95</sup> La decisión de hacerlo así obedecía ciertamente a necesidades apostólicas apremiantes, insolubles honestamente con el régimen anterior, a menos de hacer forzamientos y ficciones inverosímiles, que sólo nominalmente podrían tranquilizar. Ha sido una opción consciente, confirmada por la posterior confirmación de la Santa Sede.

<sup>96</sup> Ya la CG 6 (1608) consideró legítima esta práctica, declarando oficialmente la Fórmula del Instituto en sentido favorable a ella (*Institutum*, II, 295 s).

<sup>97</sup> Cfr. CG 32 d. 12 nn. 19-21.

<sup>98</sup> Cfr. CG 32 d. 12 n. 29.

fundamental, proyectado sobre las nuevas realidades, sustancialmente se mantiene. Evidentemente hay aquí un problema muy serio del que ya advirtió con claridad la CG 32: "La conveniencia de conservar instituciones ricas y poderosas, con su exigencia de grandes capitales, se ha de ponderar con prudencia y sentido espiritual."<sup>99</sup> Por ello, "los Superiores y Directores, recordando que el Señor 'nos ha enviado a predicar en pobreza,' procuren con todo cuidado que nuestras instituciones apostólicas, rechazando cualquier forma de suntuosidad, se mantengan dentro de los límites de lo funcional, tomando como criterio las instituciones y obras análogas de la región, y teniendo siempre en cuenta la propia finalidad apostólica de las obras. Los Provinciales han de determinar cuanto sea necesario para que las instituciones apostólicas pertenecientes a la Compañía manifiesten siempre su carácter apostólico y sean signo de pobreza evangélica."<sup>100</sup>

b) Gratuidad de los ministerios: En este ámbito las novedades se han producido<sup>101</sup> por un doble camino: primero, poniendo mayor énfasis en el sentido profundo, espiritual, de la gratuidad, como objetivo primordial de la misma; y, segundo, en una modulación o acomodación atemperada de sus expresiones. En este sentido, partiendo del mismo principio, se llega a consecuencias distintas de las que han estado en vigor, a lo largo de la historia anterior de la Compañía, en cuanto a la posibilidad de percibir compensaciones por los trabajos prestados. Podría decirse que la "interpretación" ha ido en el sentido de una mayor espiritualización de la gratuidad y de una práctica real discernida de la misma en las circunstancias presentes. La mayor espiritualización ha consistido en proponer, entrando en lo hondo de la letra de los documentos originales,<sup>102</sup> como objeto o fin de la gratuidad lo que en ella aparecía formulado como un (o el) motivo de la misma: la búsqueda en todos los trabajos de la mayor libertad interior y mayor edificación del prójimo, lejos de todo provecho y ganancia temporal. Así las que antes tenían que ser

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<sup>99</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 9.

<sup>100</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 35.

<sup>101</sup> La CG 31 d.19 n.16 presenta las adaptaciones por ella realizadas en esta materia como una "interpretación" del Instituto de la Compañía. El sentido de esta "interpretación" es el de una adaptación de la gratuidad prescrita por la Fórmula y las *Constituciones* a la realidad histórica del modo como en el momento presente se realiza gran parte del trabajo de la Compañía, en respuesta a necesidades apostólicas cambiantes y al cambio del marco histórico en que ese trabajo se realiza. Dicho de otra manera, esta "interpretación" intenta ser la respuesta a la pregunta "¿qué significa hoy, en las circunstancias actuales la gratuidad de los ministerios en la Compañía y cómo se manifiesta?" No faltará, sin embargo, quien, a la vista de las conclusiones formuladas, pueda sostener que, en realidad, se trata de una modificación real o, a lo menos, de una "interpretación modificativa."

<sup>102</sup> Véase el tenor literal del texto principal en esta materia (*Cons.* [565]), con los correlativos de *Cons.* [478] y "Primero Examen y General" [82]).

exenciones de lo prescrito,<sup>103</sup> ahora vienen a ser concreciones discernidas, selladas con la autoridad de la Congregación y de la subsiguiente aprobación de la Santa Sede, del espíritu profundo de las prescripciones originales, insistiéndose siempre en que en la selección de ministerios o trabajos no sea nunca motivo de decisión la intención del lucro,<sup>104</sup> ni se abandone ligeramente el ejercicio de ministerios que por tradición se prestan gratuitamente,<sup>105</sup> (como la administración de sacramentos, la predicación en nuestras iglesias, la dirección espiritual, las visitas a cárceles y hospitales y a los enfermos en otros lugares). Las nuevas disposiciones concretas se refieren a la percepción de estipendios por misas y otros ministerios espirituales, a los derechos de autor, a los emolumentos u honorarios por otros trabajos realizados, a las subvenciones y parecidas entradas que se tienen como frutos del ingenio y de la habilidad de los jesuitas y a las remuneraciones anejas a ciertos ministerios estables, como capellanes de hospitales, catequistas y otros análogos.<sup>106</sup> Nuevo caso, pues, de principios originales mantenidos y aun presentados con nuevo relieve, con concreciones actuales de aplicación diversas. Importa más el radical espíritu de gratuidad, que se mantiene en toda su pureza y aun se vigoriza, que sus concretas formas de expresión, con tal que éstas no lo nieguen ni lo sofoquen.

c) Vivir de limosna: En el régimen original de la pobreza de la Compañía esto era una consecuencia necesaria de la falta de posesiones y rentas y de la gratuidad completa de los ministerios, y expresión de la confianza total en el Señor, que “mandará proveer en todo cuanto pudiere ser en su mayor alabanza y gloria.”<sup>107</sup> Sólo se podía vivir de limosnas; no había para las Casas otra fuente de ingresos. “Hoy en día, [en cambio, sin excluir la posibilidad de limosnas y dentro de los límites propios de la pobreza de las comunidades] nuestra pobreza encuentra una expresión e irradiación muy adecuada en el trabajo efectivo y en el espíritu de trabajo emprendido por el Reino de Dios y no por la retribución. Que sea una pobreza de trabajo asiduo que nos asimile a los que cada día se

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<sup>103</sup> Así las aludidas dispensas para recibir pensiones por la enseñanza en los Colegios y estipendios de misas. Véase más arriba, notas 34 y 35.

<sup>104</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 16d; CG 32 d. 12 Hd.

<sup>105</sup> Carta del Secretario de Estado, Card. G. Villot, de 2 de mayo de 1975, Adnexum, Decretum “De paupertate” (*Acta Romana* 16 [1973-76] 461).

<sup>106</sup> CG 31 d. 19 n. 6; CG 32 d. 12 H.

<sup>107</sup> *Cons.* [555]. Véase también *Cons.* [509], donde San Ignacio considera a los fundadores como “ministros que toma la divina Bondad para fundar y dotar los Colegios.”

ganan su pan. . .<sup>108</sup> Por eso, la CG 31 “declaró” que, “además de las limosnas y rentas, tal como se admiten en las *Constituciones*, también el fruto o remuneración del trabajo, tomado y desarrollado conforme al Instituto, es fuente legítima de bienes materiales, necesarios para la vida y el apostolado de los jesuitas.” Un trabajo, nótese bien, tomado y desarrollado “conforme a las normas de la debida obediencia y a la naturaleza de nuestros ministerios, apartada toda ansia de ganancia o provecho temporal.”<sup>109</sup> Es decir, un trabajo que sea y se desarrolle como un servicio apostólico, tomado como tal y no con el fin de obtener la ganancia correspondiente, lo que determina tanto la naturaleza del trabajo como su motivación. Así honestamente entendido y practicado, la percepción del fruto del trabajo puede ser considerada como “lo que se nos dé,” prescindiendo de que se nos deba, por el servicio apostólico realizado. Y, por supuesto, un fruto del trabajo, que nadie podrá usar “como cosa propia,” sino como algo que se recibe para Compañía.<sup>110</sup> A esta luz y con estas limitaciones, el fruto del trabajo ocuparía hoy el puesto de las antiguas limosnas, motivadas en particular o más generalmente por los servicios prestados. Hay, con todo, un aspecto diferencial importante, en términos de pobreza, entre el fruto del trabajo tomado y desarrollado conforme al Instituto y las limosnas; y es el carácter aleatorio e inseguro de éstas, cosa que no se da en el trabajo remunerado o compensado, cuyo fruto, en cualquier caso, no pasa a beneficiar directamente al que lo percibe.

d) Tenor de vida de pobres: En este punto no ha habido cambio alguno, en la legislación original, si no ha sido para enfatizar aún más el nivel de vida pobre, propio de los jesuitas, definiendo de nuevo como referente con el que se debe contrastar, el modelo de una familia modesta de la región, que necesita del trabajo asiduo de sus miembros para poder sustentarse,<sup>111</sup> aun en medio de una posible riqueza de edificios, instrumentos y medios utilizados exclusivamente para el apostolado,<sup>112</sup> y exhortando a adquirir “una experiencia personal más directa de las miseria y estrecheces de los pobres,”<sup>113</sup> participando, en cuanto sea posible, de su mismo género de vida. Ya desde el principio aparece en este

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<sup>108</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 8; cfr. CG 32 d. 12 n. 4; Concilium Oecumenicum Vaticanum II, Decretum De accommodata renovatione vitae religiosae, “Perfectae caritatis,” (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 58 [1966] 702-12 n. 13); Pablo VI, Adhortatio Apostolica “Evangelica testificatio” (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 63 [1971] 508 n. 20).

<sup>109</sup> Cfr. CG 31 d. 18 n. 15.

<sup>110</sup> *Cons.* [257]; cfr. “Primer Examen y General” [57].

<sup>111</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 7; CG 32 d. 12 n. 7.

<sup>112</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 7.

<sup>113</sup> CG 32 d. 12 nn. 5, 10; cfr. CG 34 d. 9 n. 15.

contexto este motivo, que no es propiamente nuevo en la espiritualidad de la pobreza y del apostolado de la Compañía, pero que adquiere nueva fuerza y que va a tener gran influjo en las actuaciones futuras sobre la materia:

La Compañía, en fin, frente a un mundo en que la mayor parte de la humanidad yace herida y expoliada, conmovida con el amor del buen Samaritano y consciente de su vocación universal, someterá a examen las formas y criterios de su apostolado para poder convertirse más plenamente a los abandonados, 'llevar la Buena Noticia a los pobres. . . y sanar los corazones destrozados.'"<sup>114</sup>

A ese objetivo sirven dos mecanismos imprescindibles: la formulación de un presupuesto de ingresos y gastos de las comunidades, que exprese el nivel de vida propio de pobres, y el desprendimiento anual, rigurosamente practicado, de los excedentes. Lo que fue en los orígenes se mantiene, al menos en la letra, y con no menor vigor en la nueva pobreza reformada de la Compañía.

A afinar y reforzar el tenor de vida propio de pobres y a movilizar el desprendimiento de los excedentes anuales, se ha añadido una razón, antigua en sí misma, pero sentida recientemente con más apremio y que ha sido muy bien acogida en la Compañía, que es la comunicación de bienes con otros más pobres de dentro y de fuera de la misma.<sup>115</sup>

De este examen comparativo de la nueva legislación con la pobreza original de la Compañía parece que se puede concluir, con los matices apuntados, que, efectivamente, se mantiene sustancialmente y es claramente reconocible el espíritu de ésta en aquélla, sobre todo, si se considera, como debe ser, en su conjunto; y, más claramente, si las nuevas disposiciones se tratan de comprender como expresión actual de las originales, formulada con el propósito de hacerlas realmente practicables en el momento presente y en respuesta congruente y expresiva a sus exigencias de testimonio religioso y apostólico. Hay incluso, como se ha visto, algunos elementos nuevos, que tienden a hacer la pobreza más expresiva y más exigente. Por eso es verdad que el nuevo régimen se comprende mejor en todo su significado y su fuerza, a partir de un buen conocimiento del régimen original, y visto a través de él.

9.2. Aptitud de las nuevas formas para expresar la pobreza propia de la Compañía.

¿Expresan estas nuevas formas la pobreza que la Compañía quiere vivir hoy? No se puede negar la insatisfacción de algunos—¿muchos?—jesuitas con la vida

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<sup>114</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 11.

<sup>115</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 9; CG 32 d. 12 n. 5; cfr. CG 34 n. 12.



de la pobreza de la Compañía hoy, aun después de la implantación formal de la reforma. "La Compañía—se dice—por más vueltas que se le dé, no es pobre; y la reforma de su régimen de pobreza no la ayuda a ser más pobre." El deseo latente en estas afirmaciones puede ser bueno; pero es preciso discernir uno y otras con humildad y con paciencia y también con la sabiduría del Espíritu.<sup>116</sup>

Es bien sabido que la espiritualidad ignaciana—San Ignacio, en los *Ejercicios Espirituales*—distingue entre pobreza "espiritual" y pobreza "actual." La pobreza "espiritual," como identificación interior con Cristo pobre, que vive totalmente desprendido de los bienes de la tierra, con su corazón puesto todo en Dios y en el anuncio de su Reino, es ciertamente un valor absoluto, no negociable ni recortable; pero el grado y medida de la pobreza "actual," es decir, de la efectiva posesión o desposesión de los bienes de la tierra, es relativa.<sup>117</sup> Depende, en efecto, de la voluntad concreta de Dios sobre cada persona y sobre cada institución, pedida y descubierta a través del proceso de discernimiento y de elección, investigando y demandando "en qué vida o estado de nosotros se quiere servir su divina majestad."<sup>118</sup> Esto es lo que Ignacio fue haciendo y experimentando para sí mismo en los años siguientes a su conversión y lo que realizó para la Compañía de Jesús como cuerpo, al componer las *Constituciones*,<sup>119</sup> como queda ampliamente atestiguado en el *Diario Espiritual*.<sup>120</sup> Tanto para sí mismo como para la Compañía, el criterio supremo de elección de Ignacio es "el mayor servicio de Dios y ayuda de las almas,"<sup>121</sup> al que todo lo subordina y que inspira y determina todas sus decisiones particulares, ajustando la ilimitada

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<sup>116</sup> Como consta que tuvo que hacerlo San Ignacio, con un largo, fatigoso y paciente discernimiento en la redacción de las *Constituciones*, precisamente en materia de pobreza.

<sup>117</sup> Así aparece claramente en el núcleo mismo de los *Ejercicios Espirituales* [=Ej. Esp.], ya en el "Principio y Fundamento" [23], en la oblación del ejercicio del llamamiento [98], en los coloquios de la meditación de Dos Banderas [147] y, en el fondo, en el "preámbulo para hacer elección" [169], donde las determinaciones particulares sobre la propia vida en seguimiento del Señor quedan subordinadas para cada uno a la voluntad concreta de Dios, aun cuando sea para elegir de hecho una opción objetivamente menos perfecta. El texto español de los *Ejercicios Espirituales* de San Ignacio puede encontrarse en San Ignacio de Loyola, *Obras*, pp. 221-305.

<sup>118</sup> *Ej. Esp.* [135]

<sup>119</sup> Cfr. "Autobiografía" nn. 100-01, San Ignacio de Loyola, *Obras*.

<sup>120</sup> Del *Diario espiritual* de San Ignacio se conserva una parte, que es lo escrito en trece meses, desde el 2 de febrero de 1544 hasta el 27 de febrero de 1545. En todo él da cuenta, junto con otros muchos pormenores, del discernimiento hecho sobre si las iglesias y sacristías de la Compañía podrían tener rentas o no. Cfr. San Ignacio de Loyola, *Diario espiritual* in *Obras* pp. 359-430, por ejemplo, nn. [9, 34].

<sup>121</sup> Expresión que aparece en casi cada página de las *Constituciones*, por lo que no tiene sentido citar lugares concretos.

generosidad del “más” del deseo de la identificación con Cristo a lo que de hecho “más conduce” para el fin pretendido.<sup>122</sup> Por eso la pobreza “actual” de la Compañía de Jesús, que formulan los documentos originales y reformulan los nuevos, es una pobreza relativa, determinada—así, al menos, se ha pretendido tanto en los orígenes como recientemente—únicamente por el fin apostólico de la Compañía y sus exigencias, respecto de las personas y de las instituciones. Es notable, en general, en las *Constituciones*, el amplísimo juego dejado al ejercicio de la “discreta caridad” en esta materia, dentro del cuadro global expuesto.<sup>123</sup>

Cuestionar en este punto la validez de los principios originales, en cuanto a la expresión de la pobreza propia de la Compañía, aparte de carecer de fundamento sólido alguno, nos privaría de la referencia fundante en esta materia. Ahora bien, habida cuenta de los cambios que han tenido lugar en la vida de la Compañía y en el entorno histórico-cultural en que ella se ha desarrollado, a lo largo de más de cuatro siglos, y la imposibilidad de cumplir literalmente las disposiciones originales sin grave menoscabo de la actividad apostólica de aquélla, la reforma, como se ha dicho ya, se imponía como necesaria e inexcusable. Se tomó un tiempo suficiente para caer en la cuenta de ella y para comprenderla en sus justos términos. Se hicieron estudios profundos y prolongados, y se llevó a cabo un discernimiento cuidadoso y responsable para expresar en ella, en el ambiente de circunstancias profundamente cambiadas el espíritu y el estilo de la pobreza original de la Compañía.<sup>124</sup>

¿Podría haber desembocado la solución en concreciones distintas de las que se han conseguido? Es posible; pero las que se han conseguido, como se muestra en la exposición anterior, son sustancialmente congruentes con aquellos principios y, en las circunstancias actuales, expresan adecuadamente lo que es la pobreza propia de la Compañía. Incluso se han enriquecido con algunos elementos nuevos, o, por lo menos, más explicitados y acentuados, como son la comunicación de bienes y la participación experiencial de la vida de los pobres, generalizada, en la medida de lo posible.<sup>125</sup> Parece, por tanto, que el actual régimen de pobreza de la Compañía—en sustancia, pobreza espiritual radical y pobreza actual configurada por su fin apostólico en las circunstancias

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<sup>122</sup> Cfr. *Ej. Esp.* [23].

<sup>123</sup> De los muchos ejemplos que podrían aducirse, en relación con ella, baste citar, como muestra paradigmática, la formulación del tenor de vida adoptado para la Compañía: “En lo demás la vida es común en lo exterior, por justos respetos, mirando siempre al mayor servicio divino; ni tiene algunas ordinarias penitencias ni asperezas que por obligación se hayan de usar . . .” (“Primero Examen y General” [8]; cfr. *Cons.* [580]).

<sup>124</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 5.

<sup>125</sup> Cfr. CG 34 d. 9 nn. 14-15.

actuales—es la pobreza propia de la Compañía; la que el Señor quiere hoy para ella. Cuestión distinta—y, en realidad, mucho más seria—es si ella realmente está viviendo esa pobreza, tal como se le propone y se le pide.

9.3. ¿Son capaces las nuevas normas de hacer de la vida de los miembros de la Compañía un anuncio de Cristo pobre?

A pesar de que éste era el intento de toda la reforma, la pregunta tiene verdadero sentido y la respuesta no es ni simple ni inmediata. No basta responder acriticamente, a partir del alivio sentido al encontrar nuevas formas que hacían superar las aporías prácticas de la situación precedente, ni tampoco, por el contrario, desvalorizar la reforma llegando a decir que ha sido un medio para tranquilizar nuestra conciencia, pudiendo ser más ricos de lo que éramos antes. Es preciso razonar y matizar.

Ante todo, se hace necesario cualificar el “anuncio de Cristo pobre” que está llamada a hacer la Compañía en el mundo de hoy,<sup>126</sup> que puede no ser y no tiene por qué ser necesariamente el de cualquier otro grupo cristiano.<sup>127</sup>

La nueva pobreza propia de la Compañía, en coincidencia sustancial con su pobreza tradicional, se caracterizaría, según lo dicho hasta aquí, por: la desposesión personal y comunitaria de los bienes que no sean necesarios para la habitación y el sustento, que, a su vez, se mantendrán en un nivel propio de los pobres del respectivo lugar; la participación en común de ingresos y gastos, entregando a la comunidad, como a verdadera propietaria, cuanto se percibe, incluido el propio salario, y recibiendo gratuitamente de ella lo que, dentro de un tenor modesto de vida, se necesite; el trabajo serio y asiduo desarrollado por el Reino de Dios, asumido sin afán alguno de ganancia o provecho personal, aunque se pueda percibir por él una retribución conveniente, de la cada uno no

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<sup>126</sup> “En este mundo nuestro, en que tantos mueren de hambre, nadie puede apropiarse con ligereza el título de pobre. Cabe, quizá, lamentar que el lenguaje no disponga de un vocablo más adecuado para designar esta característica de la vida religiosa, ya que el término ‘pobreza’ designa realidades no unívocas” (CG 32 d. 12 n. 7). Esta “no univocidad” de significado se da también entre los diversos carismas de vida religiosa.

<sup>127</sup> “Ya desde los principios de la Iglesia hubo hombres y mujeres que, por la práctica de los consejos evangélicos, se propusieron seguir a Cristo con más libertad e imitarlo más de cerca, y, cada uno a su manera, llevaron una vida consagrada a Dios. . . . De ahí nació, por designio divino una maravillosa variedad de agrupaciones religiosas, que mucho contribuyó a que la Iglesia no sólo esté apercibida para toda obra buena (cf. 2 Tim 3,17) y pronta para la obra del ministerio en la edificación de Cuerpo de Cristo (cf. Ef 4,12), sino también a que aparezca adornada con la variedad de dones de sus hijos, como esposa engalanada para su esposo (cf. Ap 21,2), y por ella se manifieste la multiforme sabiduría de Dios (cf. Ef 3,10)” (Conc. Ecum. Vat. II, “*Perfectae caritatis*,” n. 1). Ver también Juan Pablo II, *Adhortatio Apostolica*, “*Vita consecrata*” (*Acta Apostolicæ Sedis* 88 [1996] 377 n. 1, 380 n. 5), donde habla de “múltiples carismas” de vida espiritual y apostólica en el ámbito de la vida consagrada.

puede disponer libremente, porque pertenece a la comunidad; la dedicación de los bienes de las obras apostólicas exclusivamente a ellas, sin que puedan beneficiar en modo alguno a las personas ni a las comunidades más que por vía de una remuneración "conveniente," que habrá de aprobar el Provincial, por el trabajo realizado y los servicios prestados en aquéllas; la orientación de las instituciones exclusivamente al servicio apostólico, y no al lucro de ningún género, y su mantenimiento en niveles de funcionalidad análogos a las de otras obras semejantes del lugar, cortada toda apariencia de lujo y de suntuosidad; todo ello acompañado de una generosa comunicación de bienes y, en cuanto lo permitan las obligaciones apostólicas, de una participación real de la vida de los pobres. Este es el actual régimen de pobreza de la Compañía y sería a través de él, como la Compañía tendría que "anunciar a Cristo": mediante un desprendimiento radical de los bienes de la tierra ("pobreza espiritual"), expresado en un serio grado de desposesión personal y comunitaria, en la total dependencia comunitaria en lo necesario para la propia vida y el trabajo apostólico, en un nivel de vida realmente pobre y en una dedicación gratuita de los bienes comunes al servicio del Reino ("pobreza actual"). ¿Es esto realmente posible? Es evidentemente un gran reto; y sólo la verdad de la vida en relación con todas esas exigencias, con sinceridad, seriedad y coherencia, puede dar la respuesta verdadera; pero, si, por desgracia, no se llegara a esto, ello se debería a debilidad y a deficiencias humanas, a deformación pecaminosa en la práctica del proyecto diseñado, pero no al proyecto mismo. Tienen aquí pleno sentido las serias advertencias explícitas de las Congregaciones Generales 31 y 32:

Que nuestra profesión de pobreza sea sincera, de manera que responda a ella nuestro género de vida. . . . La Compañía quiere responder a las exigencias de esta pobreza real, no ficticia.<sup>128</sup>

Ni se puede hablar de nuestra vida, como 'testimonio de la nueva y eterna vida que nos ha merecido la redención de Cristo, y anticipado anuncio de la resurrección y de la gloria del Reino,' si nosotros, individual o corporativamente, seguimos demasiado apegados a las cosas terrenas o dependientes de ellas, aunque sean instituciones apostólicas. Nuestras comunidades no tendrán ni el sentido ni el valor de signo que exige nuestro tiempo, si no dejan ver claramente, en la auténtica comunicación de sí y de sus cosas, que son comunidades de caridad y participación.<sup>129</sup>

Por su parte, todo el d. 9 de la CG 34 viene a ser un apremiante "examen práctico" de la forma como se vive el nuevo régimen de pobreza de la Compañía, con acertadas indicaciones para mejorar la práctica real de la pobreza.

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<sup>128</sup> CG 31 d. 18 n. 7.

<sup>129</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 5; cfr. Conc. Ecum. Vat. II, *Constitutio Dogmatica de Ecclesia*, "Lumen gentium" (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 57 [1965] 5-67 n. 44).

#### IV. Perspectivas de Futuro

##### 10. Problemas y riesgos.

No se puede, sin embargo, negar, si se miran bien las cosas, que en el mismo régimen de la pobreza presentado hay verdaderos problemas, intrínsecos a él, y aun riesgos de neutralizarlo, si no se perciben con lucidez y se previenen y se afrontan con decisión.

##### 10.1. El problema de las instituciones apostólicas.

Instituciones apostólicas ricas y poderosas, y más, si como requiere frecuentemente su propia naturaleza, están progresivamente dotadas de los medios más modernos y caros, y más todavía, si son numerosas, pueden contribuir notablemente a oscurecer el testimonio global de pobreza de que da muestra la Compañía. Este problema es realmente muy grave; y la CG 32 fue consciente de ello.

La eficacia apostólica y la pobreza, igualmente apostólica, son dos valores que hay que mantener unidos, pero en continua tensión. Y esto vale tanto para los individuos como para las instituciones apostólicas. La conveniencia de conservar instituciones ricas y poderosas, con su exigencia de grandes capitales, se ha de ponderar con prudencia y sentido espiritual. Y ya que se trata de meros medios, la disposición de la Compañía debe ser la del "Tercer Binario"<sup>130</sup> o la del "tanto-cuanto,"<sup>131</sup> siempre dispuesta a retener o a abandonar esas instituciones según lo requiera el mayor servicio de Dios.<sup>132</sup>

Se requiere, pues, ante ellas, una actitud muy radical, capaz de llegar a cuestionar seriamente y en concreto su existencia, en función de lo que realmente requiera el mayor servicio de Dios, sin dar por supuesta, por principio, su legitimación universal e indiscriminada. Obviamente, esta declaración, tan típica de la espiritualidad ignaciana, no está hecha para tranquilizar conciencias sólo con decirla y repetirla, o incluso con orarla, sino para actuarla siempre que sea necesario.

Supuesto que determinadas instituciones apostólicas deban o puedan tenerse o conservarse y que "pueden tener rentas estables y bienes productivos,

<sup>130</sup> Véase *Ej. Esp.* [155], donde San Ignacio propone el caso de una persona que, ante una situación de elección, está plenamente dispuesta a todo cuanto Dios le pida, y decide dejar afectivamente un determinado objeto a que está apegado, "poniendo fuerza de no querer aquello ni otra cosa ninguna, si no le moviere sólo el servicio de Dios nuestro Señor."

<sup>131</sup> Es una expresión sintética de la regla básica, formulada en el "Principio y Fundamento" de los *Ejercicios Espirituales* [23], donde se dice, respecto del uso de todas las cosas creadas, que "el hombre tanto ha de usar de ellas, cuanto le ayudan para su fin, y tanto debe quitarse de ellas cuanto para ello le impiden."

<sup>132</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 9.

proporcionados a sus fines, si al Provincial le parecen necesarios,”<sup>133</sup> “los Superiores y Directores, recordando que el Señor ‘nos ha enviado a predicar en pobreza,’ procuren con todo cuidado que nuestras instituciones apostólicas, rechazando cualquier forma de suntuosidad, se mantengan dentro de los límites de lo funcional, tomando como criterio las instituciones y obras análogas de la región, y teniendo siempre en cuenta la propia finalidad apostólica de las nuestras. Los Provinciales han de determinar cuanto sea necesario para que las instituciones apostólicas pertenecientes a la Compañía<sup>134</sup> manifiesten siempre su carácter apostólico y sean signo de pobreza evangélica.”<sup>135</sup>

¿Es esto posible? Al menos, será una manifestación de la “continua tensión,” a la que la misma Congregación se refiere y una llamada a la responsabilidad y a la vigilancia permanente para que la sal no se descomponga.

Dicho en positivo, las instituciones apostólicas, aun contando con medios económicos apreciables y aun cuantiosos, tanto darán un mayor testimonio evangélico cuanto más patente sea en ellas, en su finalidad, en sus planteamientos y su modo de funcionar, el sentido de servicio al prójimo, especialmente a los más desfavorecidos, y cuanto más claramente sirvan a la misión de la Compañía, el servicio a la fe y la promoción de la justicia en el mundo, para hacerlo lo más semejante posible a como Dios lo quiere. Sólo esto puede ser su justificación, bien pensadas todas las cosas.

Pero aun cuando esto, en el mejor de los casos, fuera así, no se puede cerrar los ojos al grave “riesgo de contaminación” que significa inevitablemente el trabajar y vivir en medio de instituciones apostólicas ricamente dotadas, o, por lo menos, con posibilidad de estarlo, y el dejarse llevar por su lógica, mayormente en el ambiente neoliberal dominante, si no se tiene una clarividencia muy viva y una decisión muy firme para contrarrestarlo.<sup>136</sup> Un reto muy serio a la pobreza

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<sup>133</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 32.

<sup>134</sup> No es posible ignorar en este contexto el problema que pueden plantear en esta perspectiva instituciones realmente promovidas y patrocinadas por la Compañía y como tales presentadas al público y consideradas por él, que, sin embargo, funcionan bajo una organización jurídica civilmente independiente de aquélla (Nota del autor).

<sup>135</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 33.

<sup>136</sup> Es verdad que no todas las instituciones apostólicas de la Compañía son, afortunadamente, económicamente ricas, y que muchas de ellas navegan en la estrechez y aun en la insuficiencia, estando en muchos casos destinadas al servicio directo de los pobres. Pero hay en muchos lugares un número suficiente de instituciones “fuertes” para crear un ambiente, al menos, “de riesgo” para la pobreza.

integral de la Compañía y de sus miembros.<sup>137</sup>

## 10.2. Peligro de capitalización y acumulación de bienes.

Este peligro existe en el régimen actual en mayor medida que en el anterior, dado que han aumentado las posibilidades de adquisición y retención de bienes tanto para las comunidades, hasta cierto punto, como para las obras apostólicas. Ahora bien, si bien se miran las cosas, el mismo sistema tiene en este punto sus correctivos. Tales son, para las comunidades, la formulación de un presupuesto previo de gastos aprobado por el Provincial, que la mantenga en un tono de vida semejante al de los pobres circundantes y siempre sobrio y frugal,<sup>138</sup> y la prohibición de mantener reservas de capital, si no es en una cantidad moderada; y, para las instituciones apostólicas, el deber de Directores y Superiores, especialmente de los Provinciales, de velar con todo cuidado para que se mantengan dentro de los límites de lo funcional y manifiesten siempre el carácter apostólico y sean signo de pobreza evangélica.<sup>139</sup>

Ello quiere decir que el nuevo régimen de pobreza de la Compañía no produce automáticamente sus efectos, sino que requiere la actuación constante de los respectivos Superiores/Directores para hacerlo funcionar adecuadamente. Sin ella pueden darse, efectivamente, disfunciones graves, totalmente contrarias al intento de la legislación. Está más que puesta en razón la llamada apremiante de la CG 32 a Superiores y súbditos: "Todos los Superiores tomen conciencia, por la meditación y la oración, de su propia responsabilidad en la realización de esta renovación de la pobreza. Y cada uno de los jesuitas recuerde a su vez que esta reforma no se consolidará, si no siguen todos con acorde magnanimidad, las consignas de los Superiores."<sup>140</sup>

Una llamada que es más que una piadosa exhortación y que realistamente quiere decir que, aunque es necesaria la conversión del corazón para abrazar con magnanimidad la pobreza evangélica,<sup>141</sup> y aunque el discernimiento espiritual nos convertirá en "siervos vigilantes" de la calidad evangélica de

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<sup>137</sup> Es el reto, verdaderamente difícil de superar, de permanecer realmente en la pobreza, aun cuando se hayan de usar "considerables o costosos medios de trabajo," usándolos y, en general, reaccionándose con ellos, como con instrumentos necesarios y exclusivos de apostolado. Cfr. CG 31 d. 18 n. 7; Carta de P. General Jean B. Janssens, de 15 de septiembre de 1951, *Acta Romana* 12 (1951-55) 108-24.

<sup>138</sup> CG 32 d. 12 nn. 24, 29.

<sup>139</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 33.

<sup>140</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 13.

<sup>141</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 13.

nuestra vida,<sup>142</sup> es preciso que el Superior, en un ambiente de relación franca y confiada entre los miembros de la comunidad y con él, no se limite a dar permisos (y a formular principios y orientaciones generales), sino que pueda ayudar en verdad a guardar la pobreza en su pureza y a superar las dificultades para llevarla a la práctica.<sup>143</sup>

### 10.3. "La seductora seguridad del poseer, del saber y del poder."<sup>144</sup>

Como se ha podido ver por todo lo dicho anteriormente, entre los múltiples retos que la práctica de la pobreza, tal como recientemente ha quedado configurada, presenta a la Compañía y a cada jesuita, seguramente el más serio y profundo es cómo, teniendo que servirse de bienes para la vida y el apostolado y contando con ellos, puedan verse y mostrarse efectivamente libres de "la seductora seguridad—[y superioridad]—del poseer, del saber y del poder." No hay duda de que la Compañía, en su conjunto, al menos en determinadas regiones del mundo, no carece de bienes ni es actualmente pobre, y que los jesuitas particulares viven personalmente inmersos en ese ambiente, sin sentir realmente los efectos de la pobreza y con el peligro, por el contrario, de verse insensiblemente contagiados de los perversos efectos de la abundancia y aun de la opulencia. Por otra parte, más sutil que el poseer o no poseer—cosa que, después de todo, puede llegar a verse—es el valerse y aprovecharse del saber, en cuya consecución tanto empeño pone la Compañía y lo pide de sus miembros, que proporciona inevitablemente un poder, que sitúan a quien lo posee en un status social diametralmente opuesto al de los pobres. Estos efectos pueden llegar a dar efectivamente, como resultado, esa "seductora seguridad del poseer, del saber y del poder," con lo cual, lejos de ser auténticamente pobres, podrían llegar a entrar en el camino por el que el "enemigo de natura humana" trata de llevar al hombre a "todos los vicios."<sup>145</sup> Este es, en definitiva, el reto específico de una forma de pobreza que no pone el acento a ultranza en la mayor pobreza actual, sino que, dentro de ciertos límites establecidos, se guía por la mencionada regla del "tanto-cuanto," por el principio de la funcionalidad, precisamente en función del mayor servicio divino.

El primer medio para contrarrestar este gravísimo riesgo es caer en la cuenta de que efectivamente existe, de que es real y de que está acechando constante-

<sup>142</sup> CG 34 d. 9 n. 10.

<sup>143</sup> CG 34 d. 9 n. 11. Más adelante se especificarán algunas de determinaciones y acciones que competen a los Superiores para hacer efectiva la reforma de la pobreza.

<sup>144</sup> Cfr. Pablo VI, "Evangelica testificatio" (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 63 [1971] 507-08 n. 19).

<sup>145</sup> *Ej. Ep.* [135 y 142]. Se llegue o no se llegue al final del proceso, lo insidioso del peligro es poder encontrarse en una situación en la que no sea ya fácil percibir si se está en un camino o en el otro.



mente: hace falta gran lucidez espiritual.<sup>146</sup> La exhortación insistente a hacer experiencia de la vida de los pobres y aun a fomentar comunidades que elijan una más exigente práctica de la pobreza, que compartan fraternalmente con los demás, puede ayudar a la Compañía y a cada jesuita a avivar esa lucidez.<sup>147</sup> “Estas experiencias de cercanía a la pobreza y marginación deberían acompañar a todo jesuita a lo largo de su vida, incluso cuando su ocupación principal no sea el trabajo con los más necesitados.”<sup>148</sup> Por lo que se refiere al tiempo de formación, “alguna vez será necesaria a todos alguna experiencia de vida con los pobres que les ayude a superar los límites que provienen de propio origen social”; experiencia, “que sea del todo auténtica y no resulte ilusoria y carente de conversión interior.”<sup>149</sup>

Un segundo medio es tratar siempre y seriamente de hacer efectivas, “según la medida de la santa discreción,” las exigencias de pobreza actual, personal, comunitaria e institucional, previstas expresamente en la reforma y a las que se ha aludido anteriormente. Es el sabio principio de la pedagogía básica ignaciana de la necesidad de “sentir algunos efectos de ella,” para ir aprendiendo el camino de la pobreza, propuesto a “los que quedan en probación.”<sup>150</sup>

Finalmente, la Compañía y sus miembros quedan inevitablemente confrontados, con toda la carga de motivación que ha podido verse en las páginas anteriores, a la conversión radical del corazón<sup>151</sup> hacia “nuestra profesión de humildad y bajeza,”<sup>152</sup> a la más profunda pobreza de espíritu, que, si existe, se manifestará necesariamente en la vida y los mantendrá libres de la idolatría, más o menos grave pero siempre funestamente pernicioso, de los bienes materiales y de la riqueza añadida—saber y poder—que el apego a esos bienes lleva consigo. Después de todo, como ya se ha subrayado, la acendrada autenticidad de nuestra pobreza “no consiste tanto en la privación de bienes temporales, cuanto en que vivamos—y lo manifestemos—de Dios y para Dios, tendiendo sinceramente a la perfección de aquel ideal que corona todo el iter de los

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<sup>146</sup> La que invita a pedir insistentemente San Ignacio en la meditación de “Dos Banderas” en los *Ejercicios Espirituales* [139].

<sup>147</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 10; cfr. Pablo VI, “Evangelica testificatio” (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 63 [1971] 507-08 nn.18-20).

<sup>148</sup> CG 34 d. 9 n. 15.

<sup>149</sup> CG 32 d. 6 n. 10; cfr. CG 34 d. 3 n. 18.

<sup>150</sup> *Cons.* [289].

<sup>151</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 13.

<sup>152</sup> *Cons.* [817]; cfr. “Primero Examen y General” [63, 66], *Cons.* [577, 580].

Ejercicios.”<sup>153</sup> El recurso a esta radical pobreza de espíritu no es un tranquilizante ante la falta de una pobreza actual posiblemente más exigente, sino una profunda purificación en el camino de la auténtica pobreza, la única que realmente proclama la Bienaventuranza del Reino, que llevará al desprendimiento de todos estos “bienes,” haciendo de su posesión y de la seguridad que ella proporciona don gratuito en servicio total del prójimo, dando de verdad gratis, sin límite alguno y sin reclamo ni esperanza de recompensa, lo que gratis se ha recibido, no reteniéndolo ni aprovechándolo en beneficio propio, recuperando así al mismo tiempo el profundo sentido de la gratuidad, entrañado en la pobreza original propia de la Compañía.<sup>154</sup> Este es el verdadero núcleo de la nueva pobreza de la Compañía, que, si actúa bien, pondrá todo lo demás en su sitio. Si esto falta, la reforma podrá ayudar a poner claridad y orden en la administración de comunidades e instituciones apostólicas, a tranquilizarse falsamente la conciencia con un nivel de vida no desmesurado y a movilizar una cierta beneficencia interna y externa a la Compañía, que se quedarían bastante lejos de las exigencias radicales de lo que se nos ha hecho presentar como verdadera y auténtica pobreza de quienes, como compañeros, participan de la suerte de Jesús pobre y humillado, siguiéndole por “la vía que lleva los hombres a la vida.”<sup>155</sup>

#### 11. Una reforma sin concluir, abierta y necesitada de complementos.

La reforma del régimen de la pobreza en la Compañía no está terminada por el mero hecho de haber sido establecida; es necesario aplicarla. La parte expositiva del decreto 12 de la CG 32 termina con una exhortación vigorosa a que “todos observen fielmente este decreto.”<sup>156</sup> Pero quizá el “malestar” que expresaban los postulados llegados a la CG 34,<sup>157</sup> veinte años después de la promulgación del d. 12 de la CG 32. esté queriendo indicar que no bastan en esta materia las exhortaciones, por vigorosas que sean, ni, aunque sea imprescindible, la simple y sincera buena voluntad de todos. Es necesario hacer efectivamente posible la puesta en práctica de la reforma.

Para ello, es preciso, en primer lugar, conocerla y conocerla bien; conocer sus formulaciones y conocer su sentido, su *ratio legis*, o si se quiere, su espíritu. Y no resulta fácil conocerla bien. Porque no es obvia y porque, aparte de sus aspectos técnicos que requieren atención, encierra una complejidad y una lógica

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<sup>153</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 14; *Ej. Esp.* [234].

<sup>154</sup> Como se ha expuesto antes en 1. 1.2, c.

<sup>155</sup> “Primero Examen y General” [101].

<sup>156</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 15; cfr. antes en nn. 13 y 14.

<sup>157</sup> CG 34 d. 9 n. 2.

interna que da sentido al conjunto, que es necesario descubrir. Se trataría, además, de un conocimiento no solamente teórico, frío, sino de un conocimiento "interno" y sapiencial, que haga descubrir en ella el modo concreto de seguimiento del Señor Jesús, en materia de relación con los bienes de la tierra, que Él quiere hoy de la Compañía y de sus miembros.

Pero para conocerla bien, es preciso no sólo conocer lo que dice, sino conocer también lo que, sin decirlo en concreto, implica. Hay no pocos lugares, como se ha anticipado ya,<sup>158</sup> en que la aplicación concreta de la reforma pasa por alguna operación<sup>159</sup> o decisión<sup>160</sup> intermedia, o por la formulación de unas normas particulares de los Superiores correspondientes,<sup>161</sup> o por llenar de sentido concreto algunas expresiones generales, que sólo si se concretan pueden adquirir un significado operativo.<sup>162</sup> Se trata, pues, de una reforma, inconclusa y abierta, que es preciso ir completando y recreando continuamente, por vía de concreciones discernidas. Son principalmente los Superiores quienes tienen que realizar esta labor,<sup>163</sup> como una tarea primordial de su gobierno de la Compañía y de ayuda a sus hermanos;<sup>164</sup> pero también todos los compañeros y las

<sup>158</sup> Véase antes, apartado 6. 2.

<sup>159</sup> Por ejemplo, la distinción y separación, imprescindible, entre las comunidades y las instituciones apostólicas (CG 32 d. 12 n. 19).

<sup>160</sup> Por ejemplo, la determinación de la "remuneración congruente" que los jesuitas que trabajan en una institución apostólica de la Compañía pueden recibir de ella (CG 32 d. 12 n. 21); o la aprobación del presupuesto de la comunidad por parte del Provincial (n. 24); o la decisión, importantísima, de la medida en que las instituciones apostólicas necesitan tener bienes (n. 32).

<sup>161</sup> Así, entre otros casos, las normas para hacer los presupuestos comunitarios, o para distribuir los bienes sobrantes de las comunidades (CG 32 d. 12 n. 17).

<sup>162</sup> Tal es el caso de puntos tan importantes como el tenor de vida propio de pobres de cada región (CG 32 d. 12 n. 7; Estatutos de la pobreza, n. 30); o el concepto de viajes "dispendiosos" (Estatutos, n. 24 '3); o los bienes de las instituciones "proporcionados a sus fines" (CG 32 d. 12 n. 32); o los límites de la funcionalidad de las instituciones, tomando como criterio las instituciones y obras análogas de la región, y teniendo siempre en cuenta la propia finalidad apostólica de las nuestras (n. 33); y otros semejantes. El n. 32 de los Estatutos de la pobreza dice así en términos generales: "Puesto que, por la diversidad de la economía, del apostolado y de todas las demás condiciones en la Compañía universal, no es posible dar una descripción general más concreta de nuestro modo de vivir, corresponde a cada Provincial o a sus grupos regionales dar normas más particulares, según vieren ante el Señor, que han ser aprobadas por el General, para estimular y promover en los jesuitas la práctica de la pobreza que exige nuestra vocación."Cfr. "Statuta de paupertate et de ceteris quae eam consequuntur," *Acta Romana* 16 (1973-76) 915-42.

<sup>163</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 13.

<sup>164</sup> CG 34 d. 9 n. 11; Carta del P. Pedro Arrupe, de 8 de septiembre de 1976, a toda la Compañía, promulgando los Estatutos de la Pobreza, *Acta Romana* 16 (1973-76) 912.

comunidades son llamadas a colaborar corresponsablemente con ellos.<sup>165</sup>

Sin esta labor complementaria, prácticamente constante, que requiere reflexión, consulta, discernimiento y oración asidua, seguidas de las correspondientes decisiones, no es posible llegar a hacer efectivo el nuevo régimen de pobreza de la Compañía. Este es el desafío con el que se confronta el deseo de la Compañía y de sus miembros de vivir sinceramente la pobreza evangélica que les es propia, en el mundo y en el momento actual, como anuncio creíble de Cristo: pasar de las grandes aspiraciones y de los brillantes principios, contenidos en los documentos, a concretas y verificables conclusiones realistas que los concreten y los hagan efectivamente practicables. Después, podrá seguir esta práctica; pero antes hay que pagar un precio por ella.

\* \* \*      \* \* \*      \* \* \*

Si la Compañía, llevada por el Espíritu, responde sabia y acertadamente a este desafío, tendrá una renovada y actualizada práctica de su pobreza propia, no mecánica, sino creativa, siempre en estado naciente, "activa y responsable," como el Concilio Vaticano II calificó felizmente la obediencia religiosa.<sup>166</sup> Una pobreza inspirada y continuamente recreada, como toda su vida, por la "interior ley de la caridad,"<sup>167</sup> que la obligue incesantemente a donarse en todo sin reservas, procurando "llegar cuanto pudiesen adonde los primeros llegaron, o más adelante en el Señor nuestro."<sup>168</sup> De lo contrario, la reforma podría quedarse en un ensayo, seguramente bien proyectado y bien logrado en sí mismo, pero más o menos inoperante, que no pasaría de ser "una lámpara puesta debajo del celmín" (Mt 5, 15.).

### Summary

Between 1959 and 1983, the Society of Jesus implemented a thorough reform of its practice of poverty in order to adapt it more adequately to the contemporary world, a world quite different from that in which the Society was founded. The stark impossibility of observing fully the *Constitutions* in the (post) modern world because of the establishment of new types of Jesuit institutions and the

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<sup>165</sup> Vid. nota 104. Todo el d. 9 de la CG 34 va principalmente en esta dirección. Este modo de proceder concuerda sustancialmente con el modo ordinario de proceder en el gobierno de la Compañía, previsto en las *Constituciones* y congruente, por tanto, con ellas; las *Constituciones* no contienen generalmente normas de cumplimiento automático, si ni que tienen que ser aplicadas bajo la dirección y mediante la acción del Superior correspondiente..

<sup>166</sup> Concilium Oecumenicum Vaticanum II, Decretum de accommodata renovatione vitae religiosae, "Perfectae caritatis" (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 58 [1966] 702-12, n. 14).

<sup>167</sup> CG 32 d. 12 n. 15; cfr. *Cons.* [134].

<sup>168</sup> "Primero Examen y General" [81].

adoption of new styles of Jesuit life, prompted General Congregations 31 (1965-1966), 32 (1974-1975) and 33 (1983) to examine the issue. Tentative "Statutes on Poverty" were promulgated on 15 September 1967; a revised, definitive edition appeared on 8 September 1976. Said documents applied sincerely and rigorously fundamental principles of Ignatian poverty, e.g. prohibitions against the professed Society receiving regular income and holding possessions; the renunciation of all goods; gratuity of ministries; dependence on alms, to current practices. Moreover, the new legislation stressed the importance of clear manifestations of the Society's poverty, solidarity with the economically poor, fiscal responsibility and moral investment, and a generosity that shared resources within the Society and with non-Jesuits. The fathers examined contemporary Jesuit practices critically to insure that they conformed to the Society's Institute and the evangelical calling to follow Jesus. The Society needed this reformation to serve more effectively in the modern world.

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## *DICCIONARIO HISTÓRICO DE LA COMPAÑÍA DE JESÚS BIOGRÁFICO-TEMÁTICO*

En el año 1977, los entonces miembros del Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús decidieron la comenzar la tarea de realizar un diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. En 1979 el P. Pedro Arrupe aprobó dicho proyecto. En la pasada fiesta de San Francisco Javier finalmente esta obra ha visto la luz. Se trata de unas 4110 páginas, distribuidas en cuatro tomos, en las que se presentan unas 5.637 biografías, 138 artículos globales de naciones en las que la Compañía ha actuado y se desarrollan, además, 158 temas específicos sobre diversas actividades de la Orden y sobre su Instituto. Han colaborado unos 700 autores y un grupo de traductores y revisores. Esta enciclopedia ha sido editada conjuntamente por la Pontificia Universidad de Comillas (Madrid) y por el Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. El precio de la obra es de Euro 300 (más gastos de envío). Los pedidos pueden ser dirigidos a

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# CATTURA E PRIGIONIA DI CINQUE GESUITI PORTOGHESI PRESSO I MORI A MEKNÉS DAL 1732 AL 1735

Anita Mancia\*

## Premessa

Nel 1732 cinque gesuiti della provincia del Portogallo Xavier da Costa,<sup>1</sup> Emmanuel Paes,<sup>2</sup> Francisco Coutinho,<sup>3</sup> João de Araujo,<sup>4</sup> e Antonio Salgado,<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> \*20.xii.1696 Fataunça-Viseu; SJ 9.x.1716; Prof. 4 vot. 18.vii.1734 Meknés (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 266) e (ARSI, Lus. 15, ff. 193-194). Dal 1730 al 1737 è farmacista (ARSI, Lus. 49, ff. 23' e 144'); dal 1740 al 1754 esercita il ministero di confessore (ARSI, Lus. 49, ff. 14', 136', 211', 266'). Dal 1754 il suo nome sparisce dai cataloghi.

<sup>2</sup> \*5.iii.1700, Lamas-Viseu; SJ 27.x.1716 (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 17). Nel 1730 si trova a Coimbra nella 2ª di teologia (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 17), nel 1737 è a Braga come predicatore (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 166), nel 1740 a Coimbra, docente di teologia morale (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 216), nel 1734 è a Lisbona nel Collegio Xavier come docente di teologia morale (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 298), nel 1749 a Gouvea, Superiore del collegio (ARSI, Lus. 49, f. 52), nel 1754 insegna lettere sempre a Gouvea (ARSI, Lus. 49, f. 178). Nell'anno dell'espulsione, il 1767, è a Roma ed a Castel Gandolfo (ARSI, Lus. 41, f. 7). Successivamente il suo nome scompare.

<sup>3</sup> \*31.iii.1704 Portalegre; SJ 18.viii.1718 (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 18); Prof. 4 vot. 15.viii.1737 Porto (ARSI, Lus. 15, ff. 275-276), †15.iv.1743 Lisbona nella Casa di Probazione (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 313). Nel 1730 è nella 2ª di teologia a Coimbra (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 18), nel 1737 ordinato sacerdote, è a Lisbona come predicatore (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 163), nel 1740 è a Porto (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 226).

<sup>4</sup> \*5.ii.1708 Lisbona; SJ 11.i.1725; Prof. 4 vot. (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 289), nel 1730 è nella 3ª di filosofia, (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 21), nel 1737 sacerdote, teol. 2.a (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 144), nel 1740 sempre a Coimbra teol. 4.a, confessore (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 211), nel 1749 a Roma, come amanuense alla Curia (ARSI, Lus. 49, f. 57).

<sup>5</sup> \*17.vi.1708 Lisbona; SJ 7.ix.1727 (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 257); Coadiutore Spirituale 2.ii.1738-15.viii.1744 (ARSI, Lus. 49, f. 257; Lus. 24, f. 204), Coadiutore 1744 (ARSI, Lus. 49, f. 223). Nel 1737 è Lisbona ove resterà fino al 1754, S. Roque, come procuratore (ARSI, Lus. 48, ff. 140', 208'.

furono inviati alle Azzorre in missione. Durante il viaggio, al compimento di più di metà della rotta su un mercantile inglese, furono vittime di una incursione di una nave corsara saletina. Questo avvenimento significò per loro l'inizio di una prigionia di tre anni, prima a Salé e poi a Meknès. Il prezzo del riscatto dei gesuiti costò al re del Portogallo, João V (o Magnânimo [1706-1750]) 20250 scudi romani ovvero, come precisa l'autore della relazione a riscatto avvenuto, 25.000 cruzados.<sup>6</sup>

La cronaca di questo fatto raccontata in una lettera annua il cui autore è ignoto, ma che fu letta e firmata dal padre provinciale del Portogallo del tempo, João de Menezes,<sup>7</sup> non fu scritta per incitare all'odio, ma per non dimenticare un episodio storico e affinché lo storico del futuro non si trovi dinnanzi ad una lacuna e non tralasci un racconto degno di conoscenza, ma "conosca dunque, quali sono le azioni, né più piccole, né più grandi, che il tempo scrutatore consuma."<sup>8</sup> Insieme con questa annua, le lettere autografe dei tre gesuiti Coutinho, Paes e da Costa al p. Generale Franz Retz,<sup>9</sup> scritte durante la prigionia a Meknès fra il 3 settembre ed il 2 ottobre del 1734, quindi anteriori alla annua il cui "terminus ad quem" è il 1737, chiariscono e danno vigore e forza di verità ad alcune fasi del racconto dell'annua: l'indugio nelle trattative di riscatto, la natura dei lavori forzati dei prigionieri, il ringraziamento al p. Generale per avere concessi i voti solenni ai padri da Costa e Paes. Di qui viene l'esigenza di ricordare anche noi quell'episodio, sottraendo all'oblio una pagina della storia dell'Europa atlantica e della letteratura di prigionia dei gesuiti legata alle azioni corsare.<sup>10</sup> Almeno otto sono le ragioni principali per approfondire quell'episodio: il ruolo delle Azzorre nella rotta per le Americhe anche dopo la fine del XVII secolo e nell'azione pastorale della Compagnia di Gesù durante

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257', Lus. 49, ff. 10', 131'). Nel 1751 è a Rimini, provincia Veneta a quel tempo, ove resterà fino al 1769 (ARSI, Lus. 49, ff. 223', 257', 291'). Nel 1770 lo troviamo l'ultima volta a Rimini (ARSI, Lus. 49, f. 328').

<sup>6</sup> Il cruzado era una antica moneta portoghese. Elementi per determinarne comparativamente il valore con la moneta attuale sono il contenuto metallico (che tuttavia non è lo stesso) e il salario e potere di acquisto corrispettivi. VERBO. *Enciclopédia Luso-Brasileira de cultura* (Lisboa: Editorial Verbo, 1967) 6° col. 506.

<sup>7</sup> \*10.iii.1675 diocesi di Braga; SJ 3.v.1698 (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 15'); Prof. 4 vot. 15.viii.1708 Lisboa (ARSI, Lus. 13, ff. 83'-84'); Provinciale 1735-1738.

<sup>8</sup> "Nostorum apud Saletinos Mauros captivitas," ARSI, Lus. 54, ff. 282'-286'. L'asserzione si trova in f. 286'.

<sup>9</sup> \*13.ix.1673 Praga; SJ 14.x.1689 Bmo (Repubblica Ceca); Prof. 4 vot. 2.ii.1702; †19.xi.1750 Roma.

<sup>10</sup> Henry Koehler, "Quelques points d'histoire sur les captifs chrétiens de Meknès," *Hesperis* 8 (1928) 177-87.



il settecento; la crisi e il declino delle potenze cattoliche, Francia, Spagna e Portogallo nei paesi costieri dell'Africa Settentrionale, e dunque appunto in Marocco, tra la fine del XVII secolo e il primo trentennio del XVIII; l'affermazione di uno stato nazionale in Marocco al tempo di Mawlay Isma'il (1672-1727), la formazione di un esercito regolare in quella nazione e l'anarchia, della durata di un trentennio circa (1727-1757), che successe alla morte di quel sultano; la politica internazionale del Marocco; la normalità delle azioni di pirateria nel quadro dell'affermazione di una città-stato, Salé la Nueva (1610), parzialmente indipendente dal potere del sultano, che finì per diventare una sorta di repubblica corsara potente almeno fino al 1767,<sup>11</sup> la letteratura di prigionia. Questa, se studiata e interpretata obiettivamente, dovrebbe consentire una valutazione oggettiva dell'entità del fenomeno dei prigionieri cristiani a Meknès e della continuità della loro presenza almeno fino alla seconda metà del settecento.

### I cinque documenti inediti conservati in ARSI

La cronaca del gesuita anonimo, scritta probabilmente da un amanuense fra il 1735 e il 1738, richiede non solo di essere introdotta storicamente, ma anche di essere situata nel corpus delle "*Litterae annuae, Lusitania Annuae 1648-1747*," ove è inserita ed anche, per una importante menzione, nell'introduzione alle "Annue" del 1734-1737 e nel "*Conspectus brevis*" dell'Annua del 1734 firmata dal prov. P. Antonio Manso.<sup>12</sup> A tale riguardo quest'ultimo recita: "Contro di essa [la missione alle Azzorre] si abbatté un'infelice spedizione che cinque nostri avevano cominciato alle isole Terziarie, secondo come le chiamano, essendo stata intercettata la nave da Mori certamente Saletini. Anche loro presi con altri passeggeri, spogliati delle vesti, oppressi, miserabilmente maltrattati tuttora sono trattenuti presso i barbari. Si agisce affinché i presenti, sottratti quanto prima a servitù, donino a noi i frutti della loro pazienza sperimentata e i sopravvissuti, esempi di virtù" [225].

Questa è la sola allusione, psicologica e morale anteriore alla fine della vicenda. Essa è contemporanea alle quattro lettere autografe dei gesuiti Coutinho, da Costa e Paes al generale Retz. In queste ultime e da parte di tutti e tre i sacerdoti si lamentava, tra l'altro, la mancanza di impegno del provinciale nel portare a termine le trattative per la fine della prigionia. Lo stesso volume di documenti contiene inoltre le "*Annuae Litterae Societatis Jesu in Provincia*

<sup>11</sup> Bernard Lugan, *Histoire du Maroc des origines à nos jours* (S.l. [Paris?]: Librairie Académique Perrin/Critérion, 2000) p. 190 e segg. Oltre a Lugan, per uno studio più approfondito Juan Bta. Vilar e Ramón Lourido, *Relaciones entre España y el Magreb. Siglos XVII y XVIII* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE S.A., 1994) Colección el Maghreb XIX/11.

<sup>12</sup> \*8.ii.1670 Redinha; SJ vi.1686 (ARSI, Lus. 48, f. 139<sup>v</sup>). L'ultima notizia su di lui si trova in un catalogo non datato del 1750 ovvero 1751 (ARSI, Lus. 49, f. 83<sup>v</sup>). Nel catalogo del 13 gennaio 1752 egli non è più nominato. Fu provinciale dal 1732 al 1735.

*Lusitania ab Anno 1734 ad Julium 1737*," cioè un corpus abbastanza omogeneo di annue raggruppate insieme ff. 264<sup>r</sup>-281<sup>v</sup>.<sup>13</sup>

Per quanto attiene le Azzorre, nel corpo della descrizione del collegio di São Miguel, si può leggere questa significativa descrizione:

Nel 1733 tutta l'Isola fu attraversata a piedi, e anni dopo, lo stesso lavoro fu fatto nell'isola di Santa Maria che per trent'anni non aveva visto i nostri. E due gesuiti inviati colà, resero parchi i costumi corrotti degli abitanti locali. Mentre andavano, li inseguiva una nave da carico di pirati Mori mai vista, se non quando già chiusi nell'insenatura, si trovavano al sicuro. Gli isolani che guardavano dalla riva non dubitarono della certezza di questo avvenimento. Una tempesta agitava i reduci; i marinai avevano risposto al saluto, quando, mentre i nostri pregavano i flutti, improvvisamente mossi, caddero e innumerevoli canotti, con i quali erano penetrati nell'approdo, circondarono la nave da carico dalla quale erano trasportati [280<sup>v</sup>].

Questo avvistamento di una nave corsara saletina al largo della costa di São Miguel e il miracoloso salvataggio da essa, se lo si vuole chiamare così, occorso nel 1733, indica che l'episodio dell'anno precedente era conosciuto. C'era dunque una sensibilità diffusa per il problema delle azioni di corsa dei Saletini. Certo è che dopo la lettera dedicata al Collegio di Braga (ff. 280<sup>r-v</sup>) ed al "Fructus Missionum" ("Frutto delle Missioni") (ff. 280<sup>r</sup>-281<sup>v</sup>), si situa il racconto di prigionia. Esso fa dunque parte di un tutto, dell'insieme di *litterae annuae* sul Portogallo dal 1648 al 1739? Sì, vista anche l'allusione a São Miguel, la perlustrazione dell'isola proprio un anno dopo l'episodio della intercettazione della nave inglese da parte dei pirati saletini.

Il racconto firmato dal Menezes si apre con una indicazione temporale, il 1733 verosimilmente inesatta quanto al computo degli anni dall'inizio della prigionia alla fine. Comunque questo periodo corrisponde, in Marocco, all'epoca dell'anarchia (1727-1757) successiva alla morte del sultano Mawlay Isma'il (1727). Il racconto realizza davvero l'obiettivo di far trionfare in pace la Compagnia in Portogallo senza suscitare odio e risentimento contro chi non aiutò i gesuiti, gli inglesi e i pirati autori dell'azione corsara?

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<sup>13</sup> Esso comprende la descrizione sintetica dei soggetti e dei domicili dei gesuiti in Portogallo (f. 264<sup>r</sup>) e poi le annue riguardanti il collegio di Coimbra (ff. 264<sup>r</sup>-268<sup>r</sup>), la residenza di Papa (f. 268<sup>r</sup>), la residenza di Conimbrica (ff. 268<sup>r</sup>-269<sup>r</sup>), il collegio di Evora (ff. 269<sup>r</sup>-271<sup>r</sup>), la Casa Professa di Lisbona (ff. 271<sup>r</sup>-273<sup>r</sup>), la casa di Probazione di Lisbona (ff. 273<sup>r</sup>-274<sup>r</sup>), la Casa di Probazione di Lisbona dell'India Orientale (ff. 274<sup>r</sup>-275<sup>r</sup>), il collegio di Sant'Antonio di Lisbona (ff. 275<sup>r</sup>-276<sup>r</sup>), il collegio di Faro (f. 277<sup>r</sup>), di Villanueva (ff. 277<sup>r-v</sup>), il Nuovo Seminario di Villa Viçosa (ff. 277<sup>r</sup>-278<sup>r</sup>), il Collegio di Porto (ff. 278<sup>r-v</sup>), il Collegio e la Residenza di Santarém e la missione di Lebrija (ff. 278<sup>r</sup>-279<sup>r</sup>), il collegio di Setúbal (ff. 279<sup>r-v</sup>), il collegio di Braga (f. 279<sup>r</sup>), quello di Funchal e di São Miguel nelle Azzorre (ff. 279<sup>r</sup>-80<sup>r</sup>).

La risposta a tale domanda richiederebbe un approfondimento sull'incidenza dei fatti narrati in Portogallo, lavoro che esula i limiti della presente analisi. Per essere fatto, si dovrebbe disporre di documenti in misura sufficiente a percepire l'eco dei fatti narrati sul pubblico portoghese. Resta il fatto che l'insistenza sulla barbarie e sull'empietà, sugli atti arbitrari e sulla volubilità dei Mori non sono elementi che depongono in loro favore. Ma evidentemente il cronista dopo avere narrato dettagliatamente vicende così dolorose, sente il bisogno di sollevarsi oltre i fatti e di aspirare ad un messaggio trascendente di pace per la Compagnia e di clemenza per tutti, anche se le relazioni con il Marocco in quel periodo non erano certo favorite dalle azioni della corsa saletina.

I fatti raccontati dal redattore a volte imprecisamente, per quanto attiene gli anni, si precisano invece ulteriormente nelle quattro lettere—due del padre Xavier da Costa, una del Padre Paes e una del Padre Coutinho—al p. Generale del tempo, Franz Retz—nel momento di maggiore tensione della prigionia, ovvero nel settembre del 1734. I tre gesuiti che verosimilmente si erano consultati fra loro prima di scrivere le lettere, erano d'accordo nel proporre di suddividere il prezzo del loro riscatto fra tutti i collegi e le case dei gesuiti del Portogallo e pagarlo attraverso elemosina. Avrebbero mendicato il loro riscatto. Dalle loro lettere e parole è anche chiarissimo che non si fidavano della mediazione del console inglese a Meknès Sollicofre,<sup>14</sup> secondo quanto scritto dal p. Coutinho. Viceversa era loro intento di fare pressione perché gli indugi cessassero. Le lettere dei gesuiti, dunque, mettono in luce tre fatti: la responsabilità degli inglesi nel fallimento dell'azione di riscatto; il ritardo delle trattative a causa degli indugi e dell'impegno non totale del p. Provinciale Manso; la natura della prigionia, ben esplicitata nella lettera del padre Xavier da Costa, che ricorda il lavoro forzato, la durezza dei saletini, il lavoro inutile che i prigionieri erano costretti a fare.

Oltre a ciò le lettere invocano tutte la benedizione del Padre Generale e due di esse—quelle dei padri da Costa e Paes—lo ringraziano per la concessione dei voti in circostanze molto difficili. Quest'ultimo è un dato che indica come la vita religiosa dei sacerdoti continuasse ad esprimersi pure fra le difficoltà. La prigionia durò dunque dal 1732 al 1734. Infatti, se è vero che il racconto dell'anonimo riporta soltanto i giorni e i mesi del viaggio di ritorno dei gesuiti

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<sup>14</sup> Vilar e Lourido, *Relaciones entre España y el Maghreb*, p. 226. La grafia di questo nome non sembra essere corretta. D'altra parte non si sono potuti trovare dati biografici su questo e su altri consoli inglesi. Infatti già il significato della parola console nel XVIII secolo, è diverso da quello attuale. I consoli delle nazioni cristiane in Marocco erano infatti dei mercanti che rappresentavano la comunità di mercanti delle singole nazioni presenti ed attive nel territorio marocchino. Quindi non erano diplomatici di professione.

a Lisbona da Meknés, ovvero dal 25 settembre al 4 ottobre, non è verosimile che ciò avvenisse poco dopo l'invio delle lettere dei tre gesuiti al p. Generale, ma appunto l'anno successivo. Si noti, a questo riguardo, che esse arrivarono a Roma il 19 gennaio 1735. Sfortunatamente nell'ARSI non si è potuta trovare la risposta del p. Generale ai tre gesuiti e quindi la documentazione su questo episodio riflette la mancanza di ulteriori dati.

Le fasi degli eventi da cui partire per mettere a fuoco il contesto storico di sfondo ai fatti narrati nella relazione e nelle lettere sono nell'ordine: avvistamento e dirottamento della nave inglese dalle Azzorre a Salé ("*Nostrorum apud Saletinos Mauros captivitas*," ARSI, Lus. 54, ff. 282<sup>v</sup>"); l'arrivo dei gesuiti a Salé la Nueva (f. 282); la "captivitas" dei gesuiti a Salé e la charitas dei mercanti e dei francescani di quella città (f. 283); il percorso a piedi da Salé a Meknés lungo la "Via Regia" e la charitas dei francescani (f. 284); la prigionia a Meknés, nel "Canuto" (K'nut), la charitas dei francescani e dei mercanti cristiani, le difficili, lente trattative del riscatto (ff. 284<sup>v</sup>-285); lo sbloccarsi della situazione al tempo di Mawlay Abd Allah (f. 285<sup>v</sup>); il viaggio di ritorno a Lisbona (1734) (f. 285<sup>v</sup>).

#### **Antecedenti storici della ripresa della pirateria saletina nel XVIII secolo**

L'annua del 1737 fa riferimento al timore degli abitanti di São Miguel alla vista della nave corsara saletina nel 1733. In realtà per due secoli le Azzorre si erano trovate in una situazione abbastanza tranquilla, esemplificata appunto dal fatto non insolito che dei gesuiti avevano deciso di imbarcarsi su una nave inglese piuttosto che sulla nave regia portoghese. La causa di ciò risiedeva nella natura stessa della penetrazione e occupazione messe in atto dai Portoghesi in Africa.

Il Portogallo aveva stabilito numerose piazze forti in Marocco dal XV secolo. Fra esse Mogador, una sorta di dipendenza di Madeira, che le forniva vino, aceto, olio, grano, legno e denaro. Lo stesso accadeva per le esportazioni di grano dalle Azzorre alle piazze marocchine (1538-1540). Infatti Azamor, Agadir e Tangeri importavano grano dalle Azzorre. Al contrario le esportazioni dal Marocco alle isole erano scarse. È certo che i loro abitanti prendevano dal Marocco gli schiavi, visto che l'economia di Madeira e delle altre isole, anche se in misura minore che nei possedimenti spagnoli, era basata sulla schiavitù. Naturalmente gli scambi non erano soltanto commerciali. Infatti le isole davano alle piazze forti marocchine anche aiuti militari, per altro di natura diversa da quello della Spagna, delle città della bassa Andalusia come Cádiz, Puerto de Santa Maria e Jerez. Se infatti i possedimenti spagnoli in Marocco servivano da argine alla Spagna contro i corsari e se gli aiuti spagnoli erano dati per motivi religiosi oltre che per ragioni commerciali, né Madeira né, a maggior ragione le

Azzorre, avevano conosciuta questa minaccia.<sup>15</sup> Così l'aiuto dei portoghesi alle piazze forti del Marocco appariva soprattutto come una manifestazione del lealismo delle grandi famiglie insulari nei riguardi della Corona. Queste si trovavano inserite in una struttura di potere feudale in cui erano suddite del Sovrano verso cui ostentavano liberalità e fedeltà. La lettura delle opere di Damião de Goes e di Frutuoso rafforza questa opinione.<sup>16</sup> E tuttavia è noto dalle lettere di Domingo Maurício Gomes dos Santos<sup>17</sup> che i gesuiti, a richiesta del re del Portogallo e direttamente per mezzo di Sant'Ignazio inviarono P. João Nunes Barreto, poi nominato Patriarca di Etiopia,<sup>18</sup> e P. Luís Gonçalves da Câmara a Tetuán per confessare e riscattare i prigionieri.<sup>19</sup> Questi gesuiti esercitarono una azione missionaria di conversione dei non cristiani, ebrei e musulmani, e di aiuto ai cristiani che erano là e che non si confessavano da tempo, o erano stati presi prigionieri.

La missione dei gesuiti in Marocco dal 1549 al 1559 fu seguita da altre nel corso del XVI secolo e nei secoli seguenti fino all'espulsione. Tuttavia lo storico Maurício dos Santos non scrisse la storia delle relazioni fra i Gesuiti e il Nord-Africa, ma si limitò a trattare solo un aspetto di essa. In questo senso invece, con ampiezza di prospettive, il recente articolo del P. Francisco de Borja

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<sup>15</sup> Cf Robert Ricard, "Les places luso-marocaines et les îles portugaises de l'Atlantique," in *Études sur l'histoire des portugais au Maroc* (Coimbra: Universidade, 1955) pp. 311-24. Per il tema della specificità delle isole portoghesi e delle Azzorre nel contesto della politica iberica in Marocco nel XVI secolo, p. 319.

<sup>16</sup> Ricard, "Les places luso-marocaines," pp. 320-24.

<sup>17</sup> Domingo Maurício Gomes dos Santos SJ., "A entrada dos Jesuitas em Marrocos no seculo XVI," in *Melanges d'études luso-marocaines dédiés à la mémoire de David Lopes et Pierre de Cenival* (Lisboa: Portugalia editóra, 1945) Collection Portugaise 6, pp. 225-295. L'opera fu pubblicata con la collaborazione dell'Institut para alta Cultura di Lisbona e dell'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines de Rabat. Per le lettere citate, pp. 290-295.

<sup>18</sup> \*Porto 1517; SJ 11.xi.1544 ovvero a metà dicembre dello stesso anno; Prof. 4 vot. 3.v.1555 Lisbona; nominato Patriarca di Etiopia su designazione di Sant'Ignazio di Loyola e presentazione del Re João III 23.i.1555; Vescovo 5.v.1555 Lisboa; Patriarca di Etiopia 23.i.1555a; †22.xii.1562 Goa (India). Si era recato in India nel 1556 (*Diccionario de Historia de la Compañia de Jesus* in corso di pubblicazione). Gaspar Frutuoso nell'opera *Saudades da terra*, 2 t. (Ponta Delgada: Instituto Cultural, 1968) II, 298, ha tracciato un bel profilo storico di Pero Nunes Barreto, zio di Hierónimo Barreto arcivescovo di Madeira, che fra le altre attività e meriti si distinse per il riscatto dei "cattivi" in Africa.

<sup>19</sup> \*1519 Madeira (Portogallo); SJ 27.iv.1545 Coimbra; Prof. 4 vot. 30.iii.1553 Logroño (Spagna); †15.iii.1575 Lisboa. Un altro bel ritratto di Luis Gonçalves da Câmara è tracciato da Frutuoso nella stessa opera e nello stesso volume alle pagine 277-78. Su questo tema interviene anche il Ricard con un saggio intitolato "L'aumônerie des captifs chrétiens et la mission des jésuites portugais à Tétouan (1548)," in *Études sur l'histoire*, pp. 239-60.

Medina SJ,<sup>20</sup> costituisce, se si considera l'aspetto cronologico di esso, una continuazione del lavoro portato a termine da Ricard su Tetuán, dato che si concentra sulla missione di P. Gabriel Bautista del Puerto,<sup>21</sup> e del fratello gesuita Gaspar López,<sup>22</sup> per un arco di tempo ancora limitato al XVI secolo, dal 1573 al 1578.

Alla fine del seicento e con l'eccezione di Mazagão che rimarrà portoghese fino al 1769, tutte le "fronteiras" portoghesi e le piazze forti inglesi furono sottratte a viva forza ai possessori: Mehdiya cadde nel 1681, Tangeri nel 1684, Larache nel 1689 ed Arzila nel 1691. Sul litorale mediterraneo gli spagnoli invece riuscirono a conservare Ceuta, Melilla, Alhucemas e Velez. Per 27 anni il sultano assediò Ceuta, che resistette eroicamente.

Il testo della relazione descrive l'arrivo a Salé via mare dei prigionieri, il ludibrio a cui fu esposta la bandiera portoghese che, dopo essere stata gettata a terra, fu issata a prora della nave inglese, anche per stomare momentaneamente l'ira degli inglesi di fronte alla cattura di altri sudditi britannici, e la seconda fase della prigionia dei gesuiti portoghesi a Salé la Nueva, divisa in due dall'estuario di un fiume, il Bu Regreg. Esso divide la città di Rabat da Salé La Nueva, di origine antichissima, punica. Infatti presso i Romani era nota come Sala Colonia mentre nella toponimia araba era conosciuta come Chelah, il cui nome è rimasto da sempre legato alle azioni corsare. A parte questa menzione del fiume che divide le due città, la relazione dell'anonimo non descrive Salé, come invece aveva fatto l'inglese William Atkins nella sua relazione del viaggio da St. Omer a Salé pubblicata da Martin Murphy nel 1994.<sup>23</sup> Quest'ultima è molto interessante perché unica nel suo genere di "testimonianza oculare" su Salé nel suo stadio formativo. Essa ne mette in evidenza la vita di ogni giorno,

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<sup>20</sup> "Rescate de cautivos cristianos bajo Muhammad Al- Mutawakkil. Misión a Tetuán y Fez del P. Gabriel Bautista del Puerto y H. Gaspar López (1574-1575), *Archivo Teológico Granadino* 58 (1995) 213-99, con riferimenti molto interessanti per quanto attiene la bibliografia su questo tema 213-14.

<sup>21</sup> Gabriel Gaspar del Puerto (\*1525 Baza; SJ 5.v.1559 Granada; Prof. 4 vot. 1568 Medina del Campo; †18vii.1578 Segovia) "abogado" della Real Chancillería di Granada, era confessore, aveva talento per il ministero del carcere, ove spiegava la dottrina cristiana ed il Vangelo ai prigionieri. Predicava anche in missioni nelle zone di montagna (Medina, "Rescate de cautivos," 220-21).

<sup>22</sup> \*vi.1533 Granada; SJ vii.563 Granada; †3.xi.1601 Trigueros (Huelva). Procuratore del collegio di Granada e di altre case. Per questa ed altre ragioni egli fu scelto per accompagnare Puerto e aiutarlo nelle questioni del riscatto e della contabilità. L'ipotesi della sua origine moresca, insieme con la sua probabile conoscenza dell' arabo, spiegherebbero la facilità con la quale intrattenne relazioni in Magreb tanto con le autorità che con il popolo (Medina, "Rescate de cautivos," 221-23).

<sup>23</sup> Martin Murphy, ed., "William Atkins, A Relation of the Journey from St Omers to Seville, 1622," in *Camden Miscellany XXXII* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1994) Camden 5th Series, Vol. 3, pp. 191-288.

i costumi, il governo, le condizioni in cui erano tenuti gli schiavi e le relazioni tra il governatore e i suoi sudditi, tra la popolazione immigrata della città e gli indigeni dell'interno. Certamente non è questo il luogo per confrontare la relazione di Atkins con i documenti della prigionia gesuitica in Marocco nel XVIII secolo: questi ultimi infatti appartengono ad un genere che per sua natura non può indugiare nelle descrizioni di luoghi fatte con spirito sereno. Il contesto era tutt'altro. L'altra importante differenza tra la relazione di Atkins e quella dell'anonimo è che, verosimilmente, la prima è il risultato di una testimonianza oculare, mentre la seconda può essere stata il frutto della rielaborazione di una testimonianza oculare.

Durante il regno di Mawlay Isma'il (1672-1727), che precede il trentennio di anarchia (1727-1757) nel quale si situa l'episodio di pirateria oggetto della narrazione del gesuita anonimo e delle lettere autografe dei gesuiti "cattivi" al P. Generale Retz, l'esercito era stato riorganizzato e le frontiere orientali rafforzate, ma la politica con l'Europa e la presenza dei corsari a Salé costituivano i due aspetti più deboli e problematici dell'azione internazionale di Mawlay Isma'il.

Di origine moresca, i suoi abitanti cominciarono ad installarsi nella città di Rabat o casbah di Oudaia nel 1609, dopo essere stati cacciati da Homachos, città spagnola dell'Estremadura al tempo di Filippo III. L'anno successivo degli Andalusi—erano conosciuti come Andalus—sbarcarono in Marocco fondandovi appunto Salé la Nueva ove costituirono una vera e propria repubblica di corsari. Nella loro azione antispannola e anti-cattolica essi ottennero l'appoggio delle Province Unite d'Olanda, indipendenti dal 1648 (Pace di Westfalia), ben contente di aiutare i pirati saletini per contrastare la potenza spagnola. Ciò spiega perché l'Olanda fosse l'unica fra le nazioni europee ad essere risparmiata dalle azioni corsare ed anche l'unica ad avere firmato un accordo con il Marocco fin dal 1610, l'anno successivo alla fondazione di Salé. A partire dal 1622 l'audacia dei corsari saletini non conobbe limiti. Le loro navi cacciavano in schiera fino nella Manica, nel mar d'Irlanda o nei banchi di Terranova.

La pirateria saletina era favorita dalla posizione geografica della città, situata in prossimità dello stretto di Gibilterra, sulla costa atlantica 100 chilometri a sud di Tangeri, e delle grandi rotte marittime del tempo, quella delle Indie e quella dell'America. I ricchi Homacheros finanziavano l'armamento delle navi corsare di Salé i cui capitani erano spesso degli andalusi o degli Europei convertiti all'Islam, ovvero, secondo una terminologia in uso nei paesi cristiani, dei "rinnegati." La flotta corsara di Salé era forte di molte decine di navi tagliate per la corsa, fini, rapide, facili ad essere manovrate, ma soprattutto atte a sopportare le tempeste. Spesso si trattava di navi da confisca. Tuttavia il cantiere navale situato ai piedi della torre Hassan, simbolo della città e che anche i gesuiti dovevano aver vista, ne costruiva ugualmente di proprie. Potevano essere

brigantini dotati di 100 uomini e armati di 10 cannoni o di scebecchi con un equipaggio di 200 uomini e 20 bocche da fuoco. Di ritorno dalle loro campagne, le navi sbarcavano le loro prede, mercanzie e prigionieri che venivano poi venduti alle aste pubbliche. I prigionieri di qualità erano liberati contro riscatto, mentre i semplici marinai o i viaggiatori anonimi attendevano forse degli anni prima che ordini religiosi come quello dei Mercedari raccogliessero fondi sufficienti per il riscatto.

Se questa era la situazione della pirateria e dei prigionieri almeno fino alla prima metà del seicento, alcune novità rilevanti cominciarono ad apparire al tempo di Mawlay Isma'il. Per effetto dell'incremento del commercio del Marocco con l'Europa, la pirateria iniziò gradualmente a diminuire. Un colpo gravissimo le fu inferto dalla decisione del sultano di controllare personalmente l'attività corsara delle sue città-porto. Egli divenne quindi proprietario della maggior parte delle imbarcazioni dedite a questa attività, imponendo tasse molto elevate sulle catture realizzate. Tali imposte crebbero dal 10% al 70%. I prigionieri, che in precedenza erano proprietà di privati cittadini passarono così ad appartenere al sovrano ed a lavorare per lui. In questo senso la linea di demarcazione fra azione di pirateria e azione di corsa divenne più complessa.

#### Sfondo storico contemporaneo ai documenti

La confusa situazione di anarchia che fa da sfondo alla relazione del gesuita anonimo è narrata in modo abbastanza rapido, ma certamente non meno efficace e consapevole, attraverso le parole dei Mori. Questi, vedendo le terribili sofferenze dei gesuiti e dei portoghesi, spiegavano loro che la causa di molte crudeltà era il governo dei neri (senegalesi e mauritani, definiti nella relazione con il termine "Etiopi" perché neri), cui sarebbe succeduto sicuramente un periodo di relativa calma, una volta terminato lo strapotere dei neri e ristabilito il potere centrale. Quale era il meccanismo dell'anarchia, quali le cause?

L'anarchia fu una conseguenza della natura e della struttura frammentaria della società marocchina.<sup>24</sup> In essa le diverse componenti tendevano a risolvere i conflitti e ad equilibrarsi fra di loro grazie al sistema dell'arbitraggio esercitato dal sultano ma erano sempre in pericolo di cadere nel movimento del pendolo, ovvero che l'arbitro si sentisse forte e cedesse alla tentazione del potere personale esclusivo, imponendo un ordine sproporzionato. Poteva altresì accadere che egli si vedesse impotente dinnanzi ai movimenti di instabilità delle collettività autonome e non potesse contenere le forze del disordine. Questa fase, tra le più agitate della storia del Marocco, si può articolare in tre periodi: le rivolte militari dal 1727 al 1735, durante le quali l'esercito dei neri—come si

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<sup>24</sup> Vilar e Lourido, *Relaciones entre España y el Maghreb*, pp. 206-10 e Lugan, *Histoire*, p. 193. La sua analisi dei fatti però, è molto schematica.



fa cenno anche nel documento più lungo che pubblichiamo—governò in una forma duramente dittatoriale; la fase della resistenza delle città ai berberi, dal 1735, anno del riscatto dei prigionieri gesuiti, al 1750 durante la quale l'arroganza degli 'abids, come anche era chiamato l'esercito dei neri, venne meno per effetto dell'opposizione armata di Fez e delle tribù riunite; e infine, l'ampia unione degli arabi e dei berberi sotto la direzione, ogni volta più effettiva, dell'aspirante al trono che seppe imporsi alle circostanze, Mawlay 'Abd Allah. Menzionato verso la fine del documento che pubblichiamo, è il sovrano al quale fu pagato il prezzo del riscatto dei prigionieri portoghesi. Questa suddivisione costituisce lo sfondo del quadro generale, tenendo conto del fatto che l'opposizione armata delle città e delle tribù contro la forza militare dei negri era apparsa chiara già dalla morte di Mawlay Isma'il. Inoltre le città subirono attacchi e spoliazioni da parte dell'esercito e delle stesse tribù che assediaron Fez in diversi momenti. Infine anche le tribù lottarono fra loro, specie gli arabi contro i berberi fino al raggiungimento di un relativo equilibrio, risultato di un esaurimento piuttosto che conseguenza di altri motivi.

Il contesto delle relazioni europee del Marocco nel settecento era vario ed articolato. Esso va esaminato nelle sue componenti principali francese e inglese, che danno il tono dominante. Le relazioni franco-marocchine, in genere buone, cambiarono drasticamente quando nel 1700 Filippo V, nipote del re di Francia, Luigi XIV, salì al trono di Spagna. Da allora si interruppero per una quarantina di anni. In precedenza però esse erano state sempre di natura commerciale. Benchè ci fossero stati tentativi anteriori, le relazioni erano cominciate con il ministro Armand Jean Duplessis, Cardinale di Richelieu nel 1631. Con il primo sultano 'alawī si erano poi concretizzate nella creazione della "Compagnie de Albouze'me" o Aluhcemas. Il commercio francese non si faceva direttamente dalla Francia, ma i commercianti di Saint-Malo, Rouen o Nantes avevano stabiliti i loro gerenti e il loro fondo di mercanzia a Cadice. Di qui rispedivano le merci verso le Indie Orientali, a Levante e soprattutto in Marocco. Più tardi Marsiglia avrebbe commerciato direttamente con il Marocco, però quasi sempre in articoli di contrabbando. Il governo spagnolo, da parte sua, appoggiandosi su supposte norme internazionali, proibiva il commercio con il Marocco per evitare che armi europee fossero usate contro le sue piazze africane.

Con la presa di potere di Mawlay Isma'il, il commercio francese sembrò aprirsi a nuove prospettive, favorite dalle facilitazioni introdotte nel riscatto dei "cattivi," benchè la corsa saletina seguisse il suo ritmo e l'armata francese dovesse armare imbarcazioni da guerra contro i fuochi dei pirati nel paese. A partire dal 1680 si fecero tentativi tanto dall'una quanto dall'altra parte per creare situazioni di comprensione, nel mezzo di dichiarazioni di tregua e di propositi di trattati permanenti di pace. Lo stesso accadeva da parte degli inglesi e degli olandesi. Un delegato francese ed il caïd 'Umar b. Haddu redassero un progetto di trattato, che poi il re Luigi XIV non avrebbe accettato. Più tardi

sarebbe stato il turno di Mawlay Isma'il a fare proposte a Parigi, nel 1682, per mezzo del suo ambasciatore Muhammad Tammin. Questi, in realtà, non cercava altro che liberare dalle galere francesi i "cattivi" marocchini. Però il re francese non poteva lasciare le sue navi senza rematori. Ciò gli sarebbe costato caro. Dunque non concesse loro la libertà. Di conseguenza le lettere del sultano 'alawi al re francese furono dure e reiterate a causa della sua risposta negativa. Da questo momento in poi, considerando anche la proibizione di Luigi XIV di commerciare nel Marocco decisa nel 1687 e ripetuta l'anno dopo, il commercio francese avanzava a contraccolpi. Quando poi Mawlay Isma'il, incoraggiato dai successi conseguiti di fronte alle piazze straniere nella costa atlantica, iniziò a progettare di recuperare ancora con la forza quelle che rimanevano nella costa mediterranea—Ceuta e Melilla—Luigi XIV gli inviò, nel 1693, un nuovo ambasciatore, Saint-Olon, sempre cercando di riscattare prigionieri francesi e di fare progetti di pace. Però il sultano non usò con lui altro che un linguaggio di guerra contro Ceuta, esigendo che gli dessero armi e munizioni con le quali poterla abbattere. Solo in questo modo il sultano avrebbe liberato i "cattivi." L'insuccesso di Saint-Olon fu completo, ma i commercianti di Marsiglia non persero tempo. Infatti già allora cominciarono ad inviare direttamente lo zolfo con il quale il Marocco faceva la polvere. A partire dal 1694 e per dieci anni, il commercio francese, che si univa con il contrabbando dello zolfo, sarebbe prosperato a vista d'occhio, soprattutto nelle città di Tetuán e Salé. La Spagna lo denunciava, appoggiandosi alla bolla papale "*In coena Domini*" nella quale si proibiva alle nazioni cattoliche la vendita di armi e munizioni a paesi musulmani. Questo contrabbando era già tradizionale fra inglesi e olandesi che erano protestanti. E appunto allora, la Francia addusse come scusa che quanti lo praticavano erano protestanti ugonotti francesi e, di più, che lo zolfo era anche utilizzato per sbiancare le tele, dunque per uno scopo pratico.

Visti benefici che il commercio stava dando ad entrambe le parti, Mawlay Isma'il pensò di sostenerlo su basi permanenti. Nel 1697 egli sollecitò la proposta di un trattato di Pace e Commercio. Il governo francese rispose al sultano di firmare quello presentato anni addietro dall'ambasciatore Saint-Olon. Così era ora la Francia che chiedeva una tregua. Il sultano approfittò dell'occasione per distaccare a Parigi un emissario, 'Abd Allah b. Aisa, che Luigi XIV, preoccupato unicamente della libertà dei suoi "cattivi," rifiutò di ricevere, a meno che egli non fosse disposto a firmare un vero trattato. Il trattato fu effettivamente preparato da vari esperti francesi e redatto in vari testi. Alla fine, però, l'ambasciatore marocchino non volle firmare, dicendo che non era autorizzato a farlo. Tutto ciò determinò che 'Abd Allah b. 'Aisa fosse trattenuto in Francia per un tempo abbastanza lungo e diede luogo a che si trattassero diverse questioni, alcune importanti, più appariscenti altre, come per esempio la creazione in cooperazione di una casa commerciale a Salé da parte del mercante Jean Jourdan e dello stesso b. 'Aisa, destinata all'interscambio di

prodotti industriali francesi (specchi etc) con prodotti naturali marocchini (olio, grano, lana, cera, stagno, piombo, etc). Questi, poi, sarebbero stati rispediti in Cina e in America Spagnola, ove Jourdan pensava di iniziare il suo commercio. In quegli anni il commercio francese batteva il record della sua attività facendo registrare, per esempio, per il solo anno 1698, l'arrivo a Salé di 40 imbarcazioni mercantili francesi, mentre il commercio inglese e olandese cadeva. Fino a cinque case commerciali francesi erano presenti a Salé. Però forse l'insuccesso dell'ambasciatore 'Abd Allah b. 'Aisa si può considerare come la causa iniziale del declino che, a partire dal 1700, il commercio francese avrebbe cominciato a sperimentare. Il sultano, infatti, iniziò a porre difficoltà.

Dal 1700 fino al 1718, anno in cui i consolati francesi sarebbero stati soppressi in Marocco per ordine di Parigi, le relazioni franco-marocchine peggiorarono. In questo stesso periodo gli ordini redentoristi iniziarono varie campagne di riscatto di "cattivi" con poco frutto. Infatti, se la media annuale era di 600 galee marocchine nella marina francese e 200 "cattivi" francesi in Marocco, solo meno di un centinaio dall'una e dall'altra parte furono liberati fra il 1700 e il 1727. Da parte della marina francese si fecero ripetuti progetti di occupazione dei porti di Tangeri e Salé, per distruggere la pirateria dalle radici, ma non si arrivò a nulla di concreto.

Da parte del Marocco era Mawlay Isma'il a sollecitare l'intervento di Luigi XIV per fare pace con suo nipote Filippo V, re di Spagna (1704): gli proponeva il suo appoggio armato nella guerra di successione spagnola a favore di Filippo V contro il bando austriaco (1709). Però anche il principe Mawlay Muhammad al-'Alim, figlio ribelle del sultano del Sus, chiese aiuti militari alla Francia ed alla Spagna (1705). I consoli francesi di Salé e di Tetuán, frattanto, abbandonarono i loro posti nel 1710 e nel 1712. Nel 1714 la situazione dei commercianti francesi in queste stesse città era di aperta bancarotta. Infatti le autorità centrali e locali erano arrivate ad impadronirsi impunemente delle loro mercanzie. Pertanto, indebitati dopo 50 anni di permanenza, i mercanti francesi si ritirarono dal paese. La causa diretta, tuttavia, della soppressione dei consolati francesi in Marocco, la cui decisione fu presa dal Consiglio del Regno di Francia il 2 maggio 1718, fu l'affronto fatto dal sultano nel nominare unilateralmente il protestante Etienne Pillet console francese di Salé (1716). Questi dal 1702 era installato in quel porto e si dedicava ad introdurre armi di contrabbando dall'Inghilterra e dall'Olanda per Mawlay Isma'il, interferendo poco a poco, con il suo appoggio, negli affari dei suoi connazionali, che ridusse alla rovina. Pillet nel 1724 sarebbe divenuto musulmano e sarebbe stato nominato "bacha" di Salé. Tuttavia anni dopo fu ucciso per essere intervenuto nelle lotte interne di successione al trono. Alcuni dei commercianti francesi a Cadice continueranno in piccola scala il loro commercio con le città del litorale marocchino fino al 1767, anno nel quale si sarebbero ristabilite normali relazioni tra Marocco e Francia. Quando nel 1718 la Francia e la Spagna ruppero le loro relazioni

diplomatiche con il Marocco, l'Inghilterra approfittò della situazione per stabilirsi commercialmente nel paese. Così i prigionieri francesi per la loro liberazione non poterono contare su altri, che sui fratelli della Mercedes (Mercedari) e sui Trinitari.

Dal 1684 fino al trattato del 1721, le relazioni anglo-marocchine furono caratterizzate da imperativi ben definiti. Mawlay Isma'il accettava infatti di negoziare e di liberare i prigionieri a causa dei doni e dei riscatti che riceveva in armi e in munizioni. La sua azione era volta ad esigere sempre dall'Inghilterra il riscatto globale dei suoi prigionieri in Marocco. Però gli inglesi pagavano molto lentamente e malvolentieri. Essi consideravano i negoziati e le tregue come un respiro per realizzare un commercio più o meno convulso, specialmente dopo che, consapevoli dell'errore commesso nell'abbandonare Tangeri, occuparono con tradimento, nel 1804, la piazza di Gibilterra. Appunto per questo, dal settecento iniziò la politica di inviare emissari da parte delle due corti, l'Inglese e la Marocchina. La questione dei "cattivi" continuava ad essere il motivo principale dello scambio di emissari. Così nel 1714 si concordò una tregua di sei mesi e la liberazione di 69 prigionieri inglesi, il cui riscatto non fu mai pagato dalla Corte britannica, nonostante che Ahmad Cárdenas fosse tornato a Londra per reclamarla. Di qui una rottura che sarebbe durata vari anni durante i quali furono fatti prigionieri oltre 300 inglesi. I consoli inglesi, al contrario dei francesi, non abbandonarono i loro posti e i negoziati tornarono sul tappeto, poiché Mawlay Isma'il doveva rifornirsi di armi per Ceuta e gli inglesi dovevano approvvigionare Gibilterra. Per questo 'Abd al-Qadir Pérez andò a Londra e l'ambasciatore Charles Steward poté ottenere la libertà per 296 prigionieri britannici e un trattato di pace (1721), nel quale si stipulavano il libero esercizio del commercio e la libertà doganale per il materiale di guerra e di marina inviato dall'Inghilterra al Marocco. Allo stesso tempo da parte dei corsari marocchini si assicurava il rispetto degli uomini e delle navi inglesi. Questo trattato sarebbe servito di base per altri accordi che si rinnovarono varie volte dopo la morte di Mawlay Isma'il.

Durante l'anarchia gli inglesi continuarono ad approfittare delle lotte fratricide dei suoi figli per negoziare. Erano accettati, pure, dai vari aspiranti al trono "alawi," ma il disordine politico nel paese fece rinascere la pirateria, come appunto nel caso della nave da carico inglese intercettata dai pirati del documento in questione. Di conseguenza erano frequenti le missioni britanniche alla ricerca della liberazione dei loro prigionieri in cambio di armi. Per questa via si ritornava ovviamente a ripetere o a confermare il trattato di pace del 1721. John Russel andò a riscattare prigionieri nel 1727 e nel 1729. Il racconto del suo viaggio e la descrizione del Marocco da lui offerti sono molto conosciuti. Fra il 1732 e il 1734—gli anni dei documenti che ci interessano—furono catturate fino a dodici navi inglesi, per un totale di 144 prigionieri che il console John L. Sollicofre, cui alludono i gesuiti nelle loro lettere al P.

Generale Retz, fece liberare. Mentre invece appunto non aiutò come aveva promesso, i portoghesi. Per sommo di cinismo e sventura, egli non ricevette il prezzo del riscatto, cosicchè Londra lasciò morire il suo console nella prigionia. Gli incidenti continuavano e il numero di prigionieri si moltiplicava. Tuttavia dal 1735 fino al 1765, nel tempo in cui si succedevano i consoli W. Latton, W. Petticrew, e il capitano Parker, non cessarono le missioni di riscatto dei "cattivi" inglesi. La stessa situazione di incremento delle azioni piratesche saletine si può osservare nei riguardi dell'Olanda, però con esiti diversi.<sup>25</sup>

### **Situazione dei prigionieri cristiani a Salé nel XVIII secolo: La costruzione della prigione del Canuto**

I gesuiti prigionieri dei pirati furono aiutati dai Francescani, dai mercanti francesi, spagnoli (gaditani) e dalla *charitas* di entrambi. "Charitas" è appunto la parola chiave per interpretare il racconto delle loro vicissitudini, almeno in tre fasi della loro prigionia. Dopo il loro sbarco a Salé la Nueva, chiusi in una casa vicina al mare per essere poi trasferiti ad una custodia meno rigida che per l'innanzi, due francescani della provincia di San Giacomo (Betica) si prodigano per aiutarli. Con suppliche e con denaro ottengono dal prefetto che i gesuiti, liberati dal carcere, siano custoditi nella loro casa. Tale sollievo però dura poco. Infatti un moro irrompe in essa per ricondurli in prigione. Si prepara allora una nuova spedizione ed i prigionieri sono inviati in un'altra parte della città di Salé. Il secondo soccorso, per chiamarlo così, dei francescani, avviene durante il viaggio a piedi dei prigionieri lungo la "Via Regia" da Salé a Meknès. Anche in questo caso la *charitas* francescana si esprime attraverso due cristiani muniti di vettovaglie e di vino, che li incontrano e li aiutano lungo la via. Il terzo aiuto, è al tempo della prigionia nel Canuto, il carcere di Meknès. Grazie ai Francescani, i gesuiti possono condurre una vita cristiana che, sulla nave, nella primissima fase della loro prigionia, non era loro stata consentita. Possono infatti ora ricevere l'Eucaristia e recitare il "Te Deum." Mentre i Francescani avevano ogni giurisdizione sui prigionieri, i gesuiti si astenevano dall'ascoltare le confessioni. Ogni giorno i francescani visitavano i malati e li curavano con medicine, preoccupandosi di alleviare i dolori dei loro corpi. Ma raramente si seppelliva chi non aveva un compagno, specie quando occorreva percorrere miglia a piedi, perché il cammino non era sicuro.

Come si vede, una parte molto importante della relazione di viaggio si concentra sulla situazione dei "cattivi" cristiani e sulla descrizione della prigione. Questi due aspetti vanno trattati distintamente, ma al tempo stesso sono per dir così unificati dal luogo fisico, la prigione di Canuto, fatta costruire dal sultano fra il XVII e il XVIII secolo. Ovviamente il cronista gesuita non

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<sup>25</sup> Vilar e Lourido, *Relaciones entre España y el Magreb*, pp. 227-29.

poteva essere interessato alla descrizione di Meknés, ma la città che videro i gesuiti non doveva essere molto diversa dall'incisione che di essa fece l'incisore Fourdrinier per il viaggiatore inglese John Windus nel 1720.

I primi francescani che arrivarono sul territorio marocchino non erano spagnoli.<sup>26</sup> Ma dal 1630 fino ai primi anni del XX secolo, saranno sempre ed esclusivamente di origine spagnola. La comunità cristiana nel paese, formata sempre da persone di nazionalità straniera, sarebbe stata esclusivamente diretta da spagnoli appartenenti al clero religioso spagnolo Franciscano.

L'occupazione principale dei francescani, nell'epoca che ci interessa, era la cura spirituale ed umana dei prigionieri cristiani, benchè non entrassero nella complicata gestione del loro riscatto, compito proprio degli ordini redentoristi—trinitari e mercedari—che si recavano in Marocco occasionalmente per negoziare i riscatti. Le costituzioni francescane infatti proibivano ai membri dell'Ordine di intromettersi nel riscatto dei prigionieri. Poiché condividevano con essi la prigionia, la loro vita era a loro servizio. Talora, comunque, non trovarono altro rimedio che cooperare in qualche riscatto. A questo compito si dedicavano invece stabilmente i Mercedari ed i Trinitari. In tal senso particolarissimo rilievo merita l'opera del Frate Trinitario Pierre Dan *Histoire de Barbarie et des Corsaires* pubblicata a Parigi nel 1630. Come infatti Atkins aveva descritto Salé La Nueva nella fase iniziale della sua crescita, Dan la visitò nel 1630 e le dedicò alcune pagine che la descrivono nell'ultimo stadio dello sviluppo, posteriore alla sua dichiarazione di indipendenza dal Marocco nel 1627.<sup>27</sup> Quando Mawlay Isma'il trasferì la capitale del regno a Meknés, dispose che i prigionieri fossero portati a Fez e poi stabiliti definitivamente a Meknés. Essi costruirono la muraglia della città.

Sembra che le prigioni dei "cattivi" furono tre.<sup>28</sup> Una è quella descritta dal prigioniero francese Mouëtte, che vi visse nel 1672. Era il silos, le cui fondamenta dovevano trovarsi nei pressi dei cantieri dove lavoravano gli schiavi. Finito il palazzo reale, ai prigionieri fu data una prigione più confortevole, chiamata da Mouëtte "le bite neuf." Essa si componeva di vaste sale ad alto soffitto ove i prigionieri avevano organizzato i loro letti in forma di amache. Questa prigione, sempre secondo testimonianza di Mouëtte, si trovava nel Dar-Maghzen.

Una terza prigione è probabilmente quella del tempo in cui Mawlay Isma'il costruì la Roua, la famosa curia. Lo storico francescano del convento di

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<sup>26</sup> Vilar e Lourido, *Relaciones entre España y el Maghreb*, pp. 252-56.

<sup>27</sup> Murphy, "William Atkins," p. 206 e infra nota 18.

<sup>28</sup> Per questo aspetto delle prigioni, della loro storia e descrizione, cfr. il vecchio ma attuale articolo di Koehler, "Quelques points d'histoire."

Meknès, Francisco di San Juan del Puerto, ha fornito la descrizione di essa nell'opera intitolata *Misión Historial de Marruecos* pubblicata a Siviglia nel 1708.<sup>29</sup> Questa costruzione fu però bruscamente distrutta nel 1692 o nel 1693. Si può supporre che ciò accadesse a causa dell'arrivo dei prigionieri di Larache, che aveva costretto il sultano a suddividere gli schiavi in diversi luoghi di Meknès. Quale che ne fosse stata la ragione, tutti i cristiani temporaneamente alloggiati durante un anno dentro il palazzo, furono trasferiti nell'antico quartiere della judería, di contro alla muraglia nord del Dar Maghzen, sul versante orientale della città. Sul terreno chiuso da alte muraglie essi furono divisi in nazionalità, e costruirono delle capanne di legno, di canne, e di terra. Al centro si innalzò la chiesa, vasta costruzione che poteva contenere 600 persone, decorata di marmi. Il quartiere prese il nome che i prigionieri avevano dato alle loro abitazioni sotterranee. Le chiamavano con la parola araba "hanut," che in francese e in spagnolo suonava "canut" o "canot." Con questo nome tale prigione è giunta in latino: "canutum." Il profilo inciso da Fourdrinier, grazie alla relazione del viaggiatore inglese John Windus è la fotografia panoramica, avant-lettres, di Meknès nel 1720. Il quartiere dei prigionieri vi viene indicato distintamente.<sup>30</sup>

Dalla seconda metà del seicento al 1700 Ismail fu crudele verso i prigionieri. Ma il suo atteggiamento cambiò notevolmente proprio nel 1700. Infatti gli spagnoli ottennero di potere costruire un piccolo ospedale dove potevano essere curati più di cento malati. Nel 1693 l'ospedale fu completamente costruito dagli stessi prigionieri. Il padre Francisco di San Juan del Puerto, il cronista ufficiale dei Francescani della Provincia di Andalusia, lo descrive come uno degli ospedali più completi che si potessero trovare in Spagna. Aveva infatti due padiglioni capaci di contenere 100 letti ciascuno, uno spazio per i malati contagiosi, uno per i locali, un altro per il personale sanitario, farmacie o botteghe, cucine con servizio di acqua corrente. Il frate Francisco de San Juan del Puerto visse molti anni a Meknès nel tempo del sultano Mawlay Isma'il, che gli dimostrò una particolare amicizia. Nei suoi contatti con i prigionieri e con i francescani si manifestò in forma speciale la trama complicata della personalità di Isma'il, che passava dalla crudeltà più brutale ai sentimenti più raffinati. Grazie ai libri-registri della Missione Franciscana si conosce la farmacopea utilizzata nell'ospedale. Essa contava 110 prodotti farmaceutici differenti. In questo ospedale non solo si curavano i prigionieri cristiani, ma anche molti marocchini, della famiglia e del personale di servizio del sultano. Questo, dunque, è lo sfondo più ravvicinato, concreto, del racconto della prigionia dei

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<sup>29</sup> L'importanza di questo testo come fonte dei dati sulla vita dei prigionieri e sui fatti del Marocco immediatamente prima della prigionia dei gesuiti, è stata sottolineata a più riprese da Vilar e Lourido, nell'opera sopra citata ed anche dal francescano Koehler.

<sup>30</sup> Koehler, "Quelques points d'histoire," 181.

gesuiti nel 1733, al tempo dell'anarchia militare in Marocco. A quell'epoca, in particolare nel 1728, il numero dei prigionieri portoghesi era 128. Nel 1736 i francesi erano 75. All'inizio del secolo, invece, la situazione era diversa. Il totale dei prigionieri cristiani era 800, di cui 200 erano francesi.

**Note sul genere letterario della relazione**  
***"Nostrorum apud Saletinos Mauros captivitas"* (ca 1737)**

Il genere letterario in cui rientra la relazione dell'anonimo *"Nostrorum apud Saletinos Mauros captivitas"* è quello delle *"litterae annuae"* il cui scopo edificatorio caratterizza fortemente la struttura del racconto.<sup>31</sup> Molto ben organizzato sul piano retorico, con un vivace ed acuto senso del dramma e della scenografia, come si è già rilevato, il testo non indica solitamente i nomi dei partecipanti alle azioni, a meno che non siano gesuiti, ovvero conosciuti e degni di menzione per le loro nobili azioni. Esso nomina i soggetti attraverso sostantivi che ne qualificano l'appartenenza a una nazione ovvero anche ad un ordine religioso, come nel caso dei due francescani che aiutarono i gesuiti dopo il loro sbarco a Salé La Nueva. L'uso dei sostantivi indicanti la nazionalità riguarda, per esempio, l' *"Anglus acatholicus"* capitano della nave inglese che aveva preso a bordo i gesuiti e anche in altri casi, quello dei mori che prendono la parola (*"Maurus"* o *Mauri*) o dei francescani, addirittura. Tale anonimato del racconto, per dir così, è appunto una delle caratteristiche delle *"litterae annuae."* Ad essa se ne unisce un'altra non meno fondamentale: l'attenzione alle azioni, al carattere delle persone, sinteticamente definito attraverso concetti e virtù, come appunto la *charitas* dei mercanti cristiani e dei Francescani, ai dialoghi. In tal senso non meraviglia, anzi, diventa quasi normale, l'assenza della descrizione geografico-fisica dei luoghi, che sono importanti soltanto in quanto tracce concrete e dolorose dell'itinerario dei prigionieri (quasi una sorta di via crucis) gesuiti.

Non è questa la sede per entrare nel merito di una dettagliata analisi letteraria del testo. Basti però indicare soltanto alcuni esempi più interessanti. In apertura di racconto, quando Xavier da Costa ed Antonio Salgado scendono dal Moro istruendo gli altri compagni sul pericolo e si potrebbe attendere con ansia la soluzione dell'affare, che non è ancora prigionia, l'autore con capacità letterarie notevoli, esprime così lo stato di incertezza, di attesa e di pericolo:

Frattanto il capo Moro spesso consultava i suoi, se dovesse prendere la preda che aveva fra le mani. Indugiavano i nostri e poiché c'era un segreto mormorio del medesimo, ovvero per non mancare di udire le attente orecchie dei Mori, con il giudizio degli occhi misuravano il loro pericolo.

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. *"Regulae Scribendi,"* in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, 3 t. (Florentiae: Ex Typographia a SS. Conceptione, 1892-93) III, 43.



Mentre questi aspettano l'incerto esito, dei Mori armati scendono insieme dalla nave inglese.<sup>32</sup>

Attraverso l'uso di verbi indicanti attenzione e misurazione ("misuravano il loro pericolo") il testo sottolinea bene tanto l'attesa quanto la caduta di essa in una azione proprio nel momento in cui i Mori armati scendono dalla nave. Le azioni posteriori, in rapida successione e tutte al presente, di una violenza crescente, in climax, mostrano che ogni speranza è perduta:

E mettono mano agli scafi tutti i naviganti, li trascinano seco, e li spingono con violenza a tal punto che uno dei nostri sarebbe stato sommerso se le pronte mani dei marinai non avessero ripreso colui che era stato tratto dal mare, e inoltre ancora senza alcuna discriminazione, scacciano i contusi con bastoni e con pugni, con palle gli intercessori, e dopo averli spogliati gettano fuori dalla stiva della loro nave tutti gli altri.<sup>33</sup>

Da questo momento la narrazione talmente precisa e dettagliata nelle parole usate da far presupporre che l'autore potesse anche essere un testimone oculare, oppure che avesse raccolto la parola di un testimone oculare, diventa un racconto di lagrime, sofferenze e dolore da un lato, di azioni crudeli e barbare, dall'altro. Successivamente il cronista descrive il comportamento dei Mori verso i cristiani alternando l'enunciazione dei fatti alla descrizione delle condizioni di prigionia ed alla drammatizzazione delle scene di violenza perpetrate contro tutti i portoghesi. L'arroganza dei saletini si manifesta ancora di più all'arrivo della nave al porto. Qui per impudenza e per arroganza, i mori gettano a terra le insegne dei Portoghesi e le appendono alla prora della nave affinché, coloro che guardavano dalla riva, vedessero che non si trattava di una nave inglese, ma portoghese.

L'anonimo descrive il viaggio durissimo dei prigionieri che percorrono la via Regia da Salé a Meknès. Le loro condizioni sono disumane. Al cessare di ogni speranza di libertà per i gesuiti che non hanno davanti a loro altra alternativa che il carcere, l'autore della relazione rivela ancora una volta la sua abilità tecnico-letteraria. Egli infatti inserisce tre azioni—la richiesta della libertà attraverso un interprete Ebreo da parte di un suddito Britannico, la risposta arrogante e violenta del Moro che fa condannare al rogo l'ebreo e la fuga del Britannico, entro la cornice della prigionia nel carcere di Caneto. Adottando una tecnica ad incastro con tanti soggetti (i prigionieri in gran parte spagnoli, i Francescani, l'Inglese, l'Ebreo, il Moro, i Portoghesi), in uno spazio letterario di 11 righe, l'autore getta le basi per lo svolgimento degli eventi futuri. Di più la sua abilità

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<sup>32</sup> ARSI, Lus. 54, f. 285<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> ARSI, Lus. 54, f. 285<sup>v</sup>.

non è soltanto narrativa, temporale in senso ampio, ma anche descrittiva e di contenuto. Infatti, oltre a separare i francescani dai prigionieri attraverso il verbo e la congiunzione "Accesserunt etiam Franciscani Patres" ("si appressarono anche i Padri Francescani"), li caratterizza con un sintagma nominale in cui gli opposti vengono uniti a formare il carattere della loro azione verso i gesuiti: "Franciscani patres, quorum ditissima paupertas de omnibus abunde providit" (letteralmente: "I padri francescani la cui ricchissima povertà provvede con abbondanza di ogni cosa"). La paupertas è ditissima (la povertà è ricchissima) e, soltanto in una contraddizione apparente "abunde providit" ("è abbondantemente provvista"). Questa caratterizzazione per opposti è segno del possesso di una abilità letteraria non trascurabile, finalizzata al contenuto morale. Altrove le capacità drammatiche dell'autore si apprezzano attraverso l'inserzione di discorsi diretti all'interno della narrazione (le minacce dei mori per esempio, espresse in spagnolo e in portoghese: "Altri, che avevano appreso parole spagnole, profferivano delle minacce nel proprio barbaro eloquio 'Andare dal re dopo, tagliare la testa dopo.' Andrete dal re e poi vi sarà tagliata la testa."<sup>34</sup> Queste parole in volgare vivacizzano la narrazione, ma sono anche tradotte, perché il registro dell'autore è più elevato di quello di alcuni dei personaggi in azione. Questa inserzione avvalorava pertanto ancora di più l'ipotesi che alla base di questo resoconto o rapporto come si voglia chiamarlo, vi fosse un testimone oculare. Il cronista descrive inoltre il lavoro forzato dei prigionieri e le loro condizioni sotto qualunque tempo.<sup>35</sup> In conclusione sembra di poter dire che si è di fronte ad un testo che, pur presentando alcune inesattezze temporali, si divide fra il dato oggettivo della narrazione della prigionia e delle sue fasi storiche da un lato; e il racconto letterario, fortemente drammatico, delle sofferenze e delle azioni arroganti non soltanto dei pirati, ma anche dei Mori in genere, dall'altro.

Quanto all'aspetto formale dei documenti, la relazione dell'anonimo è una copia che, per il fatto stesso dell'assenza dell'originale, acquista una grande importanza, in quanto è l'unico testo su tutte le fasi della prigionia dei Gesuiti, dal principio nel 1732 al loro ritorno in Portogallo. Le lettere sono invece autografe. Siccome contenevano tutte un sigillo, in corrispondenza di questo la carta e l'inchiostro sono spariti. Così, nel trascriverle si è messa una parentesi quadra [ ] con la dicitura illegibile [illegibile] appunto là dove l'impossibilità di leggere la scrittura è un dato di fatto, perché carta e inchiostro sono spariti. Tuttavia i luoghi in cui ciò si è verificato sono pochi e non nuocciono all'intelligenza del testo, tanto nei dettagli quanto nel loro complesso. Alla fine di ogni lettera, nel versus del foglio, si trova un breve riassunto di

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<sup>34</sup> ARSI, Lus. 54, f. 282<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> ARSI, Lus. 54, ff. 285<sup>rv</sup>.

ciascuna lettera. Si pubblica qui anche quello perché fa parte dei documenti.

I testi sono tutti di facile lettura. Non è stato necessario introdurre la punteggiatura, poiché la contenevano già o cambiare l'ortografia delle parole, poiché era, nella più parte dei casi, corretta.

Quanto all'ortografia della copia scritta da un amanuense e firmata dal padre Provinciale Menezes, essa presenta alcune inesattezze laddove alcune parole che in latino classico hanno due consonanti, sono scritte con una sola. In questi casi, non molti, si è lasciata la parola come era scritta nel testo dell'amanuense e nella nota si è fornita la grafia corretta.

La copia firmata dal Padre Provinciale è pulita, in bella calligrafia, sempre comprensibile, senza cancellature di sorta. Tutte queste ragioni fanno dunque pensare che si tratti della mano di un amanuense. Quanto alle lettere autografe, a parte il problema della ceralacca che ha omesso alcune righe, non ci sono varianti di stesura, né cancellature. Pertanto non si offre di questi documenti un testo con apparato critico in senso stretto, con varianti, poiché non ci sono redazioni diverse della stessa frase o sintagma nominale. Si offre invece un apparato di note storiche per indicare luoghi e persone menzionate, ove beninteso, sia possibile identificarli.

### Testi inediti

*"Nostrorum apud Saletinos Mauros captivitas."* ARSI, Lus. 54, ff. 282'-286'. Anqua circa 1737.

Anno 1733 quinque ad Tertiarias Insulas missi sunt. P. Xaverius a Costa, P. Emmanuel Paes, P. Francisco Coutinho, P. Antonius Salgado, Joannes de Araujo gramaticae magister. Majorem viae partem<sup>36</sup> varia inter maris pericula exanthlaverant,<sup>37</sup> cum piratica Saletinorum navis visam, procul onerariam anglicam, qua nostri vehebantur, velis remisque diem integram sequuta est. Monitus saepe Navarchus ut se fugae, vel pugnae accingeret, saepe victores bono esse animo, et tranquillo iussit; adesse sibi a Mauris publicum testimonium quo, se adversus ipsorum arma defendat. In primo noctis conticinio pervenit ad colloquium Maurus, quodnam esset navigium piratica licentia terrorem inter

<sup>36</sup> Il testo è molto generico. Non precisa dove la nave inglese si trovasse, ma dice soltanto che aveva percorso la maggior parte della rotta. È da notare che l'autore anonimo usa il termine "via" che in latino classico (Cicerone ed Orazio) era contrapposto a mare. Quest'ultimo indicava appunto il viaggio per mare, mentre via indicava un viaggio terrestre. Questa differenza, nel testo del 1737-8 viene ignorata. D'altra parte nella frase successiva si menziona il mare, pertanto il senso è chiaro. Solo la maniera di esprimerlo, ovviamente, non corrisponde al latino classico. Si può presumere che l'evento accadesse in prossimità delle Azzorre, anche senza specificare—e questa è una lacuna dell'autore—quale delle isole.

<sup>37</sup> Exanthlaverant, in latino nel testo. Il verbo latino ammette anche la variante exanciare.

a minas vagans, et superbe imperans, ut publicum a rege suo testimonium exhibeant. Cunctantes tribus tormenti bellici fulminibus percussit. Paruit illico invitus Anglus; salutaremque chartam et inspiciendam misit et approbatam recepit, iniuncto imperio, ut ad Maurum transiret ipse. A catholicus Anglus aut perfidia sua, et in nostros odio, aut intentatis minis adductus, quidquid navi suae inclusum veheret, aperuit. Iubet ergo Maurus nostros omnes acciri; at ne suborta inde suspicio, ac desperatis vectores pro defendenda libertate instigaret ad pugnam, duos tantum, mitigato imperio se vocat. Accepto tristi nuntio, PP. Xavier da Costa et Antonius Salgado ad Maurum excenderunt, reliquis interim socios ad extremum periculum salutariter instruuntibus. Comites, quantum ab inculta barbarie sperari poterat, excepti inter nudatos hinc inde acinaces invitati ad caenam.

Maurus interim ductor saepe consulebat suos, num quae in manibus erat, praedam caperet. Haerebant nostri; et, quoniam erat eiusmodi secretum murmur ut vel attentas Maurorum aures fallerent, oculorum iudicio periculum suum metiebantur. Dum isti dubium expectant exitum, Anglicam navim conscendunt armati Mauri, vectoresque omnes scaphis imponunt, trahunt, adeoque violenter propellunt, ut e nostris unus ab dubio mergeretur, nisi prompta nautarum manus e pelago vix prolapsus exigerent, denique fustibus pugnisque contusos, precatoriis globulis, caeterisque omnibus spoliatos ad subductas navis suae latebras nullo discrimine detrudunt. Locis angustiae miserorum lacrymae, et Maurorum sordes intolerabilem prorsus situm reddiderant; praecipua vero nostros cura loquebat, quidnam de nostris, qui praecesserant, decrevisset atrox adeo in universos inhumanitas. Eadem illos sollicitudo angebat, donec ipsos et Anglum ducem multa perfunctoriaque interrogatione per speciem familiaritatis distinxit, quoad Lusitanos omnes vinctos intellexit. Abire humaniter iussos circumstant in transtris lictores, captosque et colaphis ac pugnibus percussos secretum itidem in locum conjiciunt. Tunc vero potuit Mauri ad fraudes ac dolos non rudis barbaries. Itaque sociis redditi sospitem in tanto periculo vitam mutuis complexibus gratulati calamitatem suam, quam et loci tenebrae et noctis horror geminabant, usque ad lucem deflevire. Ubi, discussa nocte, miseram oculis calamitatis imaginem dies aperuit, recrevit cum luce dolor. Iacebant, quae prius amore praedae nudaverant, congesta corpora; manus etiam post terga revinxerant, ne pulices, aut paediculos, qui incredibili numero ad novam praedam involaverant, possent arcere: sudore madebant, ac lacrymis, quas animi dolor, et loci calor expresserat, quibus tamen siccandis nihil barbarorum rapacitas reliquum fecerat.

Ecce dum misere plorant, consolator Maurus, qui afflictos in spem libertatis erexit; brevi in suam navim reducendos; parecerent interim lacrymis, eoque

uterentur opsonis,<sup>38</sup> quo recentius delicatiusve haberi in navigatione non poterat. Simul explicat biscocci panis fragmina, rectius diceret vermium favos, conio involuta, quo ferculo utantur in mari, cum delicatius epulantur; addit non tam maceratas, quam putres olivarum baccas; quo cibo toto navigationis tempore pasti sunt. Sordida cibi facies, quae vel avidissimam famem averteret, suasit [282<sup>r</sup>] abstinentiam, sed praecipue latus de libertate nuntius. [Ita] interim dies spem, ac timorem inter; appetente nocte, velis ac rudentibus oppletus designatur ad quietem locus; tormentum pro beneficio, quod ambitiose commendabant, obtulerunt; etenim nodosa super funium ac velorum involucra, cubare durum, in angustò et aurae prorsus impervio loco respirare difficillimum. Commodius igitur visum pernoctare in navigii foris sub dio pluviae, frigoris et ventorum injuriis expositos. Anglis cum duce permisit, ut in navi sua Maurorum militum praesidio occupata veherentur, unde quae plurima ad victum imposuerant vectores, ad Mauricam scaphis transportabantur; nihil tamen nostri fame, ac siti pene exanimis acceperunt. Ea inter cibi lectique incommoda ab 16 octobris ad 17 Novembris navigarunt<sup>39</sup> omni spe amatae libertatis abiecta, aperto caelo frui licebat interdium; at si ad conspectum venerat navis aliqua, manibus ad tergum arcissime colligatis, ad carinae latebras deducebantur, sepulchrum magis quam carcerem; quippe respirandi facultatem angustiae adimebant. Sic novae praedae inhiantem, Maurum ambitio sua circumtulit; sed hiantem spes sua reliquit, quam suis, ut aiebat propheta, revelationibus firmaverat; fore scilicet ut duplici praeda capta victor, ac triumphans rediret, altera captivorum praestantia nobili, alia rerum pretio locupleta. Ex parte iam constare oraculi fidem, brevi secundo eventu ex integro confirmandum. Postquam diu rapinae intentus, navigavit, deficientibus iam utensilibus, Saletum prora obvertit. Piraticis saletinorum navigiis lex ea severe est imposita, ne ante bimestre ab excursionem redeant: idcirco diu alto subsistendum fuit.

Sunt in navibus Mauri, ut nusquam alias sectae suae tenacissimi. Igitur cum breviana nostri poposcissent, ut diurnum horarum pensum persolverent, responsum fuit maximum in se admissuros piaculum si in nave maurica eos libros christianis permitterent. Cum vectores alios spoliarent, collegerunt numos aliquos intimis vestium sinibus inclusos. Nostros ergo saepius monere Ductor, se adduci non posse, ut crederet viros nobiles, dum longinquam navigationem aggredierentur nihil pecuniae secum abduxisse. Aurum, argentumve siquod deferrent, tutius apud se servandum; quod si subodorarentur nautae, erepturi essent. Cacterum qua fide custodiendum depositum foret, brevi patuit. Etenim,

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<sup>38</sup> Oponis, in latino nel testo. Il latino ammette le due grafie e forme del verbo che sono obsono ed opsono, ma anche obsonor e opsonor. Dal greco opsonéo che significa fare le provviste.

<sup>39</sup> Il testo non specifica l'anno e non lo farà in seguito. Però siccome è la prima fase dell'episodio, doveva appunto trattarsi del 1732.

cum nullam sibi adesse pecuniam respondissent patres utpote quos alit obedientia sua, nondit, scrutari vestes iussit severe adeo, ut nec intimis latebris parceretur. Cum nihil reperissent lictores, fit ipse ambitiosus exactor, et aliquos ad se deductos vestibus nudari praecipit, acceptasque curiose ac diligenter intropicat. Quo experimento suo convicta requievit ambitio. Vix dici credique possunt, quae et quanta ludibria sordidi Mauri, ac blasphemi, praesertim nostris impeerint. Divis omnibus eos, ac suppliciis devorabant, vellebant barbae pilos, faciem sputis, et colaphis verberabant, illudebant, inclamabant, ridiculis gesticulationibus, et incondito visu improba interdum quassantes capita aliquid nece pejus minitabantur. Alii, qui verba hispanica didicerant, barbaro prorsus eloquio minas sic interpretabantur. "Ir a Rey, cortar logo cabeça logo." Id est Regi sistemini, illico, illico jugulabimini: simul adducta ad acinacies, capulum dextera, ipso gesta prodebant promptos se libenter fore carnifices. Qui non penitus humanitatem exuerant, si aliquid ad victum lectumque deposcerent, id semper reddebant omnes: eam esse maris fortunam. Saepe a ductore admissi ad colloquium aliquid ad diuturnae famis remedium petebant ex suo: nihil ipse unquam praeter simulatae commiserationis indicia exhibuit; aversa quippe et ad miserantis morem composita fronti opponebat utramque palmam per interpretem subiungens videre se non posse miseriam calamitosa fortuna, sed urgere Regis imperia, quae nisi capitis sui dispendio frustrare non liceret.

Haec inter infausta navigationis incommoda ad Saletini denique portus conspectum appulsi sunt.<sup>40</sup> Hic per summam impudentiam, arrogantiamque lusitanorum sacratissimum [283] Lusitanorum sterna eo situ ad proram suspensum est, ut ipso navis rostro protereretur, hoc certe consilio, ut non Anglicam navim, sed Lusitanam captam reputarent ex littore. Festo denique bombardarum tonitru victorem adesse se denuntiat. Saevis debachatur [=debacchantur] ad Saleti portum hybernis tempestatibus mare; accedit excensus difficultas; neque enim bellica navigia ferunt angustae adeo fauces ut nonnisi velocibus, brevioribusve cymbis adeundus sit portus, idque etiam maximo vitae periculo propter extantes hinc inde scopulos, nisi cum pacata tranquillitas fluctuosos montes stravit. Id in causa fuit cur in alto captivis expectandum fuerit, donec venti ponerent, minusque timeretur in portu naufragium. Interim piscantur Mauri felici captura, pisces pro more suo sordide condiunt; Maurum, qui victor etiam cum praeda praevenerat, stabatque in anchoris ad sordidas lautitias invitant. Promisit ille ad prandium, et festa bombardarum explosione exceptus, stipante undique Maurorum caterva, maximam, ut aiebat, comilitoni [=commilitoni] suo felicitatem est gratulatus. Cumulabant interim Maurorum laetitiam nostrorum ignominia, et Lusitani

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<sup>40</sup> Qui ha inizio la seconda fase del viaggio prima della traduzione in prigione e, come al solito, manca l'indicazione del giorno e del mese.

nominis dedecus; captivos enim in suma [=summa] prora longo ordine disposuerant, ubi Lusitanorum sterna injurioso telo laceratum suspenderant infimis interim nautis incondito clamore, et corporis gestu, quo non intellectum alienigenis carmen mirifice inculcarent, inclamantibus. Convivantur Mauri proceres bibunt, bachantur. Adhuc circumferebatur mulsum, cum nostros per speciem honoris se vocant, ad epuli reliquias. Appositum nihil praeter iusculum, quod dum escas acciperent, illota barbarorum manus illuvie sua turpaverunt. Dum excensum expectant vestes quibus hactenus humanior ambitio pepercerat, prorota diripit.

Ventum erat ad nostros, qui demissis oculis correctaque modestia legibus fronte reliqua corporis nuditatem supplere parati erant. Compositissimos vultus intuitus aliquamdiu barbarus: "Abite, inquit, licet enim pauperem me fortuna nobilem tamen fecit sanguis, qui immodestiam vestram audere me vetat." Acceptae denique lintres, quae captivos ad littus [=litus] exponerent, maxima id captivis laetitiae fuit, quod periculosae navigationis incommodis finem ea dies attulisset, quae si diutius proveheretur, nihil mitius expectabant, quam diuturna fame ac siti perire. Sed ecce dum sibi sistunt optata securitatis imaginem vix ortum gaudium avertit praesens periculum. Eversum erat procellosis fluctibus mare eaque rabie ad lintrium latera arietabant spumantes undae, ut tremefacta compage, non concuti sed dissolvi viderentur. Periculum certum erat, ne aut in scopulos allisi, aut irruente pelago submersi perirent, sed maximo Dei beneficio ad ulteriora pericula servati. Ad excipiendos captivos ea multitudo accurrebat, quam vix caperent spatiosa quantumvis littora. Ubi nostri ad conspectum venere, exorta subito vociferatio recenti periculi vix superstites attonuit. Tantum certe fuit, irruente circum turba, periculum, ut arcendo furori armata manu, magistratus accurrenit. Aegre in Christianae legis doctores armati milites compescebant effusum impetum. In domum igitur mari proxima coacti, donec deferbuisset primus ingruentis vulgi tumultus. Inde ad custodiam non adeo rigidam per inhumanae gentis cuneos traducti. Circumstabant undique Mauri, insultabant, colaphis, ac sputos faciem onerabant titubantes denique, et famis ergo nutantes a tergo violenter impulsos urgebant, appellabantque totius orbis faciem et e barathri caminis depromptos carbones.

Omnes tandem nullo discrimine conjiciunt in carcerem quo triginta flandros praemiserant. Singulis cum malo punico, et rapo dato pro prandio, et caena panes bini, quae pristinae famis memoria delicias reputabat. Accessit exterorum mercatorum charitas, qui negotiationis causa Saleti commorantur. Solent quippe etiam [283] non Romani captivos omnes dum hic commorantur suo quisque die per ordinem alere. Eos praecipue recreavit duorum fratrum minorum charitas, quos Sancti Iacobi provincia Baetica hic alit,<sup>41</sup> et divina Providentia

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<sup>41</sup> Questa è la prima menzione di una "domus" di francescani a Salé (Rabat).

conservat, ut mercatores catholicos sacramentis reficiant et Christianis, qui eo captivi trahuntur, opem ferant quod sedulo, et ardentem praestant. Accurrerunt illico, et precibus ac pecunia a Praefecto obtinuerunt ut nostri carcere soluti in Domo sua custodirentur. Huc receptos omnibus religiosae charitatis officiis recrearunt; praecipua de vestibus cura fuit absterso illarum phaedore [=foetor] et pediculorum illuvie corrogata insuper a mercatoribus indusia singulis distributa, procurataque omnia, quae aliquod miseris levamen forent. Maior noctis pars ad aras exacta; omnes enim incredibili gaudio celebrarunt, quod nisi noctis tempore Mauri non permittunt. Vix eam felicitatem degustaverant, cum ad prima lucis crepuscula domum invadunt lictores et nostros in carcerem cursus abducunt, quo ipsos invisuri veniebant Religiosi captivorum Patres. Humi forte pro regionis more sedebat alter nostris proximus; irruit in carcerem Maurus, causatusque cum captivorum confessiones excipere, nudato prigione invadit: restitit ille imperterritus, exciditque innocua rabies.

Redempta iterum carceris custodia ad Religiosum hospitium missi,<sup>42</sup> biduoque commorati sacra fecerunt. Interea expeditionem adomatus piratae navis Ductor captivos in aliam urbis regionem, quae aestuario interjecto dividitur transmittit. Hic angustias rigidissimi carceris cumulavit praegustatae beneficentiae desiderium. Unus mercator Gallus Josephus Lunier<sup>43</sup> olim in Societatis scholis eruditus aliquid ad victum misit, addita syngrapha,<sup>44</sup> ex qua pecuniam, quanta in Mauri curia opus esset exigerent. Secundo Idus Novembris Maurus captivos omnes educit e carcere in Mequinesium ad Regem transmittendos,<sup>45</sup> quo iam praecesserat Anglorum consul navigii, vectorumque libertatem expostulaturus. Saleto egressos circumfusa rursus plebis multitudo solitis vociferationibus, iniuriis atque ludibriis est prosecuta, tunc maxime cum ductor piratarum in edito loco, palmis in caelum obversis, suspicientibusque suppliciter oculis longo, sacrilegoque carmine, quod Effata vocant incolae, Mahumeto suo gratias ageret quod infensissimi suae legis hostes cessissent in praedam.

Saleto Mequinesium recta profecti triduo viam emetiuntur, cum tamen propter violatum regis diploma, capitis periculum timeret pirata Maurus, captivos multo circuito per ambages deduxit in curiam. Septem denique dierum spatio ad molestissimae profectionis finem devenere. Hybema praesertim

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<sup>42</sup> La seconda menzione della casa dei francescani questa volta chiamata chiaramente "Religiosum hospitium."

<sup>43</sup> Joseph Lunier?

<sup>44</sup> Il termine "syngrapha" indica una obbligazione scritta contenente la richiesta in denaro.

<sup>45</sup> Qui comincia la terza tappa del viaggio, che sarà via terra, fino a Meknès dove risiedeva il sovrano e dove si trovava, appunto, la prigione che Mawlay Isma'il aveva fatto costruire dai cristiani cattivi.



tempestate difficile iter difficillius ea reddidere incommoda, neque enim progrediendum via regia,<sup>46</sup> et assiduis imbibus corrupti terendi calles: cibus nullus praeter panis fustula, torrens pro fonte, Mauris interim quam utribus in viae subsidium inclusam asportaverant, bibentibus; fustis semper ubi sua quemque debilitas retardaverat, tergis inhaerens, pernociandum sub pellibus; qua vix incidentem pluviā arcerent, angustoque adeo tecto captivos exciperet, ut cubare nullus, stare in nuda terra, diurnisque pluviis madida omnes cogerentur. Illud etiam nostris triste, et acerbum accidit. Christianum senem aegritudine, et annis gravem fuste liberaliter contusum interfecit. Pirata, nostrisque ad cadaver vocatis insultans: Excipite confessionem, inquit, et bene mori docete. Ad 16 Novembris labor iste protractus, quo die ad urbis conspectum venerunt. Detrusi nostri in caprearum stabulum,<sup>47</sup> quod uno foramine adiri repentibus posset. Abacto inde pecori successerunt sacerdotes diurnis imbibus ad cutem usque madidi, addito insuper decreto, nequis foras prodiret. Erat hyems teterrima, et in medullas [284] penetrans Aquilo. Angustiae loci, madida vestis, et noctis frigus intolerabiles prorsus noctia moris reddiderant; omnem vitae spem abiecit nonnullus extrema frigore tremens ac pathens [=patens]. Igitur clamare ad auxilium, siquis forte misericordia motus sublevaret inhumanitatem hospitii. Adfuit tandem rusticus, aquo paleas et bubuli fimi ad solem durati fragmine [quae pro lignis in aestate congerunt ad ignis pabulum] ferrea redimunt forfice, quam piratarum ambitio praeterierat. Hoc paratus avare ardens, ac lucens ignis; palleis sordidissimum stercore pavementum substratum, ut fracta et vix stantia membra possent reclinare. Ad lucem potuit loci indignitas, et in medio sedens Maurus, qui risum severissimo cuique moveret, nisi totum animum praesentiora pericula adverterent. Medium stramineae casae locum caecus occupaverat sedens, utque peregrinas voces audiverat, ipsa noctis et loci caligine lectus, continuerat diligentissime spiritum, nequis eum adesse suspicaretur. Eodem situ ad lucem usque consedit, quin vel mutire auderet.

Audiebantur interim Lusitanorum gemitus, quos saevissimum noctis frigus cogeabat. Nostros, quanvis [=quamvis] prodire vetuerat ducis imperium, eduxit tamen debitae proximis charitas; ut omnibus, qua fas esset, auxilio venirent; nec defuit qui vestem, quam ad ignem iam siccaverat, sibi detractam seni trementi, ac pene exanimi daret. Noverunt S. Francisci fratres inhumanae gentis in captivos crudelitatem. Christianos duos praemiseraut, qui cibum, vinum et reliqua victui necessaria offerrent: cum vero ductoris iussu via regia exorbitavis-

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<sup>46</sup> Con il termine di "via regia" si indicava il cammino principale che veniva percorso da Salé a Meknès.

<sup>47</sup> Il percorso, se si ammette che era cominciato a fine novembre era durato quindici giorni. La prima dimora dei prigionieri fu dunque una stalla per le capre.

sent, diversi iverant, et nusquam obvii. Ad Mequinesis suburbia praestollabatur alius,<sup>48</sup> qui paratos cibos generosumque vinum abunde obtulit; quamquam vero omnia sibi Pirata usurpant tantum cuique distributum, quantum ad recreandas vires satis fiet. Inter injurias ac ludibria ad regiam delati, pluviae, quae uberrima decidebat expositi usque ad horam secundam post meridiem expectarunt. A regis praesentia interim exclusos mittunt in Prapetum,<sup>49</sup> quo patrum minorum charitas cibos, et siccandis vestibus ignem intulerant. Vix sederant, cum ad regem rursus cursim vocati, et instantium lictorum verberibus conciti sistuntur Barbaro. Forum occupaverat ille armato milite circumseptus. Segregari, et sibi propius accedere iussit nostros, et humi sedere pro gentis more; cum vero pluviis solveretur in lutum area, sordidus honor fuit sedere in luto.

Nulla consultatione habita, ad Canutum deferri [id nocturno captivorum carceri nomen] jubet,<sup>50</sup> ibique, donec deliberaret, pernoctare. Conveniunt e vestigio, hispani maxime, captivi omnes, et quantum ferebat ipsorum misera conditio, hospitum levamen procurant. Accesserunt etiam Franciscani Patres, quorum ditissima paupertas de omnibus abunde providit. Die postera ad regis praesentiam rursus coacti; a quo, cum diutius per iudaeum interpretem libertatem expostulasset Anglus, reclamans alta voce pirata, tanta in miserum iudaeum crimina coniecit, ut ea celeritate, quae pene Regis imperia praeverteret, raptus ad fatalem rogum objectorum criminum paenas luerit. Anglus non absimilem paenam revocatus bellum a Rege suo interminatus citissimo equo vectus Tituanum aufugit. Scenae ultimus actus fuit deliberata lusitanorum captivitas, et in Canetum clamores inter, ac sibila misera deductio. Ibi usque ad primam novembris custoditi, praeter quotidiana Franciscanorum solatia, Petri Ioannis Leonardi hispani captivi beneficentiam [284<sup>v</sup>] experti sunt.<sup>51</sup> Illum sua manebat in captivitate felicitas. Quinquaginta iam annos Mequinesii captivus vixerat, barbari tamen regis benevolentiam artis suae praestantia adeo sibi promeruerat, ut Rex, maximi quantumvis criminis reum damnasset, sententiam revocaret, si Petrus intercederet, numquam, nisi amplissimis laudibus et

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<sup>48</sup> Aneora una volta i Francescani intervengono con il loro aiuto a sollevare spiritualmente e corporalmente i prigionieri. Mandano infatti due cristiani che offrono cibo, vino e altre cose necessarie al vitto. E nei dintorni di Meknès un altro cristiano aspetta i prigionieri per offrire loro cibo e vino. Queste notizie sono interessanti perché costituiscono una testimonianza dell'aiuto concreto che i frati davano.

<sup>49</sup> Prapetum?

<sup>50</sup> Canutum è il nome latino della prigione di Meknès K'nut, che in francese diventa "canot." Ne fa menzione e lo descrive fray Francisco de San Juan del Puerto nell'opera *Misión Histórica de Marruecos* a p. 734. Per uno studio su data e durata della permanenza dei "cattivi" a Meknès, dei diversi domicili ove risiedettero, del numero dei cristiani cattivi e dell'esistenza ineontestabile del sangue europeo nella popolazione di Meknès, efr. Koehler, "Quelques points d'histoire," 177-87.

<sup>51</sup> Deve trattarsi dell'infemeria od ospedale dei francescani.

numerata pecunia auctum a se dimitteret. Eam bonus senex [sic vel a barbaro rege nominari honoris causa consueverat] in Lusitanos praesertim captivos liberaliter dividebat. Prima decembris a Rege vocati albis tunicis super religiosas vestes induti, et acutis malleis armati apparuerunt. Ipse lancea instructus captivorum alis obequitavit reliquos ad laborem, nostros ad Fratrum monasterium abire iussit; eam exceptionis causa afferens, quod adversus Mauros arma non caperent. Abeunt e vestigio nostri effusissimo cursu pro regionis more, redeuntque ter, ut repetito nutu barbarus multiplicare beneficium, secus ubi capitale supplicium decernitur, res agitur, tunc enim dicto citius inictum pendet acinaces.

Laetitiae plenos gaudio impares ipsi Minores paupere tecto excipiunt, ducuntque in interius penetrale, ubi Sanctissimam Eucharistiam custodiunt, ut ea cautione qua inter Christiani nominis hostes uti oportet, captivos christianos sacro viatico ad aeternitatem muniant. Ibi, hymno "Te Deum" dicto, aliquando tota mente Deo gratias egerunt pro incolumitate. Omissi charitate Franciscani Patres captivorum commoditati studuerunt: deputatum nostris in hospitium nosocomij vestiarium.<sup>52</sup> Etsi angusta domus quinque aegre caperet; magno tamen solatio vivere deinceps licuit, quod in regione christianis sacris intensissima deo ditare fas esset. Vix noctis pars dimidia fluxerat, cum sacro faciendo surrexerunt omnes, quod etiam Franciscanis solemne erat, ob periculum subiti regis imperuit, quo ipsos ad se vocaret. Quoties autem evocabantur, mori parati ibant; maximum quippe Prophetae suo obsequium se praestare reputat cruepta barbarorum crudelitas, si Christianorum sanguinem sacerdotum maxime, profuderint. Quamquam vero eam felicitatem labore quovis bene redimi nostri reputarent, nec ea longe abfuerit, tamen a fervido, et fundi cupido sanguine abstinerunt carnifices: nec aliter in Mauritania patet locus martyrio, ubi de religione disputare non licet; et ferro, non rationibus res agitur; cautumque est romanis sacerdotibus, ne de reducendis aperte Mauris agant, sed omnem operam excolendis captivis impendant; nec enim aliter constaret arx illa refugij, unde Christianorum salus defenditur. Nec tamen ideo nostrorum cessavit industria, quominus christianae religionis aliquos infelices transfuges, ad abiuratam fidem reducerent. Eorum nonnulli ipso perfidiae habitu pios dolos protegente, commode se dederunt in fugam, donec ad christianos deducti opportunum quaesiverunt perditae animarum saluti remedium. Nec defuit e nostris aliquis, qui instanter a Franciscanis facultatem peteret adeundi christianae fide desertorem in extremo periculo laborantem, quin cum manifestum vitae discrimen retardaret; si forsitan posset hominem ad tuta reducere. Abnuerunt illi, quippe qui optime scirent adesse semper eo tempore

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<sup>52</sup> Il fatto che, pur in condizioni difficilissime, nessun portoghese fosse passato al campo religioso avverso è un fatto che va a gloria di quella nazione.

maurorum praecipuos, qui ab ipsius latere christianos frieto acinace arceant. Defuit numquam captivis nostrorum cura, iis maxime, quos aut inopia, aut exlex vita ad defectionem habebant; factumque non semel, ut, corrogata pecunia, aere alieno sublevarentur, pro cuius solutione sacrilega defectio exigebatur. Hac secretionisque diligentia effectum, ut dum nostri Mequinesij vixerunt, christianorum nullus ad Mahumetum transierit; cum tamen alibi nullus aeternae paenae timor, et calamitosae vitae impatientia plurimos ad transfugium impulerit. Fuit res ista magnae lusitano nomini gloriae; mussantibus praesertim, aperte etiam timentibus aliarum gentium captivis, ne rerum inopia, miseraque fortuna expugnaret, ac in religione retinenda [285] constantiam frangerent.

Ut Franciscanis patribus omnis in captivos iurisdictio delegata est, ab audiendis confessionibus abstinuerunt se nostri; attamen dum ea ipsis cura non demandata est, quotidie captivos aegros in nosocomio invisebant, omnique sollicitudine tum porrigendis pharmacis, tum sublevandis corporibus omnimode studebant; rarusque in sepulturam elatus, quem non comitarentur; cum tamen milliaris spatium emetiri necessum esset. Iis ad 27 septembris 1733 laetanter intentos per nuntium Rex monuit adamantibus magnique corporis Molossibus redimendam adeundi patriam libertatem. Responderunt pauperes esse, nullamque sibi pecuniam reservasse; cum omnia comoda christianae paupertati posthabuissent. Responsum, regis iracundiam subtimens ad Baliter nuntius detulit. Interea captivis repente exorta calamitas, quae omnibus praesens vitae periculum ob oculos posuit. E fuga retractum captivum sua manu rex indignabundus acciderat, idemque supplicium reliquis interminatus, omnes ad se per velocissimum nuntium iubet acciri.

Adfuit bonus Petrus Joannes hispanus cuius praesentia regis iracundiam mitigavit,<sup>53</sup> omnibusque ad laborem missis, nostri ad Monasterium, rege annuente, reversi. Decima septima junij Pater Xaverius Da Costa et Emmanuel Paes solemnem quarti voti professionem fecerunt,<sup>54</sup> celebrante R. Patre Francisco Ferreyro,<sup>55</sup> guardiano conventus, quem sibi R. P. Generalis delegavit, admisissque captivis nonnullis, facta est solemnitas. Interea saepissime rex per nuntium rogabat, acceperant, nec ne quod ipse petiverat,

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<sup>53</sup> Joannes Hispanus?

<sup>54</sup> L'avere il cronista di questi fatti menzionata qui la concessione dei voti, potrebbe essere inteso come un indizio dell'essere egli a conoscenza se non proprio del testo delle lettere dei quattro gesuiti, per lo meno dei fatti avvenuti nel tempo della prigionia.

<sup>55</sup> Francisco Ferreyro?

redemptionis pretium. Supervenit Angliae legatus,<sup>56</sup> qui cum lusitanos in anglica navi, et sub illius nationis vexillo captos deberet in libertatem asserere, suis unice redemptis pacem firmavit. Omnibus Franciscani ordinis exercitiis aderant nostri. Igitur, dum in sacellum cogregati cum Francescanis orarent, irruunt in conventum armati Mauri, nostrosque citissime abripiunt, acuminatis denique ferreis malleis instructos ad laborem ducunt. Solida dies diruendo muro, lapidibusque alio traducendis abiit cibo nullo refectis. Ad noctem delati sunt in carcerem, quo, cum intrarent, fuste inhumaniter contusos singulos urgebat Maurus. Erat certe quies necessaria fatigatis; praecipua tamen cura fuit caeleste cibo se noctu reficere; at cum decem sacerdotes sacris operaturi essent, maior noctis pars ducenda erat insomnis; quae donec ad laborandum coacti, una fuit a diurnis laboribus quies. Postera vix dies illuxerat, iam vocabat matutinus excitator ad laboris locum, quo nocturnis vigiliis et lunae itinere lassati veniebant; instabat enim tardis cum fuste Maurus custos cuius ictus non semel senserunt nostri. Sic in Africana regione incumbente sole tosta sub aperto caelo laborabant, nulla adquiescendum concessa mora, praeter avare dimensam horae dimidiam partem: bibendum vero ex praeterfluente rivulo, eoque Maurorum sordidis pedibus turbato solent enim saepe pedes abluere, qua superstitione abstergi putant minora piacula.

Paucis post diebus ad laborem profectis rex obviis, postquam multis verbis exprobravit redemptoris moras: peribitis, inquit, inter sudores et murorum rudera lictorum meorum fustibus fracti: conversus deinde ad captivorum custodem, severe iniunxit, ne virgae pasceret. Erat adhuc in loquentis ore ultima dictio crudelissimae orationis, cum elevata plusquam gladiatoria ferocitate pertica, tuderì coepit, et ad laboris locum exagitare incitatissimo curso anhelantes. Ibi insuetos operi insectabatur, adeo, ut turgentes manus ruptis primum pustulis, ad vivum deinde attritas, et fuso cruore madidas cum aspicerent, opus urgeret acrius. Ea de causa male ictum dirigebat unus, quem errorem certus in tergo fustis punivit. Humili voce imploravit clementiam qui prior steterat: ignotum barbaris nomen, ubi sola usuvenit crudelitas, frustra invocatum. Igitur inimicam sibi vocem est ulta barbaries; Maurus quippe in ullius auctorem invectus, sic liberaliter eodem fuste percussit [285<sup>o</sup>], ut per multos menses tergo adhuc impressa starent vestigia. Maurum praeter regis crudelitatem sua quoque stimulabat ambitio, ut onus per se robustissimo cuique intolerabile aggravaret; sperabat scilicet, ut laborem nostri pecunia redimerent.

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<sup>56</sup> Si tratta del console Sollicofre, presente in Marocco fra il 1732 e il 1734, quando furono catturate dai pirati saletini 12 navi inglesi, fra le quali anche quella dove si trovavano i gesuiti. Il ruolo di questo console, che firmò l'accordo solo per i suoi e non per i portoghesi è ricordato anche dai gesuiti Coutinho, da Costa e Paes, che nelle loro lettere usano quasi le stesse parole dell'autore anonimo della relazione per ricordare l'episodio. Questo è un ulteriore dato a testimonianza della relazione fra l'autore dell'annua e i gesuiti che scrissero al generale Retz.

Cum diu frustra saevisset in poenas ingeniosa crudelitas, novum torture genus invenit. Igitur ademptis Patribus femoralibus, tostae primo solis calore tibiae, mox, rupta cute, crebro vulnere discerpta adeo, ut cum vel ferinam crudelitatem ad misericordiam commoverent, in publicum nosocomium deducti sunt.<sup>57</sup> Vix coierant, obducta cicatrice, vulnere labra, cum rursus ad laborem tracti, ubi vel murorum rudibus, vel multiplici plaga contusi periclitabantur captivi. Duraverunt in poenas tot laboribus superstites nostri maxime omnium admiratione, qui certum presagiebant interitum, si laboris tenor ille ad octavum diem pervenisset. Non cessabant interim procaces Mauri nostros in suas partes invitare: rumpi manus insuetas operi, immineri tergis fustem, minari ultima infensum regem, stare sub ictu cervices, in longa morte vivere corpora vix humanam speciem servantia: desinerent austerae nimis religionis; vitae consulerent; regem sibi devincirent, et pro voluptatis illecebras, si secus post diuturnum laboris pensum instare iugulis acinaces, contumacibus populi irrisiones, ludibria: Maurorum impudentiam, quando aliter nefas erat, vultu contemnentis in morem composito aspernabantur nostri.

Vel Mauris nequissimum videbatur regis imperium, quo nostros ad laborem damnaverant. Itaque iam non occulte mussabant, sed praesago timore palam praedicebant fore breve tyranni regnum, qui christianorum sanctos lita appellabant nostros, ad labores gravissimos adegissent. Divinare non semel malos aruspices eventus comprobabit; brevi quippe exorta Aethyopum Maurorum seditione, fuga sibi consulere evactus est, antequam Mequineio admovent armatas acies. Caeterum vel in ipso discessit crudelis, cum arcem ad pugnam accingeret, nostris, ut murales machinas per moenia circumducerent, praecepit: cum laborem cumulavit animi dolor; quo plurimas Sebastiani regis nomine [aeternum Lusitanorum desiderium] insignitas videbant.<sup>58</sup> Sic distributi expectabant conflictum, in illoque certissimo vitae periculi subeundo praeparaverant animos. Interea hostili exercitu iam iam cingente muros turcidantur. Rex praecipiti fuga petit; Aethyopibus, adversante nullo in arcem receptis, novus urbi gubernator praefectus, qui nostros a bombardis ad graviora onera subeunda coegit, sed brevi laboris missionem fecit; etenim [qui barbari mos est] evanescent cum pulso rege ipsius imperia, eaque imprimis, quae acius urgenda praeceperat. 29 Novembris Mequinensium novus Rex Mulley Aly ingressus

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<sup>57</sup> L'autore del racconto descrive nei dettagli la nuova tortura in tutta la sua crudeltà. Il nosocomio pubblico a cui fa riferimento è l'ospedale dei francescani, dove venivano anche curati i membri della famiglia del sultano.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Jacqueline Hermann, "Antonio Vieira e o Sebastianismo messianismo régio e transfiguração baroca," in *Três Centenário da morte do Padre António Vieira. Congresso Internacional. Actas*, 3 t. (Braga: Universidade católica portuguesa e Província Portuguesa da Companhia de Jesus, 1999) II, 919-44.

est,<sup>59</sup> cuius benevolentiam Franciscani Patres donis amplissimis promeriti impetrarunt, ne deinceps inter captivos operas laborarent. Annuit ille libenter, addiditque ut in Regnum suum litteras darent quibus libertatem redimerent; datoque obside P. Franciscum Coutinho adire Lusitaniam sivit, ut redemptionis pretium quam citissime collectum transmitteret. Immortales nostratibus gaditanis debemus gratias; vix etenim eo pervenit barbari regis indulgentia, cum elemosinas undequaque conquirere caeperunt, ac si provinciae suae res ageretur, diligentiae tamen supersederunt, quia rem per Lusitanos agi intellexeret.

Nostris interim ad quadagesimam usque lenior fuit captivitas. Tunc vero, cum omnes Franciscanos patres diuturni morbi afflixissent, animarum [286] curam, quam hactenus non permiserant, nostri gaudenter susceperunt. Singulis dominicae cuiusque, et feriae sextae noctibus concionabantur eo fructu, quem in confessionibus maximum percipiebant. Accessit tunc aliquod laboriosae captivitati solatium, quod Societatis ministeriis liceret incumbere. Raro tamen perstitit, ubi caduca capit ire felicitas. PP. Antonium Salgado et Xaverium da Costa maligna febris invasit; reliquos etsi affecta valetudo prohibebat, incitabat ardor charitatis, ut tantum onus, cui vix robustissimus quisque sufficeret, libenter sustinerent noctes, diesque ducebant plerumque insomnes, ne quod Sociorum saluti et proximorum spirituali bono deesset auxilio. Priusquam P. Franciscus Coutinho Ulyssipone pervenisset, solverant e portu Redemptores et ad Herculeum fretum appulsi, rem non e portu, ut falso persuaserant Angli, sed in ipsa Maurorum curia, Mequinesis scilicet, agi oportere cognoverunt. Igitur in eo portu commorati, dum regem per litteras monent et responsum petunt; num continentem penetrare et nostros summo, quod Mauri petebant pretio redimere fas esset. Ipsi Dominicae passionis diebus, cum pervenisset Ulyssipponem nuntius,<sup>60</sup> cogi concilium Rex Clementissimus iussit,<sup>61</sup> eoque suffragante redemptoribus praescripsit. Mequinesium adirent, addito etiam praecepto, ut Societatis patres, pretio quovis redemptos secum aveherent. Proram igitur Tetuanum obvertunt, eoque appulsos diu praefecti astutia distinuit; etenim, cum aegre novi regis ferret imperia redemptores avertebat, ne captivorum pretio exhaustum aerarium aedimentis belli impensas reficeret.

Interea Aethyopum imperator nostros per Iudaeum Lusitanum tentavit: ea

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<sup>59</sup> Il sultano questione è Mawlay 'Ab Allah che governa il Marocco ancora in anarchia dal 1735 al 1745. Ma già da due anni (1743) egli aveva associato suo figlio Sidi Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah, il futuro Muhammad III al governo della nazione. I francescani avevano cercato di accattivarsene le simpatie con ampi doni. Il testo non manca di sottolineare anche un altro episodio precedente l'ingresso di quel Sultano. La cacciata del predecessore ad opera degli "Etiopi."

<sup>60</sup> A quel tempo era Nunzio in Portogallo Caetano de' Cavalieri (27.iii.1732-6.xi.1738, data della sua morte).

<sup>61</sup> João V.

ne conditione vellent redire in Patriam, ut postquam anglicae navi imponerentur, Societatis nomen obligarent syngrapha, 20250 scuta Romana pro singulis reciperet. Cum tamen nostris de redemptione agere non commisisset Societas, vivere in captivitate perpetua, et vitae periculo maluerunt, quam Societatem tot expensis gravare, vel captivos alios rigidissimae captivitatis periculo exponere, quoad illa nomen suum dissolveret. Redemptorum moras, quos Tetuanum delatos iam certus retulerat nuntius, rex ferebat impatiens. Igitur Lusitanos omnes, quibus laboris missionem concesserat, iterum cogit, severissimoque imperio lictorum fustibus subjicit, ni solitum laboris pensum diligentissime exolvant, ecclesiasticos vero omnes jugulari, nisi redemptores citissime accurrant. Iam cervicibus imminebant acinaces, cum bonus senex Petrus Leonardus ad Regis pedes abjectus intercessit, peroravitque non Patrum, sed Praefecti tetuanici culpa redemptorum moras accidere, eos propediem affuturos. Vitam indulsit barbarus, sed laborem instauravit, donec idem senex igniaria fistula, quam exquisitissima caelatura perfecerat, eam quoque paenae redemit. Pervenerunt denique mequinensium redemptores, amplissimisque donis tyrannum, optimatesque promeriti lusitanos omnes quotquot ibi erant, redemerunt, redemptosque Saletum usque armata Maurorum cohors in via praesidium stipavit; latronum violentiam, quibus obsideri vias fama erat, repulsuri.

Saleti numerata pecunia, vix conscenderant navim, cum duodecim a Rege Mauri perveniunt, qui captivos repeterent, majori quippe pretio redimendos. Caeterum cum iam omnes sese in Anglicam navim recepissent, vela solverunt 23 septembris, 4 vero octobris Ulyssipponem appulsi sunt. Debitas potentissimo Regi nostro gratias ager numquam satis Societas; etenim vix adesse captivos nuntiatum est, venissent, nec-ne Societatis patres primum quaesivit, expressa deinde humanissimo [286] in vultu laetitia nostris ipsorum adventum gratulatus est. Viginti quique cruciatorum millibus stetit nostrorum libertas, pro quibus a Societate exigendis litem nobis intendit constitutum pro captivis tribunal; eam tamen summam pro liberalitate, et amore erga nos suo ex publica pecunia solvi rex liberalissimus iussit.

Haec sunt quae in Lusitania trium annorum periodo gesta vix colligere, et brevi temporis spatio concinnare potuit praeceps stylus. Plurima quidem praetermittenda censebit aliquis rerum severus aestimator. Verum, cum in provincia admodum catholica triumphet in pace Societas, non hinc adversanda haereticorum tela, non pugnas non odia, persecutionumve turbines expectare licet. Eo etiam consilio ad minuta quaeque descendi, ne cum hystoria [=historia] generalis iverit per haec tempora offendat lacunam, ancepsque haereat hystoricus [=historicus], numqua [sic] scitu digna praetereat.

Noverit igitur, quae gesta sunt, minima nec majora inquiturus tempus terat. Facile Deus Optimus Maximus ut futuris deinceps temporibus politiori stylo



consignata qua in florentissima provincia nostris in dies praestant hominum memoria tradantur.

Finis. P. Joannes de Menezes SI

### Epistola 1

P. Francisco Coutinho al padre Generale Franz Retz Meknés 2 settembre 1734

ARSI, Lus. 76, f. 207<sup>r</sup>. Autografa.

Reverende Admodum in Christo Pater,

Sub Saracenorum potestate elapsis iam duobus annis, Mequinensium nona die Augusti Britannorum Legatus tandem pervenit; Hic ipse tribus diebus eisdem mensis peractis, coram Saletino Rege legationem dedit: in qua nulla mentione [=mentione] facta, nec prolato verbo circa Lusitanorum redemptionem, inter Britannicum [=Britannicus],<sup>62</sup> ac Saletinum Regem pristinum amicitiae foedus solidavit. Cum vero Anglici non Lusitanorum libertatem numerorum cautione, Saletinis ita amice [illegibile] elapso anno, ut Lusitaniae Moderatori dimittendi pecunias daret efficaciter, Paternitatis vestrae clementiam sollicitavi [illegibile] Felicitate per amicitiae foedus. Omnes certissime frueremur, [illegibile] etiam a legato petito oblivioni non dedisset Moderator. [illegibile] Provinciae latissime exposuimus, explanavimus que non semel libertatis oblationem, anno praeterito, a Prece factam Moderatorem monuimus, etiam quanta pericula nobis eminent, si per tempus, oblationis acceptatio multum differretur. Sed, libertatis mora in dies progreditur, et durum, ac quotidianum laborem, ut referunt saletinorum Magnates, brevissime experiemur. Quapropter redemptionis moram descalceatorum Religiosi mirantur, obstupescunt Lusitaniae Saeculares, Religiosi tam ad extra, quam dextra compatiuntur; nos quoque sentimus, ploramusque, si causa morae unquam ulterius libertatem assequamur. Solent enim Saletinorum Reges, quando oblatam redemptionem aspemantur captivi, per suum Prophetam nos donandi libertatem vota emittere, et emissa non violare. Timemus ergo ob tam eximiam Provinciae moram, ne ita eveniat, cum hic verum experientia omnium Magistra sit. Unde a Paternitatis vestrae clementia humiliter petimus, quod Lusitaniae Moderatori praecipiat, ut huius negotii brevitatem ante oculos versetur, ne Mequinesii tam infauste animam exhalemus. Simulque, ut citius promoveatur redemptio, peculiarem Procuratorem ad libertatem determinet.<sup>63</sup> Et si ratione pretii haec tam periculosa mora enitatur, ne Societas opprimatur, et datur pretium recuperet, adepto libertate,

<sup>62</sup> Dovrebbe trattarsi appunto del p. Provinciale Manso.

<sup>63</sup> Questo dato fa comprendere bene quale fosse la causa di queste lettere: fare cessare l'attesa. Addirittura il padre Xavier da Costa riteneva che il re del Portogallo non dovesse intervenire nella questione del riscatto, in quanto si trattava di un problema interno alla Compagnia di Gesù.

omnes ad emmendicandum unanimiter privati sumus de primo ad ultimum. Cum tot periculis satis Provinciae exaratis, minime assentiat Moderator, ut nobis constat, ac parvi pendat Sarracenorum vota, nostramque experientiam repellat, Paternitati vestrae tamquam patri huius negotii efficaciam erga Moderatorem enixe comendamus; simulque benedictionem humiliter oramus, supplicamusque. Mequinesii 2 die Septembris 1734. Filius in Christo. Francisco Coutinho.

[207<sup>a</sup>] Lusitania. il Padre Generale Francisco Retz. P.F. Coutinho Mequines. 2a Septembris 1734.

Dicit Legatum Britannicum de ista suorum redemptione egisse, praesertim quod saepe postularent ex Lusitania cautionem pecuniarum pro redimendis nostris [illegibile] [ve]nerit: in Lusitania non [illegibile] a se cum ipsiis scriptum [illegibile] pausa obloqui alios: periculum ipse in saletinus iure concessuram libertatem iam contemni videas: pretio, ut P praecipiat brevitas ipsius negotii conficiendi, et pro eis constituatur specialis Procurator: denique se offert ad emmendicandum cum sociis ut redemptionis pretium Societati compensem. Datum 23 decembris 1734.

### Epistola 2

Padre Xavier da Costa al Generale Francisco Retz Meknés 2 settembre 1734

ARSI, Lus. 76, ff. 208<sup>o</sup>v. Autografa.

Innatum est et afflictis repetito queri, ac oboeratis beneficiis animis gratulâri. Duo haec stato negotio, an sortes mihi incumbunt. Queror imprimis de oscitantia sine oblivionis arguam qua nostrae Provinciae Moderator prosequi nostrae libertatis negotium, in quo conficiendo sum certus Paternitatem Vestram illum urgere, ut omnes praecedantur morae. Praetexit harum longitudinem suae ego iam Paternitati Vestrae impetranda a Rege venia ad hoc aggrediendum superfluum obsequium. Quid ad Aulam vel coronae tribunal nostrae libertatis causa? Haec nonne privative tantum ad Societatem?

Huius impetrationis spem suis effingit in litteris, ut in aliquo meis respondeat; quas si haesitaret, ut res postulat, sin minus mediocriter attentus legeret, mihi de venia nihil meminisset, ut rescriberet ad Generalem. Hoc certum, Pater Rev. quod haerius vel numquam moderaberis securrit menti et in sermonem cadit illorum, quibus captivitas nostra maximae deberet esse curae, est nostrae libertatis negotium. Hinc est, quoad nihil novi afferant spes nostrae ab infidelium Anglorum intercessione nunc de facto irritae; cum nostras ita fallent Societas fidelis de iure Mater. Ast funestam sane, quod illorum caritatem pro suis nationalibus de opprimendis sollicit et operosam videamus, et pro suis filiis in Domino genitis Societatis otiosam non sine iusto cordis dolore demiremur.

Ingressus est hanc urbem legatus Anglicus, et adhibitus Iustitiae titulos, qui pro Lusitanis redemptricem Angliam inclamabant, perficta fronte asseruit, pro

nobis saltem hunc se adlocuturum Regem, si satis asservirent expensarum schedulam apponeremus, cum erga nos in oblata non semel libertate hanc illis pro nobis adloquendi non negandi voluntatis suae Rex pignus offerret.

Importune petivi relatum schedulam, repetitam oblationem libertatis exposui; hucusque ad rem nihil; ideo nobis et provinciae nunc opportunissima libertatis fugit occasio, sed huic iam occalluimus dolori; nec est, cur tam infrondum renovatus, minutum tamen experimus Paternitatis Vestrae auxilio; hanc solum nobis suspicimus invigilem et appetimus, rogamusque ut dormientem ac justis surdiscente questionis Moderatorem excitare faciat, et audire, ne in Lusitania tam male audiat Societatis Caritas, seu Justitia. De hac scio mussitare religiosos viros, et scandalizari saeculares, quod duobus ab hinc annis ita otietur, ac gelascat in adhibendis mediis quibus ut ait P. V. diligentissime liberetur. Ista iam applicuisset ni pretio appenderemur a Provincia exhibendo. Omnes hinc morae [illegibile] divinavi animus; ideo Paternitati Vestrae insinuavi, ut quid suavius Provinciae, huius redemptionis expensas ad iis Societatis Provinciis ingerendas ac Lusitana quibus nimis suis in redditibus gravaretur; huic etiam insinuationi, cui erat suffragaturus, repagatur Moderator Provinciae mihi praecipiens, haec animo exciderent, et mente.

Hos inter labores mihi non ex omni parte fortuna restat; afflavit enim benigna Paternitas Vestra omnino indebitum honorem sollemnis Professionis in Societate facit Deus ut tali mea status vita consonet, ac tanto corregente at spiritus honori; de hoc, quas possum, grates persolvo Paternitati Vestrae. Et ac cuius vota caelum fortunet, mentem dirigat, ac beet spiritum ad universae Societatis felicitatem, et istorum captivorum libertatem; et cuius assecutionem iterum Paternitatem Vestram appellamus, imploramusque sollicitudinem Paternam, quae nostris invigilet laboribus oculatissima, ut minuantur. interdum Sancta benedictione nos recreet, ut illa suffulti patientia caelo digna tam adversam feramus captivitatem. Mequinensii 2<sup>a</sup> Setembris 1734.

Paternitati Vaestrae

Humillimus Subductus et addictissimus Xaverius da Costa

[208<sup>a</sup>] Lusitania. P. Xaverius da Costa, Mequineses 2a Septembris 1734.

Queritur de Provinciali Redemptionis moram, quae non ad Aulam sed ad Societatem pertinet. Suis litteris non rescribere ut veniat ei, nec aliis curam esse de redemptione sua, et sciendum nihil novi, quod spem fefellerint Angli, cum fallatur Societas: de legato Anglico refert, eadem, ac alii solam partem suam experiuntur vigilem: rogat, ut Moderatori Provinciae urgeatur: gratias agit pro professione. Datum 19 Januari 1735.

## Epistola 3

Emmanuel Paes al Padre Generale Francisco Retz Meknès 5 settembre 1734

ARSI, Lus. 76, ff. 209<sup>rv</sup>. Autografa.

Reverendus admodum in Christo Pater,

Professionei solenni, quam decima octava Julii Mequinesii arrisi, benignitas Paternitatis vestrae me tanto honore indignum decoravit; cuius favoris in Persona Paternitatis vestrae toti Societati gratias humiliter habeo: faciat Deus ut barbarica hac in regione ad nullum omnino Societatis nostrae exercitium vita apperiat, hac consideratione Religiosi animi Sociorum meorum vehementer affliguntur, patientia tamen ferunt faventibus divini Numinis auxiliisque hac, et alia dura servitutis incommoda; iamque his Deus imponit finem, si Patres Lusitani [illegibile] scandirent, ut socii mei ne multus sim, nunc Paternitati vestrae [illegibile] Ideo paucis referam quod mihi die ac nocte intimo dolore an [illegibile]; scilicet videre hos Societatis filios circumquaque afflictos inge [illegibile] perversa regione demoratos, ubi nulla constantia, nulla fides [illegibile] Christiani nostram Sanctam Religionem quotidie pro vitiorum [illegibile] indecore relinquunt, quin illis valere possimus; et quod magis est, pro dolor? Aliqui religiosi passim nostros ante oculos obversantur, qui aeterno Christianorum, et etiam Maurorum scandalo adhuc fidei habitum amiserunt: hac de causa cum simus eadem natura vestiti, eam in hac Sodoma timeamus; quamvis omnes divina Misericordia fulti constanti animo, parati vivamus, potius millies mori, quam Religionem vel levissime videre. Ab his, et aliis periculis in Paternitati Societatis clementia erga suos, filios speramus cito liberari; et ne Provincia praevenitur, si Superioribus videatur, postea redemptionis nostrae praetium alacri animo hostiatim emmendicabimus. Tandem, Reverende Pater, solum in Persona Paternitatis vestrae (dante Deo) confidimus, habentes, in ea verum, et piissimum Patrem, qui filiorum tribulationes compatiatur. Obortis lacrymis Sanctam Paternitatis vestrae benedictionem humiliter peto. Mequinesij 5 Septembris anni 1734.

Paternitatis Vestrae

Minimus Subditus, ac obedientissimus filius Emmanuel Paes

[209<sup>r</sup>] Lusitania. P. Emmanuel Paes Mequinesii 5 Septembris 1734. Refert miserum statum captivitatis suae.

Datum 19 Januarii 1735.

## Epistola 4

P. Xavier da Costa al P. Generale Francisco Retz      Meknés 1 Ottobre 1734  
 ARSI, Lus. 76, ff. 210<sup>vv</sup>. Autografa.

R. Admodum in Xristo Pater,

Quantum negotii, seu periculi facessant in negotio libertatis morae illae, quas in datis Setembri Paternitati Vestrae scripsimus pertingere, ad dolorem usque, ac laborem nunc experimur. Despicatui duxit Rex iste nostram in respondendo moram suae libertatis nostrae repetitae oblationi; ad istius iniuriae vindictam nos condemnavit iratus in servilia opera, quibus alii captivi continuum per laborem desudant; scilicet ad exaedificanda moenia, parietes diruendos, findendas rupes, lapides scindendos, segregandos in montem lateres, apportandasque operum quisquilias, quo summam per insolentiam iubent atrocissimi custodes, et oculatissimi, quibus huius servitutis operarii subieciuntur; in alios connivet custodum vigilantia; in nos oculis vestitur, ac eis igitur ne otiemur; in nos animatur illorum saevitia, ut puniat; in nos elevatur ut cadat, et caedat, suae directionis virga; nec semel cecidit; nec solum ter cecidit, ac castigavit ictibus. Speciosi labores, et eliquati sudores, si pro asservanda Christiana Fide offenderentur, distillanturque! At pro quaestione relata; indigna causa! Haec vere pati, ut expedit, virtus.

Haud secus hilarem sociorum caelo patientiam utinam imitarer! Meretur? Quidem haec tolerantia vigilantissimam Paternitatis Vestrae Caritatem, ut, ista operante, funestissimos tot laborum huius captivitatis fructus optatae libertatis occupent gaudia. Haec reposita in sinu nostro pro spes alit, nos recreat; labores minuit, ac edulcorat. Iubeat Paternitate Vestra a [cancellatura] sacrificiorum mementis reis et sociorum non iis eatur Sanctaque benedictione nos ditet. Mequinenses 2a 8bris 734. Paternitati Vestrae Humillimus et addictissimus Xaverius da Costa.

[210<sup>v</sup>] Lusitania. P. Xaverius da Costa. Mequinenses 1 Octobris 1734.

Rex aegre ferens moram expectatae responsionis scilicet socios ad laborandum cum aliis captivis iussit. Datum 19 Januari 1735.

## Summary

This article explores a previously unknown episode in Jesuit history and the consequent contribution of the Jesuits to the "literature of imprisonment" in the eighteenth century. In 1732 Saracen pirates from Salé-Rabat intercepted an English ship. On board were five Portuguese Jesuits bound for the Azores: João de Araujo, Francisco Coutinho, Xavier da Costa, Emmanuel Paes and Antonio Salgado. Together with the captain and his crew, the Jesuits suffered severe and harsh deprivations as they lingered in prison awaiting a ransom of

25,000 cruzados to be paid by João V, King of Portugal. "Nostrorum apud Saletinos Mauros captivitas" (ARSI, Lus. 54, ff. 282'-286'), signed by João de Menezes, the provincial, but actually written by another, unnamed Jesuit, considered the whole affair retrospectively for the Annual Letters of 1734-37. To supplement the information provided in this document are four letters written by da Costa, Paes, and Coutinho to Father General Franz Retz in the autumn of 1734 (ARSI, Lus. 76, ff. 207'-210'). The letters disclose the living conditions endured by the Jesuits in the prison of Meknès and, above all, of the painfully slow process of their redemption. The author of the "Nostrorum apud Saletinos Mauros captivitas" may have been familiar with the letters from prison or could have obtained information from conversations with the Jesuits after their release. Neither can be proven with any certainty. The extant documentation not only enriches our knowledge of eighteenth-century prison conditions, and of Jesuit contributions to "literature of imprisonment" but also demonstrates an unknown author's attempt to write an objective account for future reference based on facts that he was able to verify. Moreover his account was not intended to criticise those who had failed to assist the Jesuit prisoners but, rather, to praise the Society of Jesus, and especially the Portuguese members, for their handling of a sensitive and difficult affair.

# LETTERS FROM ROME OF JOHN THORPE, S.J.: 1756-1767

Geoffrey Holt, S.J.\*

A useful source for the history of the Society of Jesus in the eighteenth century is to be found in the letters of Father John Thorpe written during the long years he lived in Rome from the autumn of 1756 until his death in April of 1792.<sup>1</sup> A Yorkshireman (he never forgot it!) born in 1726 and educated at the English Jesuit college at St. Omer, he entered the novitiate of the English province at Watten in Flanders in September of 1747. After philosophy at the English Jesuit house of studies in Liège and teaching at St. Omers College for some three years, he was, as a scholastic, sent to Rome to the English College, then administered by the English province, as repetitor of logic, metaphysics, and later, divinity. He arrived in Rome in November of 1756. Presumably he combined his work at the English College with his own course of theology and was ordained in 1760 or 1761.<sup>2</sup>

Thorpe had wide interests and wrote of them in hundreds of his letters that have survived. One group of them (numbering between 80 and 100 letters) written between December of 1756 and January of 1767 was addressed to John Jenison,<sup>3</sup> a fellow Jesuit and near-contemporary, stationed during this period first at Liège in theology, then at Ghent in tertianship and eventually as chaplain to Henry, Lord Arundell of Wardour at Wardour Castle in Wiltshire from 1759

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\* Father Holt is archivist emeritus of the British Province of the Society of Jesus.

<sup>1</sup> Thorpe's letters served as the basis for an earlier article, "Letters from Rome of John Thorpe, March 1781-March 1784," *AHSI* 66 (1997) 323-55.

<sup>2</sup> Geoffrey Holt, S.J., *The English Jesuits 1650-1829* (London, 1984) Catholic Record Society (=CRS) 70, p. 246. Thorpe \*21.x.1726 Halifax, Yorkshire; SJ 7.ix.1747 Watten; †12.iv.1792 Rome.

<sup>3</sup> \*30.vii.1729 County Durham; SJ 7.ix.1745 Watten; †27.xii.1792 Liège (Holt, *English Jesuits*, p. 130). Unfortunately his letters to Thorpe have not survived.

until 1768.<sup>4</sup> To him, Thorpe wrote of persons, things, events in Rome that he thought might be of interest. Letters which were written some years later which show the part Thorpe played in the building of Thomas Weld's chapel at Lulworth Castle, Dorset, have been the subject of another article as have his account of the events seen from Rome leading to the suppression of the Society and what he wrote about the Stuart Court in Rome.<sup>5</sup> But there are still other topics that would interest his Jesuit friends in England, Flanders, and, perhaps, Maryland.

Thorpe continued in his work as repetitor until 1761 when he was relieved of the post and assumed the positions of minister of the English College, and director of the Sodality, posts left vacant because of the re-assignment of two priests. He wrote to Jenison "both the offices hitherto looked upon to be incompatible are supplied by your friend J.T." (14 July 1761). In 1762 he ceased to be minister but remained at the College (22 November 1762); a few months later he reported:

There have been designs of moving me to St. Peter's; they are not yet laid aside but they do not bring me any nearer to your dear Wardour . . . (20 February 1763)

By August of 1765 he had left the English College and was appointed penitentiary at St. Peter's. For some years he had been hoping that he might at least be able to make a visit to England. He now wrote on 31 August 1765:

You have been informed of the prospect which daily seemed to be opening for me to repass the Alps. . . . A visit to my friends at Wardour was determined upon when all my hopes of so much satisfaction disappeared. The General [Lorenzo Riccio]<sup>6</sup> represented me to the Card[inal] as a proper person to be the Pope's Penitentiary at St. Peter's; his Eminence saw, examined & approved & appointed me; I have now been some weeks in that office. Thus the Alps are now removed further than ever from my sight .

He then described his new life and work:

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<sup>4</sup> A collection of Thorpe's letters is in the Archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus (ABSI). The letters to Jenison are in the volume entitled "Thorpe's Miscellaneous Letters." In this account, Thorpe's spelling has been preserved.

<sup>5</sup> "Thomas Weld's New Chapel at Lulworth—Some Contemporary Correspondence," *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* 99 (1980) 33-41; *The English Jesuits in the Age of Reason* (London, 1993); "Captain Booth of Berwick's Regiment and His Family," *Royal Stuart Miscellany* (1999) 10-18, all by the present writer.

<sup>6</sup> \*2.viii.1703 Florence; SJ 16.xi.1718; elected Father General 21.v.1758; †24.xi.1775 a prisoner in Castel Sant'Angelo (Rome) (Sommervogel, VI, 1785).



My new habitation affords me leisure enough but little exercise and places me at too great a distance from my former acquaintance; I do not mean any in the College, which is near enough if there was any inducement to frequent it. We are here twelve in number of eleven different nations & languages, amongst whom there is as much harmony as among five English in the house that I have left. The diet is better than the ordinary of colleges in the country, and our lodging decent, well adapted to a sedentary life. The chief business consists in dispensations of Irregularities, Vows &c &c . . . As the English give little trouble the Penitentiary for that nation could not earn his bread if he knew no other language; this caused an exception against [Edmund] Harrison<sup>7</sup> who was said to be designed for the office and is now made the example and guardian of regular discipline at the College. You would smile at the strange figures of various nations who now have recourse to me . . . (31 August 1765)

Was what Jenison called "my late honourable promotion" to be for life, he wondered (13 November 1765)? The following March he wrote again:

It seems pretty certain that after having spent most of my time in Italy amidst occupations that were seldom agreeable to my natural inclinations, I shall now be confined during the remaining part of my life to an employ which is more foreign to them. Yet I am very happy . . . (March 1766)

But the idea of the possibility of his returning to England was always there;

Were I to petition for quitting this country entirely some slight objections might very likely be made, but I am persuaded the request would not be denied, though I might easily regret my ever having made it . . . (24 September 1766)

In November of 1766, he replied to a suggestion that he was too occupied in Rome to be allowed to leave:

You are pleased to smile at my present connections which are less than you suppose and can be no real hindrance why I should not count the stones on Salisbury plain.<sup>8</sup> Mr. [Nathaniel] Elliott's<sup>9</sup> answer will in time bid or forbid me to hope for an opportunity of trying my skill . . . The comfort which I look for is to be discharged from the office of minister of this house of

<sup>7</sup> \* iii.1727 or 1728 or 1729 Lancashire; SJ 7.ix.1746 Watten; †12.xi.1811 Somers Town, London. In 1765 he was sent as penitentiary to Loreto (Holt, *English Jesuits*, p. 111).

<sup>8</sup> Wardour is near Salisbury plain in Wiltshire.

<sup>9</sup> \*1.v.1705 Shropshire; SJ 7.ix.1723 Watten; †10.x.1780 Holt (Leicester). He was provincial from 1766 until 1769. See Holt, *English Jesuits*, p. 86.

fifteen persons and thirteen different nations. . . . (29 November 1766)

In one or two letters during these years Thorpe referred to "an invitation to peep into a court" but added "I can assure you that the further I put my head in the less happiness I found about me. I have done my utmost to withdraw myself. . ." (30 July 1766). In a later letter he denied that the curia of the Society could be called a court and hinted that it was the court or service of the Stuarts in Rome that he was invited to join (20 September 1766). As he wrote later "You guess well at what was once signified by a peep into a court but the case is now altered and left me more at liberty to live and think at home. Reports said much more of that matter than was true. . ." (1 November 1766). James Edward Stuart had died in Rome on 1 January 1766.

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Living in Rome Thorpe was likely to be approached by friends in England or Flanders for favours. John Jenison at Wardour Castle was his friend. Henry, 8th Lord Arundell of Wardour had been at school at St. Omers College—under the name of Bellings, his mother's maiden name—when Thorpe was a master there.<sup>10</sup> In 1763 Thorpe received a request about a remonstrance for the chapel at Wardour with an enquiry about designs and costs. He wrote:

I promised to find you a design of a Remonstrance but that promise was made without due reflection for I soon found it to be working at random as long as I had no notion of the expence that you proposed to make 'or whether you would have the work made to receive any ornament of stones &c. Should I even send a sketch by the post perhaps it will not be easy to find a workman able to execute it in your parts. London excels in plain work but seldom succeeds in rich designs tho it always makes the purchaser pay very dear. A remonstrance in elegant taste & highly finished of about 50 oz. w[eigh]t might be procured here for less than thirty guineas. . . . Let me know your further intentions & I shall do my best to comply with them . . . (28 March 1763)

The designs were provided—"Perhaps London artists will not chuse to follow them"—but there is no evidence in the letters that they were used (26 July 1764; 14 August 1766?).

Another matter that came up was a shrine for the relics ("*corpo sancto*") of St. Clement which had been given to Lord Arundell by Pope Clement XIII. When this was first mentioned, it would seem in 1764, Thorpe promised to send a sketch and did so. Then there was a request for further designs. Thorpe wrote:

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<sup>10</sup> Geoffrey Holt, S.J., *St. Omers and Bruges Colleges, 1593-1773: A Biographical Dictionary* (London, 1979) CRS 69, p. 21; Holt, *English Jesuits*, p. 246.

Artists are very jealous, always expect profit and if they are not employed in the execution are sometimes very extravagant in their demands for their designs. The two I employed are not so. . . (13 May 1766)

The letters do not reveal if Lord Arundell accepted the designs sent (20 February 1764; 19 March 1765; 16 October 1765; 13 May 1766).

In 1766 there was much in the letters about the "Breve" though this followed no request from Wardour. Pope Clement XIII received that year a letter from Lord Arundell "his favourite English peer" according to Thorpe who wrote to Jenison:

[The secretary] . . . was going to open it . . . when the good old gentleman hastily turning in his chair . . . opened it and would himself read the contents. It is scarce possible to express the satisfaction that he discovered in the perusal; he instantly ordered that it should be answered permodum Brevis ad Principes. . . . As soon as the Breve is ready it shall be sent to Lawson au Gouvernement from whence his Lordship may send for it . . . (29 November 1766)<sup>11</sup>

The Breve was eventually dispatched in December together with "a beautiful pair of agate beads with a gold medal to which he had put the whole list of Indulgences . . ." "The beads were intended for Lady Mary Conquest Arundell (6 December 1766).

On another occasion and on quite another matter, Thorpe wrote "I had lately the honour to send Capt. Cuite's Bill of lading of a Parmesan cheese directed to his Lordship's house in Cork Street, Burlington Gardens [London]. I hope it has been received" (24 June 1764).

In the recently published *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800* compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive by John Ingamells, an entry on Thorpe, which is based on other collections of his letters of a rather later date than those used in this article, refers in some detail to his work for Lord Arundell of Wardour with whom, especially after 1767, he was in frequent correspondence. He acted, though at first with some diffidence, as an agent sending fifty-four pictures in 1771, forty-seven in 1772, continuing thus until his death in 1792. He sent old pictures, copies (landscapes, portraits, religious pictures) often with a bias towards Arundell or Jesuit history, the works of British artists in Rome, prints, drawings and "religious things." In 1775 and 1776 there was a pause while he gave his attention to the altar and altarpiece for

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<sup>11</sup> Thomas Lawson \* 20.iii.1720 Brough (Yorkshire); SJ 7.ix.1736 Watten; †11.vi.1807 London. The Gouvernement was the name of the building taken by St. Omers College when it moved to Bruges in 1762. Thomas Lawson was rector from 1766 to 1769 (Holt, *English Jesuits*, p. 144).

Lord Arundell's new chapel at Wardour Castle, writing of his preference for an "elegant plainness." These letters after 1767 also show that John Thorpe acted as agent for others—Brownlow Cecil, 9th Earl of Exeter, Henry Blundell of Ince and Thomas Weld of Lulworth, the last two members of old Catholic families. They reveal too his respect for James Byres (who was of assistance to him, as was the Irish painter James Forrester), and Thomas Jenkins, the principal British dealers in Rome.<sup>12</sup>

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Of much concern to priests of religious orders in England and Wales, including the Jesuits, was a clause in the decree issued by Pope Benedict XIV in 1753 "*Regulae observandae in Anglicanis missionibus*" (sometimes known as "*Apostolicum ministerium*") which regulated relations between the vicars apostolic and religious orders. One of the clauses laid it down that all religious missionaries should every six years return to a Catholic country, resume their religious habits, dwell for three months in a house of their own order, and make a retreat of fifteen days. There were petitions against this clause because observance involved expensive travel and the abandonment by the missionaries of their work. In 1764 attempts were made to obtain the postponement of this clause. Thorpe wrote about these efforts:

The affair of the Septenn[ial—he should have written Sexennial] Retreat upon the remonstrance of the English monks will be debated tomorrow in a full Congreg[at]ion of Card[inal]s in the Propag[an]da . . . the decision will probably be to lodge the power of executing or dispensing that point of the late Mr. Bennet's [Pope Benedict XIV's] decree in the hands of the vic[ars] apost[olic].

It was thought that if a complete dispensation could not be obtained then one should be obtained from the vicar apostolic for each missionary as his six years approached, and the vicar apostolic should not refuse it without giving reasons to the Congregation of Propaganda and receiving approbation. Thorpe continued:

But whatever resolution be taken it is supposed that the Eng[lish] J[esuit]s will not be included in anything that can be favourable to them tho when they appeal for it they can bring arguments of greater weight than others. (24 June 1764)

Thorpe later sent a copy of the decree of the Congregation of Propaganda (dated 27 June 1764) which had been approved by the Pope. The sexennium was postponed for six years, but meanwhile every regular missionary should

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<sup>12</sup> (New Haven, 1997) pp. 169-72, 371-72, 553-56, 939-42.

make an annual retreat of fifteen days and certify to the vicar apostolic, if necessary under oath, that he had done so.<sup>13</sup> In response to appeals about the oath, Thorpe was able to report a slight concession:

Mons. Marefoschi, secretary of the Propaganda,<sup>14</sup> assured me that the oath ordered to be taken by Regular missionaries in England according to last year's decree is now remitted to the vic[ars] apost[olic] who may require it or not as they judge proper. I know the affair was proposed to the pope ab[ou]t a fortnight ago. . . . (17 May 1766)

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There was much in Thorpe's letters about books. He asked for books; he sent books to his friends in the English province. He gave his opinion about books; he requested books of piety and instruction "for the use of my little friends" in Rome. He asked for the "genuine *Poetical Works* of Will Hamilton of Bangour—to be had of A. Millar in the Strand" and for Warburton's *Works*<sup>15</sup> among others.<sup>16</sup> He enquired how Butler's *Lives of the Saints* had been received in England by good Catholics.<sup>17</sup> On another occasion he was grateful for *The History of the Variations*<sup>18</sup> and the *Abridgement* of Johnson's Dictionary ("somewhat disappointed in the latter as I hoped to find more syntax") and was pleased

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<sup>13</sup> In the letters of English Jesuits of the time there are references to the "*quindecim*" or annual retreat.

<sup>14</sup> Mario Compagnoni Marefoschi (1714-1780) was appointed secretary in 1759. Pope Clement XIV named him cardinal on 29 January 1770 (Gaetano Moroni Romano, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, vol. XLII [Venice, 1847] pp. 271-72).

<sup>15</sup> Warburton is most likely William Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester (1698-1779) whose works were published at different dates during his life. See Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., *Dictionary of National Biography*, 63 vols. (London, 1885-1900) (=DNB) LIX, 301-11.

<sup>16</sup> William Hamilton (1704-1754) was a Scottish poet.

<sup>17</sup> Alban Butler, *The lives of the fathers, martyrs, and other principal saints*, 4 vols. (London, 1757-1759) Blom, num. 399. On the basis of the number of printings and editions, said volumes were very much appreciated by Catholics. See F. Blom, J. Blom, F. Korsten, and G. Scott, *English Catholic Books 1701-1800* (Aldershot, 1996) [=Blom] nums. 397-405.

<sup>18</sup> Jacques Bénigne Bossuet, *The history of the variations of the Protestant churches*, 2 vols. (Antwerp, 1742). Another edition appeared three years later (Antwerp [vere Dublin], 1745). See Blom, nums. 333, 334. Levinus Brown, S.J. is generally acknowledged as the translator. Brown \*9.ix.1671 Norfolk; SJ as a priest 23.x.1698 Watten?; †7.xi.1764 St. Omers. He served as provincial from 1733 to 1737 (Holt, *English Jesuits*, pp. 44-45).

with Jack Panting's English *Aloysius*<sup>19</sup> ("I heartily wish to hear that he is engaged on some other work of the like nature") (22 November 1762). Writing to Jenison in July of 1764 he asked that pamphlets and magazines that had been read should be put in the hands of Mr. Bird, an agent in London, for dispatch to his agent in Leghorn because "they would be very entertaining to a man in exile."<sup>20</sup> In the same letter he wrote that he had sent more than twenty occasional volumes "upon the affairs of the Society to our friends at Liège besides others sent to Mr. More in your capital" (26 July 1764).<sup>21</sup> In 1765 he wrote that he would like to see Mr. Berkeley's dissertation upon the penal laws or oath of allegiance<sup>22</sup> and "Pray tell me who is the author of *Religio Laici* which I am told is the work of a Catholic layman and is admired by several" (19 March 1765).<sup>23</sup> Other books that he received or hoped to see included the Glasgow edition of Homer, the *Devout Christian's Companion* by Pacificus Baker,<sup>24</sup> a select edition of sermons in two volumes,<sup>25</sup> poetry by William Shenstone, and the works of James Scott "my quondam school-fellow and friend" (11 July 1765; 27 August 1765; February 1766; 21 June 1766).<sup>26</sup>

A book which must have been sent from England or Flanders and which he mentioned frequently in his letters was Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, which

<sup>19</sup> John Panting (\*26.xi.1732 London; SJ 7.ix.1749 Watten; †30.vi.1783 Bonham [Wiltshire] [Holt, *English Jesuits*, p. 184]) translated Pierre Joseph d'Orléans, S.J., *La vie du B. Louis de Gonzague de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1685) into English as *The life of S. Aloysius Gonzaga. Of the Society of Jesus* (St. Omers, 1761). Orléans \*3.xi.1641 Bourges; SJ 13.vii.1659; †31.iii.1698 (Sommervogel V, 1937).

<sup>20</sup> Mr. Bird was probably Edward Bird of White Friars, London; the agent in Leghorn was Joseph Astbury (Thorpe Miscellaneous Letters ff. 127, 142).

<sup>21</sup> Friends at Liège means the Jesuits at the English college of philosophy and theology situated there. Thomas More (\*19.ix.1722 Yorkshire; SJ 19.vi.1752 Watten; †3.vi.1795 Bath) was in London and was about to become procurator. He served as provincial from 1769 to 1773. See Geoffrey Holt, S.J., "'Haeres . . . Thomae More Cancellarii.' Fr. Thomas More, 1722-1795," *Recusant History* 24 (1998) 76-88; Holt, *English Jesuits*, pp. 169-70.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Berkeley, *Considerations on the oath of supremacy* (London, 1778) Blom, num. 263. On Berkeley see Joseph Gillow, *A Literary and Biographical Dictionary or Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*, 5 vols. (London, 1885) I, 201.

<sup>23</sup> Stephen Tempest, *Religio laici* [sic] (n.p., n.d. [London? 1764?]). See Blom, num. 2662; Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary*, V, 539.

<sup>24</sup> Pacificus Baker, *The devout Christian's companion for holy-days* (London, 1757) was published in a new edition each remaining decade of the century. See Blom, nums. 140-143.

<sup>25</sup> This may be Francis Blyth, *Sermons for every Sunday in the year*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1763). See Blom, num. 288.

<sup>26</sup> William Shenstone (1714-1763) was a poet (DNB, LII, 48); James Scott, D.D. (1733-1814) was a political writer (DNB, LI, 37).

was published early in 1760. Sterne, "my fellow countryman," came, like Thorpe, from a Yorkshire family (21 June 1766).<sup>27</sup>

But the book which was to occur more often than any other in Thorpe's letters to Jenison was published in 1764: *The history of the life of Reginald Pole* by Thomas Phillips.<sup>28</sup> Phillips was born in 1708, was educated at St. Omers College, and entered the Society in the English province but left in 1733 before ordination. Ordained in Rome, he was provided with a canonry at Tongres in Flanders. Returning to England, he became chaplain first to George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury at Heythrop Park in Oxfordshire, then to Sir Richard Acton at Aldenham Hall in Shropshire, and finally to the Berkeley family in Worcestershire. In 1765 he applied for re-admission into the Society and he seems to have been accepted in 1768. He died at Liège in 1774.<sup>29</sup>

In the preface Phillips explained his purpose:

The Author's design is to place Cardinal Pole in a true, distinct and conspicuous light and shew his whole conduct to have been one uniform system of the most exalted Virtues, which can adorn a man of Letters, a Patriot, a Christian and a Prelate.<sup>30</sup>

According to Dr. George Oliver, the early nineteenth century priest, historian and antiquary, Phillips informed the English Jesuit Charles Plowden<sup>31</sup> that his "object in writing . . . was to give the English nation a correct idea of the Council of Trent." Oliver continued: "At the present enlightened period we can hardly believe the stir and consternation which this work produced amongst the ranks of bigotry, the enemies of Free Discussion and the fiery Champions of Civil and Religious Intolerance."<sup>32</sup>

Thorpe knew of the book as early as November of 1762:

When may we expect to see Mr. Phillips's Card[ina]l Pole? There is no doubt

<sup>27</sup> DNB, LIV, 208.

<sup>28</sup> 2 vols. (Oxford, 1764). A year later the volumes were reprinted in Dublin. A new edition appeared in London in 1767. See Blom, nums. 2257-2260. For his other works see nums. 2255, 2256, 2261-2265.

<sup>29</sup> Thomas Phillips \*5.vi.1708 Ickford (Buckinghamshire); SJ 7.ix.1726 Watten; †20 or 30.vi.1774 Liège (Holt, *English Jesuits*, p. 193; Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary*, V, 305-08; DNB, XLV, 215).

<sup>30</sup> *History of the Life*, v.

<sup>31</sup> Charles Plowden \*1.v.1743 Plowden Hall (Shropshire); SJ 7.ix.1759 Watten; †13.vi.1821 Jougue (France) (Holt, *English Jesuits*, pp. 195-96).

<sup>32</sup> George Oliver, *Collections towards Illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English and Irish Members of the Society of Jesus* (Exeter, 1838) p. 151.

that the life of the Prelate wrote by such a man and from such materials will be a very valuable addition to the History, learning and language of our nation, and cannot fail of being a most well come present to this where a very polite translator has been long waiting to try his abilities upon it. (22 November 1762)

In February and March of 1765 Thorpe wrote several times about the delay in the book's arrival and of his hopes of soon being able to read it. He told Jenison:

You have a genteel way of tantalizing a friend's curiosity by kindly giving a hint of something new & interesting & then gravely supposing me to have better information. When you told me that several pamphlets criticized passages in Phillips's Card[inal] Pole I wish that you had specified them for as I one day hope to read that work they might have afforded me some light. I wrote to Liège to know their opinion; all the answer returned was that they were surprised to find the author insist upon an apology for not inserting a history of the times into that of the Card[inal]. . . . (25 June 1765)

At last Thorpe was able to report the arrival of the two volumes in August. It was unfortunate, he thought, that the author had not had the advantage of seeing the latest complete collection of Sadoletto's letters.<sup>33</sup> He lent the book and did not recover it until October. Later he was to mention that the volumes were "in the palace." He told Jenison that he longed "to hear what Ridley says about it" (27 August 1765; October 1765; 12 March 1766; 9 December 1765).

Prominent among the book's critics were Gloucester Ridley, Prebendary of Salisbury, and Timothy Neve, Rector of Godington, Oxfordshire.<sup>34</sup> Thorpe himself had some words of criticism of the book's style and found a few mistakes. After the criticisms of Ridley, Neve and others arrived in Rome in June of 1766, Thorpe wrote:

The many oversights that Mr Phillips is subject to lays him but too open to their reproaches and had his critics not been peevish interested parsons their learning as well as their language might have given us remarks which would read with more universally deserved approbation. . . . My notion of your friend has always been that he was a gentleman with a good share of genius and more reading, but seeking little communication with any who were not

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<sup>33</sup> Thorpe must have had in mind V.A. Costanzi's edition *Jacobi Sadoleti S.R.E. Cardinalis Epistolae Leonis X, Clementis VII, Pauli III, nomine scriptae* (Rome, 1759). For a brief biography of Jacopo, Cardinal Sadoletto (1477-1547), humanist and reformer, see Richard M. Douglas's entry in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand, 4 vols. (Oxford/New York, 1996) III, 467-68.

<sup>34</sup> Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary*, V, 507 (under Phillips, Thomas); DNB, XLIII, 282; XL, 241.



either his favourites or his admirers and he has therefore been exposed to much vanity . . . (21 June 1766)

Thorpe certainly saw Phillips's weaknesses. Of his critics he wrote:

When they censure him as an Historian they have often reason, but when they turn their forces against what they fancy to be the intent of the writer they are generally in a passion with a vengeance and speak so unbecomingly of popes, councils, creeds, practices of devotion that if others said the like of Mohametism & the Alcoran our modern Philosophers would much condemn it . . . (16 July 1766)

Thorpe hoped that Phillips "would take up his pen in defence of [the rights] of the Church which are now most outrageously insulted by more than one Catholic power and Church Champions are very few and very slow at their work" (24 September 1766).<sup>35</sup> Phillips did not. His final publications defended his interpretation of Pole.<sup>36</sup>

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John Thorpe was always delighted to see or meet visitors and travellers from England and to send home news of them. Among the noblemen were Lord Mountstuart, son of John Stuart, Earl of Bute and British Prime Minister from 1762 to 1763, Frederic Augustus Berkeley, Earl of Berkeley, who visited Rome and Naples; John, Viscount Spencer and Lady Spencer, nee Margaret Georgiana Poyntz, "the latter highly extolled by the Romans," with their daughter; the Earl of Exeter; David Wemyss, Earl of Wemyss who, as Lord Elcho was once a supporter of the Stuarts but now "is not known by the master he formerly served."<sup>37</sup> Others included ambassadors and young men on the Grand Tour with their tutors: "Mr Greenville [Henry Grenville] is here going ambassador from London to Constantinople;" Anthony Preston, Lord Gormanston was in town accompanied by Mr. John Needham, his tutor, who remains "to compleat his work upon the Hebrew and Egyptian characters;" Sir William Stanhope and his young wife Anne were daily expected; "yr renowned Wilks," John Wilkes who had fled from England to escape a charge of seditious libel, was at Naples. Among the Catholic gentry, Sir Thomas Gascoigne was at Naples "where he

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<sup>35</sup> Phillips does not seem to have published anything of importance after this biography.

<sup>36</sup> *The study of sacred scripture . . . To which is added, an answer to the principal objections which have been made to the history of the life of Cardinal Pole* (London, 1765); *An appendix to the History of the life of Cardinal Pole* (London, 1767) and (Dublin, 1773). See Blom, nums. 2255, 2256, 2264.

<sup>37</sup> Lord Elcho was attainted in 1745 because of his involvement in the Jacobite rebellion and, thus, forfeited his title. He later entered the service of King Louis XV of France. After the battle of Culloden, he disagreed with Prince Charles and sought a pardon from the government.

outshines all the English gentry in town." Also in Naples was Mr. Howard "heir apparent to the D[uke] of Norf[olk]. He appears in a very genteel equipage & in every respect behaves in a manner suitable to his high birth and religion" (4 November 1761; 4 February 1765; 25 June 1765; 7 January 1767).<sup>38</sup>

A visitor who aroused much interest in Rome and whose arrival and movements Thorpe reported fully, was the Earl of Ulster:

Letters from Genoa continue to come loaden with praises of the E. of Ulster and never fail to tell us that he shows a great esteem for the Cath[olic] religion and a particular regard for the Jesuits and says that his Bro[the]r [George III] on the throne and his mother [Augusta] have the very same favourable sentiments. (6 February 1764)

The Earl of Ulster (1739-1767) was Edward Augustus, the next brother of King George III. He was an officer in the British navy. His primary title was Duke of York and Albany, but in Italy on this occasion he tactfully did not use it as another Duke of York, Henry Benedict, Cardinal Stuart, brother of Charles Edward pretender to the British throne, was in Italy and was Bishop of Frascati.

According to Thorpe,

The Earl of Ulster will be here [Rome] in holy week; it is [has?] been signified that he will give no umbrage to the house of Stuart nor admit of any compliments that might otherwise be due to the rank in which fortune has placed him. This moderation pleases but very probably will not contain the Italians within the bounds of that decorum which is due to the good old Gentleman in this town. (28 February 1764)<sup>39</sup>

The Earl of Ulster arrived in Rome. The Pope's nephews waited upon him as did members of the Roman nobility. Presents were made but in such a way as to avoid giving offence to the Stuart family. Thorpe explained:

Whatever the pope does is all with a view of good to religion as also upon a motive of gratitude as is publicly asserted here that the Courts of Hanover and Berlin have been very serviceable in hindring some of the Catholick Electors from proposing measures in the Diet at Frankfurt which would very much have cramped the authority of the C[court] of Rome . . . (27 April 1764)

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<sup>38</sup> For all these travellers and visitors see Ingamells, *Dictionary*, pp. 81, 333-34, 343-44, 393-94, 412, 428-29, 686-87, 699, 882-84, 887-88, 1000-02. For Wilkes see DNB, LXI, 242. Edward Howard, Duke of Norfolk, died without children in 1777. His heir was a cousin, Charles. See George Edward Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, 2nd ed. Vicary Gibbs et al., 13 vols. (London, 1910-1940) IX, 632-33 and the chart between pages 612 and 613. Ingamells does not include Charles Howard and, apparently, identifies a "Mr Howard" in Italy in 1766 with Edward Howard (pp. 526-27).

<sup>39</sup> The "good old Gentleman" was James Edward Stuart, the "Old Pretender."

In the same letter Thorpe wrote of another who called on the Earl:

Among the other principal personages who have been to wait upon the Earl of Ulster, the gen[era]l of the Jesuits [Lorenzo Ricci] was certainly not the least distinguished. It was long ago said that such a visit would be made; the best politicians and directors of ceremonies in Rome declared that it was indispensable. The gen[era]l went accordingly & was very graciously received tho he perceived some little surprise in the apartments at his entrance, yet he did not wait a moment, discoursed near a quarter of an hour very familiarly, spoke chiefly of the Soc<sup>y</sup> and did not omit to recommend those of it who are in England, to which the Earl without making any answer showed his attention by a bow. Both parties are satisfied . . . the Earl spoke of it afterwards to [Gianfrancesco] Card[inal] Albani & others with pleasure. The gen[era]l thought it his duty to do what he did; had it been only for the sake of his English subjects he would have found comfort in having done it. It has given no offence to the Card[inal] Duke [of York] who returned from his bishoprick sooner than usual that it might not be said that he was absent on purpose that two of the same title might not be in one town together. His namesake leaves us on Monday next. . . . (27 April 1764)

A week or two later, Thorpe returned to the subject of the visit:

I am sorry to say that the behaviour of the young traveller did not then or indeed scarce upon any other occasion correspond to the attention that was paid to him. . . . But of all the regard given to him nothing is more talked of or seems to have made more impression than the visit which the gen[era]l of the Jesuits made to him; he often spoke of it while in town and according to last letters from Florence has mentioned it with great pleasure elsewhere. . . . This town which is very dextrous in making caricatures has added a wild variety of circumstances & recounts a number of rich presents made by the gen[era]l to the E[arl]. But it is all entirely false. . . . (16 May 1764)

The Earl of Ulster was believed to be travelling for reasons of health. Thorpe mentioned this later: "It is not supposed that he received any personal benefit here tho all who saw him were persuaded that he stood in need of it" (24 June 1764). Edward Augustus, Duke of York and Albany and Earl of Ulster, died in Monaco in September 1767 of a "malignant fever." He was twenty-eight.<sup>40</sup>

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In writing to his friends, Thorpe mentioned, often only briefly, people and events that he thought would be of some interest. Thus he reported that the nephew of a former Doge of Genoa (Mari) had come to Rome to seek entrance

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<sup>40</sup> Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, XII, pt. 2, 920; Ingamells, *Dictionary*, pp. 1033-35.

into the Society "and is now in town upon that errand and to implore the pope's intercession with his parents for leave to follow his vocation" (14 July 1761). He told how the Jesuit historian Giulio Cesare Cordara<sup>41</sup> was ordered to remove a page from his biography of a religious about to be beatified because the order did not approve of the statement that he had taught "the system of the Jesuit Molina on the question of grace" (17 May 1766).<sup>42</sup> But he certainly did! Thorpe added. Père Du Gad, a French missionary in China, had been seized by the Portuguese in Macao and imprisoned in Lisbon. For two years the Marquis de Saint-Priest, French ambassador to Portugal, acting in the name of Mary Leszczyńska, Queen of France, and the princes of the Soubise family pleaded for his release. Their petition was finally granted (7 November 1766).<sup>43</sup> He wrote of the "too melancholy a subject," the loss of the English College at St. Omer as a result of the Society's expulsion from France, of the new establishment at Bruges "not less favourable than those of Blandyke [St. Omers College]," and of plans to accept for their studies at the English College in Liège members of the Champagne province (22 November 1762; 30 August 1766).

Thorpe related an example of the anxiety about the future in a letter of November 1766. After mentioning that a famous Jesuit missionary in Spain, Father Callataise, had been silenced by magistrates, he continued:

But the printing of a Spanish translation of Ceruti's Apology of the Jesuits is a more troublesome affair.<sup>44</sup> One edition was privately made in a college and another procured to be secretly made at Bayonne in France. Both were discovered. The Spanish ministers made complaints of the first and the French Parl[emen]ts of the other. The Bayonne printer brought also his complaint against the Jesuits for making an edition in Spain which greatly prejudiced the sale of what he had printed at their request . . . the affair is delicate, no one cares to speak of it here but we impatiently wait for the next Spanish posts. (7 November 1766)

Thorpe referred to a Father Rossignol "a French Jesuit who is lately returned from teaching mathematics in Poland and now resides at Genoa" in one letter. Surely this is Jean Joseph Rossignol who wrote not only on mathematics but

<sup>41</sup> Cordara \*16 or 17.xii.1704 Alessandria; SJ 20.xii.1718 Rome; †6.iii.1785 Alessandria. See his *On the Suppression of the Society of Jesus*, trans. and ed. John P. Murphy, S.J. (Chicago, 1999) xv-xix.

<sup>42</sup> Most likely this is his *Ristretto della Vita, Virtù, e miracoli del B. Simone de Roxas dell'Ordine della Santissima Trinità della Redenzione de'Schiavi* (Rome, 1766).

<sup>43</sup> Louis Du Gad \*26.ii.1707 Lyons; SJ 9.x.1723; †25.iii.1786 Paris (Sommervogel, III, 270).

<sup>44</sup> Jean Antonie Joachim Ceruti \*15.vi.1738 Turin; SJ 7.ix.1753; †3.ii.1792 Paris. The first edition of *Apologie générale de l'Institut et de la doctrine des Jésuites* was published in Lausanne in 1762 (Sommervogel, II, 1003).

also on theology and philosophy. Moreover he produced a plan for a universal calendar. After the Society's expulsion from France, he went to Vilnius to direct the observatory there (19 March 1765).<sup>45</sup>

Another Jesuit who appeared in Thorpe's letters was Thomas Lawson, appointed rector of the English College in Bruges in 1766. Before his appointment he had written a short book, *The devotion to the sacred heart of Jesus*.<sup>46</sup> He established a confraternity of the Sacred Heart, which was aggregated to the archconfraternity in Rome, in the chapel of the College, appealing to Thorpe to help him obtain spiritual privileges for the members. Thorpe did as requested:

Lawson was pleased to employ me as an agent in the business of his new congreg[ation]. I have endeavoured to serve him with as much industry as he shows zeal in the cause, which as it is protected, promoted and venerated by very great personages besides the chiefs of the Soc[ie]ty, naturally invites me to lend a helping hand . . . I do not doubt but that persons far advanced in ascetics will find in it great help to a more sublime perfection . . . However the establishing a particular and separate confraternity of it at Bruges may be liable to some objections but which may be easily removed by prudent direction of it . . . (21 July 1766)

Another devotion—that to Aloysius Gonzaga—is frequently mentioned in Thorpe's letters. One form of the devotion was that known as the Six Sundays in honour of the saint:

It is a most comfortable sight to see how devotion to that amiable patron daily increases. The Six Sundays are now performing at his shrine in the church of St Ignat[ius] and the concourse is so great that so spacious an edifice cannot contain the numbers that crowd thither; during the last five or six weeks only above forty votive donaries have been presented to hang at his altar, several of which have six or eight ounces of silver . . . (24 May 1766)

There was little about the weather in Thorpe's letters, an exception being his account of the Roman weather on 12 August 1766. Then the temperature was several degrees higher than it had been for five or six years. But the heat affected him little compared with the sufferings of the poor:

The scarcity of corn is not totally remedied; yesterday a part of the five millions laid up by Sixtus V in the castle of St Angelo was drawn out to supply the great want of the State . . . The money was brought out of the castle with the usual formalities; vast crowds of people filled the streets and

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<sup>45</sup> Jean Joseph Rossignol \*3.vii.1726 at Vallouise-ou-a-la-Pisse (Hautes Alpes); SJ 16.ix.1742; †1817 Turin (Sommervogel VII, 179).

<sup>46</sup> (Bruges, 1765). See Blom, numms. 1619-1622.

as it passed they blessed the memory of Sisto Quinto . . . (12 August 1766)

In a letter in which he provided names of visitors to Rome, he mentioned one who had lived in the city some years earlier:

You told me once you read the Crit[ical] Review. Give me your opinion of a copy of verses to Mr Mylne the architect by G.W. . . . The author is George Walker, Agent for the Benedictines one of whom he is, and was prior at Paris when I passed by . . . (4 November 1766)

Robert Mylne was a prominent architect who studied in Rome from 1755 until 1758. Elected a member of St. Luke's Academy, he needed a papal dispensation to assume his position because he was a Protestant. Back in England he became a fellow of the Royal Society and Surveyor of St. Paul's Cathedral from 1766 until his death in 1811.<sup>47</sup>

In the summer of 1766 Thorpe wrote of the death and Protestant funeral of Sir James Macdonald who had come to Italy with a tutor in 1763:

A few days ago died Sir James Macdonald. His corpse was carried to the Pyramid of Caius Cestius attended by torches and about forty coaches. Mr Wagstaffe who in [17]45 was named b[is]hop of Ely performed the funeral rites. It was remarkable that the coffin covered with black had a white cross upon it, but I know the Doctor has no objection to many ceremonies of the Cath[olic] Church tho' a very rigid Prot[estant] . . . (2 August 1766)<sup>48</sup>

In response, apparently to an enquiry, Thorpe wrote about one who was closely connected with the English Jesuits and with the Stuarts:

I do not know that any English Mr Dormer is now living in Italy. The Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr Joseph Dormer died here about a year before his excellent master; he has left an amiable character, was much esteemed during his life and after his death much regretted. At his own request he was buried in a church of reformed Franciscans and in a habit of the order. Had he outlived the great personage he served he designed to retire and spend the remainder of his days amongst those good fryars. (24 September 1766)

Joseph Dormer was one of seven sons (there were five daughters) of Charles, 5th Baron Dormer and Elizabeth (Biddulph), his second wife. All the sons were educated at St. Omers College and four entered the English province. Their

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<sup>47</sup> On Mylne see *DNB*, XL, 6 and Ingamells, *Dictionary*, pp. 693-95; on George Walker, O.S.B., see Ingamells, *Dictionary*, p. 971.

<sup>48</sup> On Macdonald see Ingamells, *Dictionary*, pp. 622-23; on Thomas Wagstaffe, see *DNB*, LVIII, 435 and Ingamells, *Dictionary*, p. 970. A non-juror, Wagstaffe lived in Rome from before 1738 as Anglican chaplain and worked much in the Vatican and Barberini Libraries.

half-brother Charles, son of their father's first marriage to Catherine Fettiplace, also entered the English province.<sup>49</sup> According to Thorpe, Joseph Dormer was at the Stuart court in Rome until the death of his master, James Edward Stuart, on 1 January 1766.

Towards the end of this series of letters, Thorpe again mentioned "your friend" Thomas Phillips. He hoped that Phillips would use "his zeal and abilities on laudable causes" rather than write on politics as he was apparently inclined to do:

He may help a brother against the most profane as well as the most admired genius of the age. Voltaire is going to print his polemical correspondence with Mr Needham who he affects to style an Irish Jesuit. As those letters were begun by the former with a design to ridicule the priest and his religion so he plentifully loads them with scepticism and impiety by which our modern philosophers try to blunt the arguments which they cannot break . . . (29 November 1766)

John Turberville Needham (1713-1781), a priest but not a Jesuit, and a scientist, was famous for his microscopical observations which earned him election to several learned societies including the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries of London, and the French Royal Academy of Science. Among many other works he published his correspondence with Voltaire: *Questions sur les Miracles* (Geneva, 1764 and London, 1769).<sup>50</sup>

John Thorpe did not confine himself to short comments on the Roman scene and the individuals he met. He wrote much of the death of Pope Benedict XIV on 3 May (13 May 1758) and of Pope Clement XIII's appointment of his nephew Abondio Rezzonico as a Roman Senator and of the splendour of his installation in office and his triumphant procession to the Capitol (7 June 1766). He wrote in some detail of the orations delivered at the funeral of the Dauphin Louis in 1765. One oration he described as "a masterpiece of the extravagant kind, it seems to be the product of a wild imagination stuffed with an indigested stock of philosophy, poetry, mythology and some shreds of Christianity" (28 June 1766).

A French Jesuit who he calls Forestier, whose real name seems to have been Fleury and who was known in England as Charles Forester, is mentioned on several occasions in letters late in 1766 and early 1767. He had entered the

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<sup>49</sup> For the Dormers see Holt, *St Omers and Bruges Colleges*, pp. 86-87; Holt, *English Jesuits*, pp. 81-82. Charles Dormer \*13.i.1690 Peterley (Buckinghamshire); SJ 7.ix.1709 Watten; †7.iii.1761 Peterley (Holt, *English Jesuits*, p. 81).

<sup>50</sup> On Needham see Gillow, *Biographical Dictionary*, V, 157-60 and Inghamells, *Dictionary*, p. 699.

Society in France in 1756 and in about 1764 he transferred to the English province. He was to work in England through the suppression of the Society until his death in 1825.<sup>51</sup> Thorpe met him in Rome. About him Thorpe reported:

Forestier talks to me of London as often as he meets me; he admires it for many particulars not to be found in Paris. He is loud in praise of the Bruges education, the very best, as he everywhere reports for piety & learning that he ever saw. The custom of speaking French which has been widely established since our time is however a great subject of his encomiums and I find his favourites at London to have been chiefly those who could discourse with him in his own language. (29 November 1766)

Later Thorpe confessed: "I shall heartily join in the inexhaustible praises which Forestier since his return from London throws out upon the 'incomparable Prov. d'Angleterre & les Pères Anglois'" (10 January 1767).

### Sumario

John Thorpe (1726-92), jesuita de la Provincia de Inglaterra, estuvo en Roma desde 1756 hasta su muerte, primero como estudiante y sacerdote enseñando en el Colegio Inglés, y después como penitenciario en San Pedro. De entre sus muchas cartas, este grupo de 1756-67 fueron dirigidas a John Jenison, un jesuita que era capellán del octavo Lord Arundell en Wardour (Wiltshire). Thorpe escribía sobre la vida en Roma, de sus esfuerzos por llevar a cabo las peticiones de su amigo Lord Arundell, acerca del decreto de 1753, de Benedicto XIV, reglamentando las relaciones entre los vicarios apostólicos de Inglaterra y Gales y las órdenes religiosas. Escribió mucho sobre libros, señaladamente acerca de la *Historia de la Vida de Reginald Pole* (*The History of the Life of Reginald Pole*) de Thomas Phillips (1764). Enviaba noticias acerca de los visitantes, católicos y no católicos, que llegaban a Roma, entre los cuales estuvo el conde de Ulster, hermano del Rey Jorge III. Escribió sobre aquellas personas y acontecimientos en Roma, que creía podrían interesar a Jenison y a otros miembros de la provincia de Inglaterra.

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<sup>51</sup> Fleury \*21.iv. 1739 France; SJ 13.ix.1756 France; †2.v.1825 New Hall (Essex) (Holt, *English Jesuits*, p. 94).



# NUEVA DOCUMENTACIÓN SOBRE FRANCISCO DE BORJA (1510-1572)

Enrique García Hernán\*

## Introducción

Los estudios sobre la casa Borja no han dejado de tener actualidad entre los historiadores, no sólo por la importancia de esa ilustre y extensa familia, sino por la nueva documentación que ha ido apareciendo en los distintos archivos europeos.<sup>1</sup> Indudablemente los historiadores de la Compañía de Jesús se han preocupado del linaje, del que salió el tercer preposito general, único general santo después de san Ignacio y, además, patrono de la Curia Generalicia.

Como proyección de la revitalización de los estudios históricos que se dio en Europa en el siglo XIX, nació en la Compañía de Jesús un gran proyecto de investigación con el fin de editar los documentos que tuvieran relación con la

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<sup>1</sup> Entre las nuevas aportaciones se deben tener en cuenta el *Diplomatari Borja. (1300-1429)*, de la editorial Tres i Quatre, con documentos del Archivo del Reino de Valencia, de próxima aparición en Valencia los documentos referidos a Alejandro VI editados por Miquel Batllori, *De València a Roma: cartes triades dels Borja*, próleg de Modest Prats, (Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1998), así como su estudio *La família Borja*, (València: E. Climent, 1994). En cuanto a nuevas investigaciones, se debe tener en cuenta la reciente tesis doctoral (2001) de Miguel Navarro Sorní, de la Facultad de Historia de la Iglesia de la Universidad Gregoriana de Roma, titulada "Calixto III Borja y Alfonso V el Magnánimo." Con respecto a los últimos estudios publicados sobre san Francisco de Borja, véase: Enrique García Hernán, *Francisco de Borja, Grande de España* (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1999), y del mismo *La acción diplomática de Francisco de Borja al servicio del pontificado, 1571-1572* (Valencia: Organismo Público Valenciano de Investigación/Generalitat Valenciana Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència, 2000).

Historia de la Compañía. Lo promovió y apoyó eficazmente Luis Martín,<sup>2</sup> como base indispensable para la redacción de las historias nacionales, que fueron apareciendo en el primer tercio del siglo XX.<sup>3</sup> Lógicamente las cartas borgianas tenían un lugar preferente dentro de este marco. Así apareció entre 1894 y 1911 la serie *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia* de la colección de *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, en cinco volúmenes, con unos 2.800 documentos publicados, cuyo origen analizamos más abajo. Desde aquella lejana fecha se han publicado numerosos estudios sirviéndose de esa documentación y de nuevos hallazgos, especialmente en 1972, con ocasión del centenario de la muerte de Borja. Pero se debe tener en cuenta que los editores borgianos eran conscientes de que no publicaban todo lo que tenían a su alcance, sino una selección—sin un criterio predeterminado—y, en algunos casos, no el documento entero, si bien tampoco conocían toda la documentación de que ahora disponemos.

El hecho de que la serie *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia* quedara agotada desde hace muchos años, y que, además, fuera una edición limitada y, por lo mismo, de reducida difusión, propició que los historiadores acudieran por más comodidad a los fondos archivísticos que a la propia serie. Esto explica que hoy día todavía algunos investigadores, pese a que son conscientes de la existencia de *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia*, citen esos documentos como si fueran inéditos, sin hacer referencia al tomo correspondiente de MHSI. Así, por ejemplo, cuando se citan esos documentos en recientes publicaciones sobre Francisco de Borja,<sup>4</sup> como si fueran inéditos, del Archivo Municipal de Gandía o del Archivo General de Simancas, se debería tener presente que fueron archivos investigados por los monumentistas borgianos y que precisamente esos documentos fueron publicados y anotados en *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia*.<sup>5</sup> Por otro lado, al compás de las recientes investigaciones, han aparecido nuevos documentos procedentes de

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<sup>2</sup> \*19.viii.1846 Melgar de Fernamental; SJ 13.x.1864 Loyola; electus 2.x.1892; †18.iv.1906 Rome (DHSJ, II, 1676-1682).

<sup>3</sup> *Memorias del P. Luis Martín, general de la Compañía de Jesús (1846-1906)*, ed. José Ramón Eguillor, S.J., Manuel Revuelta, S.J., Rafael María Sanz de Diego, S.J., 2 vol. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1988) BIHSI 47, 48, II, 809-47.

<sup>4</sup> \*28.x.1510 Gandía; SJ 2.vi.1546 Gandía; electus 2.vii.1565; †30.ix.1572 Rome (DHSJ, II, 1605).

<sup>5</sup> Podemos citar el análisis de Santiago La Parra López, *La ruta valenciana de los Borja* (Gandía: Escapada-Punto Cero, 1997), su "Francisc de Borja, duc abans que sant," en *L'Europa renaixentista. Simposi sobre els Borja (Valencia, 25-29 d'octubre 1994)* (Gandía: CEIC "Alfons el Vell," editorial Tres i Quatre, Col·labora Ajuntament de Gandia, 1998) pp. 271-306, y su "Aproximación a la figura humana de Francisco Borja, IV duque de Gandía (1543-1550)," *Debats* 72 (2001) 135-45; el apretado y bien elaborado estudio de Angel Casals en la obra *L'Emperador i els catalans. Catalunya a l'imperi de Carles V (1516-1543)* (Barcelona: Granollers, 2000) pp. 370-490; y otro caso parecido es el espléndido trabajo de Juan Francisco Pardo Molero, *La defensa del imperio. Carlos V, Valencia y el Mediterráneo* (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Commemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001).

diferentes archivos y bibliotecas, apenas explorados, que no conocieron los monumentistas. Por tanto, se hace preciso una nueva edición con los documentos que van apareciendo y una reedición de los cinco volúmenes de *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia*.

La Dirección General de Libro de la Generalitat Valenciana y el Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, conscientes de esta necesidad, en el año 2000—Año Borgiano, declarado así por la Generalitat—han firmado un acuerdo para publicar dos nuevos volúmenes que completarán la colección *Sanctus Franciscus Borgiae*. En un futuro próximo se planteará la posibilidad de la reedición de los cinco primeros volúmenes de la serie *Sanctus Franciscus Borgiae*. En la edición también colabora el Departamento de Historia de la Iglesia del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. El nuevo volumen, del que soy editor, aparecerá en este año 2002, y corresponderá al volumen sexto de *Monumenta Borgiae*, con un estudio previo y unos doscientos documentos inéditos que abarcan desde 1485—cuando Fernando el Católico otorgó el título de “egregios” a los hijos de Rodrigo Borja—a 1550, fecha en que Francisco de Borja aparece públicamente como jesuita. La obra sigue un orden cronológico, con las referencias archivísticas y de edición de los documentos borgianos referentes al citado período. En este artículo incluimos tres documentos, que sirven de modelo de la próxima edición. Corresponden a la primera etapa de la vida de Francisco de Borja, desde la fecha de su nacimiento, en 1510, hasta el matrimonio con doña Leonor de Castro, en 1529.

### Origen y estructura de *Sanctus Franciscus Borgia*

La colección *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* comenzó a publicarse en Madrid en 1894, patrocinada por los tres provinciales españoles.<sup>6</sup> La primera idea la tuvo José María Vélez.<sup>7</sup> Había terminado rápidamente la edición de las *Cartas de San Ignacio*, interrumpida hacía tiempo, y se dio cuenta, durante una temporada que pasó en la curia en Fiésole, de que existían otras muchas cartas de San Ignacio, que él desconocía. Se propuso entonces editarlas también. Con permiso del P. General Antón Anderledy,<sup>8</sup> se quedó unos meses de 1889 en Fiésole y Roma para anotar debidamente las cartas por él encontradas. Se llevó además a Madrid los códices de la primitiva Compañía que juzgó necesarios. Cuando en 1892 participó en la Congregación General de Loyola, propuso al recién elegido General, Luis Martín, la idea de publicar todos aquellos manuscritos. Contó con el apoyo de los tres provinciales españoles. Vélez

<sup>6</sup> Véase “Instituto Histórico de la C.J.,” *DHCJ*, III, 2048-50; y Dionisio Fernández Zapico, S.J. y Pedro Leturia, S.J., “Cincuentario de *Monumenta Historica S.I.* 1894-1944,” *AHSI* 13 (1944) 1-61.

<sup>7</sup> \*19.iv.1843 Pamplona; SJ 31.vii.1860 Loyola; †26.vi.1902 Madrid (*DHCJ*, IV, 3920).

<sup>8</sup> \*3.vi.1819 Berisal; SJ 5.x.1838 Brig; electus 24.ix.1883; †18.i.1892 Fiesole (*DHCJ*, II, 1675-76).

comenzó a publicar en fascículos mensuales de 160 páginas. El padre Luis Martín se ocupó de este proyecto personalmente y dictó una instrucción en 1897 que perduró durante treinta años. Los autores debían aparecer como editores y no como comentadores.

El P. General Włodomirow Ledóchowski<sup>9</sup> fundó el 11 de febrero de 1930 un Colegio de Escritores de la Compañía de Jesús, que quedó incorporado la curia generalicia y a fines de 1935 tomó el nombre de *Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*. Su tarea principal fue la obra *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*, que desde España se había trasladado a Roma en 1934. Luego se añadió la revista semestral *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, que había iniciado su publicación en enero de 1932. Entre los primeros editores de Madrid destacan Vicente Agustí,<sup>10</sup> Mariano Lecina<sup>11</sup> y Federico Cervós,<sup>12</sup> este último también será editor de alguna obra espiritual de Borja.<sup>13</sup>

Entre los diferentes proyectos de edición estaba el de las cartas de Francisco de Borja. El primer volumen fue publicado en Madrid en 1894 (fascículo quinto, mes de mayo). Salió sin el nombre de los editores, con la sucinta y significativa glosa "nunc primum edita a patribus eiusdem societatis." Quien llevó buena parte del trabajo de esta edición fue el padre Federico Cervós, ayudado por Vicente Agustí. Tuvieron la posibilidad de contar con el apoyo del padre Fidel Fita,<sup>14</sup> de la Academia de la Historia, así como de los bibliotecarios del Palau de Barcelona. Esta publicación contiene un breve prefacio en el que se justifica la edición de los documentos. Su finalidad era evitar los errores que habían caído los biógrafos de san Francisco de Borja. En este sentido, ampliando el proyecto, se propusieron publicar los documentos referentes a la Casa Borja. Al primer volumen de 1894 le siguieron otros cuatro, y la edición finalizó en 1911. El segundo volumen, de 1903, abarca el período de 1530 a 1550, con 354 documentos, mientras que el tercer tomo, publicado en 1908, con documentos de 1539 a 1565, contiene 350 documentos. El cuarto, editado en 1910, abarca de 1565 a 1568 y consta de 697 documentos. El quinto, de 1911, contiene el período de 1569 a 1572, con un total de 1033 documentos. Hicieron

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<sup>9</sup> \*7.x.1866 Loosdorf; SJ 24.ix.1889 Stara Wieś; electus 11.ii.1915; †13.xii.1942 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1687-90).

<sup>10</sup> \*24.v.1849 Llosa de Ranes; SJ 28.ii.1866 Balaguer; †27.ix.1915 Orihuela (DHCJ, I, 25-26).

<sup>11</sup> \*9.iv.1854 Tala; SJ 25.vii.1872 Poyanne; †8.iv.1934 Comillas (DHCJ, III, 2315).

<sup>12</sup> \*22.ii.1844 Seo de Urgel; SJ 3.x.1862 Balaguer; †16.ii.1925 Gandía (DHCJ, I, 740).

<sup>13</sup> Francisco de Borja, *El evangelio meditado. Meditaciones para todas las dominicas y ferias del año y para las principales festividades*, por el P. Federico Cervós, S.J. (Madrid: Razón y Fe, 1912).

<sup>14</sup> \*31.xii.1835 Arenys de Mar; SJ 3.ix.1850 Aire-sur-l'Adour; †13.i.1918 Madrid (DHCJ, II, 1466).

un gran esfuerzo de recopilación documental, y fueron realmente conscientes de que no publicaban todas las cartas que tenían a su alcance, sino una selección, como ya hemos dicho, sin un criterio fijo. Para la transcripción de los documentos del Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu se sirvieron de fotografías, cuyos originales hemos podido ver en Roma.

Esta edición de los cinco volúmenes de *Sanctus Franciscus Borgiae* fue sometida a severas críticas dentro y fuera de la Orden. La primera provino de ex-jesuita Miguel Mir. Aunque hace un duro ataque a la colección *Monumenta*, el primer tomo de la serie *Borgia* no salía tan mal parado.<sup>15</sup>

Unos años más adelante el padre José María March hizo una crítica acerada en la revista *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, bien porque no contaron con él bien porque quería proseguir la edición, especialmente del Proceso de Canonización. Así comenta en 1928 la situación: "La documentación histórica referente a San Francisco de Borja queda publicada, como es bien sabido, en *Monumenta Historica S. I. Borgiana (1894-1911)*. Pero aquellos cinco gruesos volúmenes no pudieron abarcar toda la abundancia documental de aquel personaje, que tan importantes y varios papeles desempeñó durante toda su vida. Por lo cual deberá publicarse a su tiempo un nutrido suplemento que contenga piezas que aquí y allí se han ido publicando posteriormente, las que se han encontrado después y permanecen inéditas, y las que en adelante se descubran." En nota añade: "Es de desear que se publiquen en alguna manera los procesos del Santo [acerca de la vida y vir-tudes de Francisco de Borja], fuentes de primer orden para conocer de cerca la vida y el espíritu del Santo."<sup>16</sup> El padre March siguió

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<sup>15</sup> Miguel Mir, *Historia interna documentada de la compañía de Jesús*, 2 vol. (Madrid: Jaime Ratés Martín, 1913) II, 808, "*Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu*. De esta obra monumental, fundamento histórico del Instituto de la Compañía, van publicados veintiséis tomos. Los editores han protestado varias veces que la publicación de los documentos se hace según todas las reglas de la crítica. Creémoslo en lo que toca a la mayoría de los documentos, aunque en algunas partes de la colección se advierten lagunas indicadoras de supresiones de documentos o de porciones de éstos, no tan indiferentes como pudiera parecer para la inteligencia de ciertos puntos históricos del Instituto. Además, y esto es más grave, según noticias que tenemos por auténticas, se ha retirado hace poco por órdenes superiores un cuaderno que estaba dispuesto para salir a la luz, por contener cosas que no convenía que se hiciesen públicas. A continuar la publicación de los *Monumenta* con este criterio, padecería gravemente la verdad histórica, y la publicación de los Padres de la Compañía perdería no poco de su importancia. Ojalá no sea así, sino que triunfe el amor de la verdad sobre todas las miras, intereses y convenciones humanas." Con respecto a *Sanctus Franciscus Borgiae* I, dice en la p. 313, "Buen estudio sobre la familia de San Francisco de Borja."

<sup>16</sup> *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 7 (1928) 237-47. Los procesos en Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Nobleza, Fondo Osuna, carpeta 16, 18. 4 vols. (1610-1658). Los que padre March pudo consultar fueron también los de Roma, aunque no los de la Biblioteca Nacional de París. Sobre los Procesos de Canonización de Borja, véase, Enrique García Hernán, *La acción diplomática de Francisco de Borja al servicio del pontificado, 1571-1572*, pp. 27-31, 468-69.

con su propósito y publicó, ciertamente, un importante corpus documental de Borja procedente del Archivo General de Simancas y del Palau. Pero él también era consciente de que todavía había mucha más documentación.

El fondo más importante, analizado por el padre Fita, es el de Osuna, casa que había asumido a la de Borja. A la muerte del XII duque de Osuna, el archivo Osuna fue secuestrado, puesto luego a la venta, y, una vez adquirido por el Estado, depositado en el Archivo Histórico Nacional. Otro fondo importante era el de Heredia-Espínola especialmente de Colección Miró, actualmente en la Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu y Basabe de Madrid. El Archivo General de Simancas, aunque ha sido muy investigado, todavía sigue dando nuevos documentos. Pero hay más archivos en España y fuera de ella con documentación borgiana, como el Archivo del Reino de Valencia, el Archivo Histórico de Loyola, el Archivo de la Compañía de Jesús en Alcalá de Henares, el Archivo Segreto Vaticano, el Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, y otros muchos que se mencionarán oportunamente en el sexto volumen de *Sanctus Franciscus Borgiae*.

## Documentos

### Documento 1

Duque de Gandía, Juan de Borja, a Alonso de Aragón<sup>17</sup>

Gandía 28 octubre 1510

Archivo del Reino de Valencia. Monasterio de Murta, leg. 409. Original  
Edición: Barón de Terrateig, *Una carta sobre el nacimiento de San Francisco de Borja* (Valencia: F. Domenech, 1949) p. 4.

*Comunica el nacimiento de Francisco de Borja.*

Illustre y muy Reverendo Señor

Siendo vuestra merced tanto mi señor y pariente, me conviene que de las cosas que suceden en esta su casa le dé la parte que le cabe, señaladamente de ésta. Que Nuestro Señor, por su misericordia, ha alumbrado a mi Señora la duquesa con un hijo y servidor de vuestra merced, la cual, gloria de Dios, está buena, aunque el parto ha tenido algo fuerte. Quedo rogando a Nuestro Señor

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<sup>17</sup> Juan de Borja (10.xi.1494-9.i.1543), padre de Francisco de Borja. Alonso de Aragón (1469-23.ii.1520), hijo de Fernando el Católico y de Aldonza Roig, fue arzobispo de Zaragoza (1478). De su unión con Ana Gurrea tuvo cuatro hijos: Juan de Aragón, Fernando de Aragón, Ana de Aragón y Juana de Aragón, madre de Francisco de Borja. Juan de Aragón sucedió a su padre en el arzobispado hasta 1530, y luego Fernando de Aragón de 1539 hasta 1577. Ana casó con Juan Alonso de Guzmán, duque de Medina Sidonia. Don Alonso fue ordenado sacerdote el 7 de noviembre de 1501. Con otra mujer tuvo a don Alonso de Aragón, el cual se relacionará mucho con Francisco de Borja.

la ilustre y muy reverenda persona de vuestra merced guarde como deseo.

De Gandía, a 28 de octubre de 1510.

Servidor de vuestra merced.

El duque de Gandía

## Documento 2

Duque de Gandía al marqués de Lombay

Gandía 6 octubre 1529

Archivo Histórico Nacional. Sección Noblera.

Osuna, carpeta 13. Registro.

*Enhorabuena por su matrimonio con Leonor de Castro y por su título de marqués de Lombay.*

Amado hijo

Las mercedes que S. M. te ha hecho y hace he visto y son tales que te obligan a mucho conocimiento de ellas y de las causas de ellas y de Dios que es la principal causa, y suplico se te acuerde la poca parte que has sido para merecellas ni para procurallas, luego conocerás que debéis y que debes de procurar de merecellas y de conservallas. Dios te haga merced y te de gracia que en esto aciertes también de aquí adelante como hasta aquí ha sido el acertamiento, y guarde a tu mujer muchos años como aquí lo descamos y tú has menester.

[Espalda]

Para don Francisco a 6 de octubre, respondiendo a la que escribió

## Documento 3

Duque de Gandía a doña Leonor de Castro

Gandía 6 octubre 1529

Archivo Histórico Nacional. Sección Noblera.

Osuna, carpeta 13. Registro

*Enhorabuena por su matrimonio con Francisco de Borja.*

Muy magnífica señora

Pues Sus Magestades han mandado esto por hacernos merced a don

Francisco y a mí, obligada es v. m. de comenzar desde luego a hacellas, y la primera será suplicar a S. M. me perdone si después de su bienaventurada venida a estos reinos no he ido a besar sus reales pies, porque aunque la culpa de esto haya sido y sea de la poca salud que he tenido, no dejo de [ofrecerla] por tal, según mi deseo, que ha menester tan proprio intercesor, pues de no ir agora a veros y serviros que crece la ocasión de deseallo escusado será disculparme, pero todavía para esto envío al señor don Juan de Borja, mi primo,<sup>18</sup> ahí, para que de parte de la duquesa y mía diga a v. m. lo que deseamos que estéis tan contenta como lo estamos. Con él o con qualquiere [sic] otro podrá v. m. enviar a mandar a esta su casa con certivdad que se cumplirá con la voluntad que se debe y remitiendo lo demás por atajar prolijidad al dicho mi primo acabo suplicando a Nuestro Señor etc.

### Summary

The importance of Francis de Borja for the history and spirituality of the Society of Jesus can not underestimated. During the course of his doctoral research, the author has compiled a collection of unpublished correspondence by or about the Jesuit. In 2000 the Generalitat Valenciana (Spain) and the Jesuit Historical Institute (Rome) agreed to co-publish these letters as volumes in the *Sanctus Franciscus Borgiae* series. The author will serve as editor. The first volume should appear in 2002. Three letters are published here as examples.

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<sup>18</sup> Don Juan de Borja Llançol, primo del duque de Gandía, hijo de don Rodrigo de Borja Llançol, descendiente de la hermana de Alejandro VI. Sobre este importante personaje se darán más datos en la edición que se está preparando.



# THOMAS WRIGHT AND OCCASIONAL CONFORMITY

Ginevra Crosignani\*

Preserved in the *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (ARSI) is a manuscript dated 22 December 1606 and entitled "*Roberti Personi, Casus de adeundis haereticorum ecclesijs in Anglia*."<sup>1</sup> The manuscript itself is not signed but an unknown seventeenth-century editor attributed it to Parsons (or Persons) without hesitation.<sup>2</sup> The unknown annotator's certainty is understandable: the manuscript is identical with the first half of *Quaestiones duae de sacris alienis non adeundis*, written by Parsons but published anonymously the following year at the press of the English College in St. Omer.<sup>3</sup> The published tract consists of two sections. In the first, the author presented arguments for and against Catholic attendance at services of the Established Church in England. According to the author, a commission of ten theologians "*clarissimi atque doctissimi*" had submitted these arguments to him with their verdict. The commission included Muzio Vitelleschi,<sup>4</sup> the former rector of the English College in Rome and a future

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\* Ginevra Crosignani received her doctorate in Modern History from the University of Rome "La Sapienza" in 2002. Her thesis, "I cattolici inglesi in età elisabettiana: 'conformismo occasionale' o pratica nicodemitica," treated the problem of religious conformity.

<sup>1</sup> ARSI, Anglia 36/II, ff. 325<sup>v</sup>-333<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> \*24.vi.1536 Somerset; SJ 4.vii.1575 Rome; †15/25.iv.1610 Rome (*Mon. Ang.*, II, 432).

<sup>3</sup> (n.p. [St. Omer], 1607). Charles Bayne identified Parsons as the author on the basis of the initials "R.P." in the treatise (*Anglo-Roman Relations 1558-1565* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913] p. 168 n. 21). There seems to be no disagreement about authorship. A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers take Parsons's authorship for granted (*The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640*, 2 vols. [Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989-1994] I, 122 num. 893).

<sup>4</sup> \*2.xii.1563 Rome; S.J. 15.viii.1583; electus 15.xi.1615; †9.ii.1645 Rome (*Sommervogel*, VIII, 848).

Jesuit Father General; Robert, Cardinal Bellarmine;<sup>5</sup> and Caesar, Cardinal Baronius.<sup>6</sup> On the basis of the arguments advanced, the commission judged that Catholics could not frequent said services.

The second part, "*Responsum breve ad Scriptum quoddam incerti auctoris pro audiendis haereticorum concionibus in Anglia divulgatum*," was Parsons's detailed rejoinder to an anonymous pamphlet then circulating as a manuscript throughout England. In the introduction, Parsons remarked that he had received a Latin translation of the English original, presumably to show the Roman authorities.<sup>7</sup> Whether from ignorance or discretion, Parsons never identified the author and simply referred to him as "*Incertus Author*."<sup>8</sup> Distinguishing sermons from the authorised liturgical services of *The Book of Common Prayer*, the "*Incertus Author*" advised Catholics to avoid the cruel consequences of the penal legislation by attending sermons in Protestant churches. Given Parsons's consistent theological opposition to "Church Popery" or any type of "occasional conformity," his rejoinder was not surprising. What was surprising, however, was the author of the treatise: the ex-Jesuit and former associate of Parsons, Thomas Wright.<sup>9</sup>

Thomas Wright is an intriguing theologian who merits further study. Born

<sup>5</sup> \*4.x.1542 Montepulciano; 21.ix.1560 Rome; †17.ix.1621 Rome (*Sommervogel*, I, 1152).

<sup>6</sup> *Quaestiones duae*, pp. 36-40.

<sup>7</sup> "... cum aliud De aduandis concionibus ex Anglicano sermone in Latinum conversum accipi" (*Quaestiones duae*, p. 41).

<sup>8</sup> In the only biography of Wright, "Father Thomas Wright: A Test Case for Toleration," *Biographical Studies* (now *Recusant History*) 1 (1951) 189-219, Theodore A. Stroud pointed out that Parsons "treated Wright very mildly, attributing his error to a pardonable excess of sympathy for his flock's wretchedness. Thus unusual forbearance on the part of Parsons may be attributed to a current strategy of conciliation, or (as I prefer to believe) to a personal friendship and respect impervious to any charges" (208). See also David M. Rogers, "A Bibliography of the Published Works of Thomas Wright (1561-1623)," *Biographical Studies* 1 (1952) 262-80 for Wright's other works.

<sup>9</sup> ARSI, Anglia 31/I, ff. 370<sup>v</sup>. At least by 1610, Wright's authorship was known. A newsletter from England for July and August 1610 remarked: "A certain priest named Thomas Wright, who not only orally but also in writing (to which Father Parsons, of pious memory, replied) defends the lawfulness of going to the churches of the heretics . . ." (ARS, Anglia 31/I, f. 370<sup>v</sup> [translated in Henry Foley, S.J., *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, 7 vols. in 8 parts (Rochampton/London: Manresa Press/Burnes & Oates, 1877-1884) VII/2, 1019]). Subsequent historians presume Wright's authorship, e.g. Peter Holmes (*Resistance & Compromise: The Political Thought of the Elizabethan Catholics* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982] p. 98); Alexandra Walsham (*Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* [Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999] p. 61; and "Yielding to the Extremity of Time: Conformity, Orthodoxy and Post-Reformation Catholic Community," in Peter Lake and Michael Questier, eds, *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, 1560-1642* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000) pp. 230-35.

in York in 1561, Wright entered the Jesuits in Rome on 3 February 1580. His younger brother William followed him into the Jesuit novitiate a year later.<sup>10</sup> After Thomas's ordination in 1586, he taught Hebrew and theology in Milan. By 1593, Wright was on the theological faculty at the University of Louvain. In the spring of that year, the Scottish Jesuit George Tumbull<sup>11</sup> raised serious questions about his English colleague's behaviour and orthodoxy. Angrily protesting his innocence, Wright threatened to leave the Society. Parsons, eager to retain Wright because he was influential in his vocation, recommended his removal from Louvain. Earlier Parsons had defended Wright in his conflicts with superiors in Milan, conflicts that resulted in extreme melancholia. Wright arrived in Valladolid in the autumn and lectured on controversial theology. All went well until late summer of 1594 when Wright began to press Parsons for permission to return to England for reasons of health. Despite Parsons's opposition, Wright persisted and threatened to leave the Society if it was necessary. Wright protested that the opposition of his superiors presented him with a dilemma: he could either remain a Jesuit or return to England as an ex-Jesuit. By June of 1595 Wright was in England. Shortly thereafter, he secured the patronage of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and was granted freedom so unknown to other Catholic priests that many thought that he had apostasised.<sup>12</sup> Wright's fortunes waxed and waned with those of Essex. He was imprisoned in September of 1597, where he remained until he was exiled from England upon the accession of King James VI in June of 1603. He secretly returned to England the following August. Apparently Wright was exiled again because in a letter written on 2 October 1606, Robert Jones, superior of the Jesuit mission in England,<sup>13</sup> reported that the ex-Jesuit had recently returned to England from exile on the continent. Because of the increased persecution after the Gunpowder Plot (1605), Wright now was disseminating a pernicious doctrine: he "allows and forcibly persuades men to goe to church, there forsooth not to hear service, but to hear sermons, and so seemeth to found a new sect, which

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<sup>10</sup> \*ii.1563 Yorkshire; SJ 8.xii.1581 Rome; †18/28.i.1639 England (*Mon. Ang.*, II, 541).

<sup>11</sup> \*13.i.1569 Tranent, East Lothian; SJ 28.ix.1591 Tournai; †11.v.1633 Reims (Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., "Pray to the Lord of the Harvest: Jesuit Missions to Scotland in the Sixteenth Century," *Innes Review* forthcoming).

<sup>12</sup> For much of this information, I am indebted to Father McCoog and his research on the English Jesuits in the 1590s which, it is hoped, shall appear in the sequel to *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541-1588: 'Our Way of Proceeding?'* (Leiden: EJ Brill, 1996). Meanwhile on Wright's problems before his dismissal from the Society see Francis Edwards, S.J., *Robert Parsons: The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit, 1546-1610* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, [1995]) pp. 165, 173, 175, 177-78.

<sup>13</sup> \*c. 1564 St. Asaph; SJ 26.v.1583 Rome; †20.viii.1615 England (*Mon. Ang.*, II, 370-71).

may be called the sect of sermocinants or sermonists. . . .<sup>14</sup> Jones promised to send a copy of Wright's pamphlet "and for Mr. Wright's particular reasons about going to church, I doubt not but that my good father-in-law will send you."<sup>15</sup> There are no subsequent references to Wright's manuscript. As we noted earlier, the manuscript copy of the first half of *Quaestiones duae de alienis non adeundis* was dated 22 December 1606.<sup>16</sup> By that date Parsons had not yet perused the "*Scriptum divulgatum in Anglia*,"<sup>17</sup> but sometime between the end of December of 1606 and the treatise's publication the following year, Wright's pamphlet had arrived in Rome.

There is no doubt that the ex-Jesuit Thomas Wright argued in favour of Catholic attendance of sermons to avoid the fines and punishments of the penal legislation. However, can we be certain that this Thomas Wright was the "*Incertus Author*" of the treatise? Parsons may have simply created a fictitious adversary as a literary stratagem in order to press yet again his uncompromising opposition to "occasional conformity,"<sup>18</sup> an attractive alternative that had articulate defenders at least until the end of the seventeenth-century.<sup>19</sup>

Attempts to identify the "*Incertus Author*" conclusively were hindered because there were no known extant copies of the manuscript. Charles Bayne sought in vain for a copy.<sup>20</sup> The noted bibliographer of English recusancy, David M. Rogers, commented "There is also a tract, written apparently anonymously in English in 1606 and translated into Latin as *De adeundis concionibus*, which Father Persons refuted in the second half of his attack on Catholics attending Anglican

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<sup>14</sup> Robert Angelinus [verre Jones] to Sigr. Ingelberto [verre Robert Parsons], 2 October 1606, Archivum Britannicum Societatis Iesu [ABSI], Anglia III, 66 (printed in Foley, *Records of the English Province*, IV, 372). See also Robert Draper [verre Jones] to Richard Mildmay [verre Richard Blount], 20 October 1606, ABSI, Anglia III, 68 (printed in Foley, *Records of the English Province*, IV, 373-74; Robert North [verre Richard Holtby] to Sigr. Ingelberto [verre Parsons], 30 October 1606, ABSI, Anglia III, 71 (partially printed in Foley, *Records of the English Province*, IV, 284-85).

<sup>15</sup> Foley, *Records of the English Province*, IV, 373.

<sup>16</sup> ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 332r.

<sup>17</sup> "... ego tamen Scriptum illud apud me dum haec scriberem non habui" (*Quaestiones duae*, p. 35).

<sup>18</sup> McCoog raises the interesting question that Parsons may have been more uncompromising in his opposition than Pope Gregory XIII (*Society of Jesus*, pp. 135, 145 n. 56).

<sup>19</sup> On 21 December 1695, the Jesuit theologian Juan Bautista Gormaz compiled a "*Iudicium circa casum Anglicanum*" in which he argued Catholics could not pronounce an oath of allegiance to a secular ruler if the promised obedience in any way concerned spiritual matters (ARSI, Anglia 36/II, ff. 373r-380r).

<sup>20</sup> *Anglo-Roman Relations*, p. 169 n. 22.

sermons and services entitled *Questiones duae de sacris alienis non adeundis*.<sup>21</sup> But Dr. Rogers, despite visits to numerous libraries and archives, never located a copy of the treatise and relied on Parsons for his knowledge of the pamphlet's title and contents. Parsons himself provided the title in his report that he has received the translated tract with the Latin title *De adeundis concionibus*.<sup>22</sup> A copy of the Latin translation of this (in)famous work has finally been located in the ARSI where it is catalogued as *De adeundis Ecclesijs Protestantium*.<sup>23</sup> Internal evidence demonstrates that this is Wright's treatise.

In his refutation, Robert Parsons quoted extensively from the manuscript of his opponent. These citations can be found verbatim in the manuscript. Here I shall only point out a small number of important, common features; for a more detailed argument I refer the reader to my doctoral thesis.

In "*Responsum Breve*," the second part of *Questiones duae*, Parsons reproduced the "unknown author's" six major arguments in defense of attendance of sermons at heretical services together with his rebuttal. These six "*conclusiones*" are identical to, and in the same order as, the six principle arguments advanced in the manuscript "*De adeundis*." In the following comparison I shall indicate with the letter "P" the six conclusions attributed by Parsons to his anonymous author, and with the initials "I.A." ("Incertus Author") those contained in the manuscript.

P. "*Prima conclusio*. Non est absolute per se malum adire Ecclesiam Protes-  
tantium, ibique audire concionem."<sup>24</sup>

I.A. "*Conclusio igitur mea* haec est, quod absolute non est per se malum audire  
Ecclesiam Protestantium ibique audire concionem."<sup>25</sup>

P. "*Secunda conclusio* 'de professione fidei.' Auditio (inquit) haeretica concionis  
non est professio falsae religionis."<sup>26</sup>

I.A. "*Conclusio 2<sup>a</sup>* est, auditionem haereticae concionis non esse professionem  
falsae religionis."<sup>27</sup>

P. "*Tertia conclusio*. De signo distinctivo. Audire concionem haeticam non est

<sup>21</sup> "Bibliography of the Published Works," 277 n. 5.

<sup>22</sup> *Questiones duae*, p. 41.

<sup>23</sup> Anglia 36/II, ff. 335'-342'. The title is written on the recto side of the last folio. In the handwritten seventeenth-century index to the volume, the document is listed as "*Utrum sit per se malum audire concionem Protestantis?*" with *De adeundis Ecclesijs Protestantium* as a subtitle.

<sup>24</sup> *Questiones duae*, p. 52.

<sup>25</sup> ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 335'.

<sup>26</sup> *Questiones duae*, p. 56.

<sup>27</sup> ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 336'.

per se malum ex eo quod signum sit distinctivum inter Catholicum & Protestantem."<sup>28</sup>

I.A. "Audire concionem haereticam non est per se malum ex eo quod signum distinctivum inter Catholicum et Preotestantem."<sup>29</sup>

P. "*Quarta conclusio*. De scandalo. Audire concionem haereticam non est per se malum ratione scandalii."<sup>30</sup>

I.A. "Audire concionem haereticam non est per se malum ratione scandalii; haec positio adeo est manifesta ut non egeat ulla probatione, quia scandalum est extrinseca quaedam circumstantia actui, atque ita nequit mutare ipsius rationem essentialem."<sup>31</sup>

P. "*Quinta Conclusio*. De periculo. Non est per se malum audire concionem ratione periculi subversionis, ratio (inquit) est, quia periculum hoc plane est intrinsecum et contingens."<sup>32</sup>

I.A. "Non est per se malum audire concionem rationem periculi persuasionis. Ratio est, Nam periculum hoc est plane extrinsecum et contingens."<sup>33</sup>

P. "*Sexta Conclusio*. De Blasphemiis. Audire concionem haereticam non est per se malum ratione blasphemiarum, quos Catholici inter concionandum audient."<sup>34</sup>

I.A. "Audire concionem non est per se malum ratione blasphemiarum quas Catholici inter concionandum audient."<sup>35</sup>

On the basis of internal evidence, we can argue convincingly that the manuscript "*De adeundis Ecclesijs Protestantium*" was the treatise refuted by Parsons in *Quaestiones duae*. However, we still have not established the identity of the author. We have examined the external evidence; now we can search the manuscript for more information. According to Robert Jones, Thomas Wright based his arguments on the authority of the Jesuit casuist Juan Azor:<sup>36</sup> "He

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<sup>28</sup> *Quaestiones duae*, p. 64.

<sup>29</sup> ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 337'.

<sup>30</sup> *Quaestiones duae*, p. 78.

<sup>31</sup> ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 338'.

<sup>32</sup> *Quaestiones duae*, p. 86.

<sup>33</sup> ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 339'.

<sup>34</sup> *Quaestiones duae*, p. 95.

<sup>35</sup> ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 340'.

<sup>36</sup> \*Lorca; SJ 1559 Alcalá; †19.ii.1603 Rome (*Sommervogel*, I, 738).

groundeth his opinion upon Azor."<sup>37</sup> In the manuscript, the author supported his first argument with a reference to Azor's *Institutionum moralium* (Rome, 1600): "*Conclusio . . . mea est, quod absolute non est per se malum adire Ecclesiam protestantium ibique audire concionem. Hanc assertionem probo primo auctoritate catholicorum Doctorum ut Azor lib. 8. Instit. . . .*"<sup>38</sup>

A second piece of evidence in favour of Wright's authorship is a reference by Parsons to the anonymous author's appeal to the Dean of Courtrai. Certain unnamed Protestant preachers had been travelling through Flanders in an attempt to win converts. After a year, they had not persuaded even one Catholic to accept their teaching. According to Parsons, "*Quinta Ratio, Dum essem (inquit) Courtraci Flandorum narravit Decanus illius urbis ministros geseos sive Protestantes illius regionis, integro anno ibi fuisse concionatos, & tamen ab orthodoxa fide ne unum quidem civem seduxiss. . . .*"<sup>39</sup> The manuscript recorded the same incident: "*Nam recorder dum essem in Courtraci Flandorum narravit Decanus illius urbis geseos, sive Protestantes Ministros Flandres ibi concionatos fuisse integro anno, et tamen ab orthodoxa fide, ne unum quidem civem seduxisse.*"<sup>40</sup> Equally important is the identity of the Dean of Courtrai: he was John Wright, Thomas's relative (perhaps uncle) and, arguably, the greatest influence on the ex-Jesuit's vocation.<sup>41</sup> Having been banished from England with forty other priests in June of 1603, Wright travelled to Douai to see his relative.<sup>42</sup>

The type of recusancy defended by Robert Parsons became the norm by which authentic Catholicism was judged. Traditional historians of English Catholicism acknowledged the existence of "Church Papists" and "occasional

<sup>37</sup> Robert Angelinus [iure Jones] to Sigr. Ingelberto [iure Robert Parsons], 2 October 1606, ABSI, Anglia III, 66 (printed in Foley, *Records of the English Province*, IV, 372); Robert North [iure Richard Holtby] to Sigr. Ingelberto [iure Parsons], 30 October 1606, ABSI, Anglia III, 71 (partially printed in Foley, *Records of the English Province*, IV, 284). Foley, however, did not transcribe the section on Azor but simply summarised it.

<sup>38</sup> Liber 8 cap. 27 q. 5 "An ubi Catholici, una cum haereticis versantur, licitum sit Catholico adire templa, ad quae haeretici conveniunt, eorum interessibus conventibus, atque concionibus?" discusses the external profession of the Catholic faith.

<sup>39</sup> *Quaestiones duae*, p. 89.

<sup>40</sup> ARSI, Anglia 36/II, f. 339<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Stroud, "Thomas Wright," 190.

<sup>42</sup> "Die 14 [Junij] venit ad nos D. Thomas Wrightus sacerdos, insignis theologus, qui primis habitis in anglia cum haereticis concertationibus egregie illos confutabat, tam verbis quam scriptis, et tandem in exilium ex carcere deportatus est. In patriam tamen reditum festinum meditatus, viso interim et salutato eximio Dno Joanne Wrighto cognato suo, decano Cortracensi ad quem profectus est postquam hic triduo moratus esset" (Edwin H. Burton and Thomas L. Williams, eds., *The Douay College Diaries* [London: Catholic Record Society (=CRS), 1911] CRS 10, p. 51).

conformists" but generally considered their variety of Catholicism as compromised and inferior. Twenty years ago Peter Holmes rescued them from historical oblivion first in *Elizabethan Casuistry*<sup>43</sup> and then in *Resistance and Compromise*. More recently Alexandra Walsham has articulated their dilemma and examined the theological foundations of their position. Both Holmes and Walsham recognised the importance of Thomas Wright but were hindered in their investigations by the disappearance of important theological works. With the discovery of this lost work, a work that I am editing for future publication, we finally hear his voice, not simply as interpreted by his opponents, and thus can evaluate more effectively his role in an important ecclesio-political controversy.

### Sommario

L'efferatezza della legislazione anti-cattolica inaugurata dalla mancata strage della Congiura delle Polveri (1605) riportò in auge le teorie sul conformismo occasionale: Robert Parsons pubblicava nel 1607 un pamphlet dal titolo *Quaestiones duae de sacris alienis non aduendis*, la cui seconda parte costituisce la confutazione del manoscritto di un "Incerto Autore" favorevole alla liceità della partecipazione al servizio protestante, purché ciò avvenisse solo per ascoltarvi il sermone. Sebbene Parsons definisca "anonimo" il suo interlocutore, questi è stato generalmente identificato con l'ex gesuita Thomas Wright. L'Archivio Romano della Compagnia di Gesù possiede due manoscritti anonimi dei quali l'uno, catalogato come *De adeundis Ecclesijs Protestantium*, è con ragionevole certezza l'unica copia esistente, mai pubblicata e mai ritrovata, dell'opera di Wright al quale Parsons risponde nelle *Quaestiones duae*, l'altro, "Thomas Wrightes answer to the latyn questions," è, invece, una sorta di lettera-pamphlet con la quale lo stesso Wright replica ulteriormente al libro di Parsons.

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<sup>43</sup> (London: CRS, 1981) CRS 67.



*A Jesuit Challenge. Edmund Campion's Debates at the Tower of London in 1581.* Ed. James V. Holleran. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1999. Pp. xiii, 249. \$35.00 Hardback.)

*A Jesuit Challenge* presents the edited text of the previously unpublished Catholic accounts of a famous series of Elizabethan debates in 1581. The venue was the Tower of London and the participants were the Jesuit Edmund Campion, imprisoned there, and six Anglican divines. Until now the only complete account available was the official Protestant version, authorised by the Elizabethan government, edited by John Field and published in 1583. As the editor, the late James V. Holleran rightly observed, "an official edition . . . intended to refute private Catholic accounts, prepared by Campion's opponents, and edited by a religious activist is not the sort of document to invite full trust." So, in this volume, Holloran brought together a number of Catholic accounts from the British and Bodleian Libraries and elsewhere and collated them in order to produce a Catholic version of the disputations. Amongst the arguments which he presents to justify its publication is the very sound one, that it will enable us "to decide for ourselves" whether the official Protestant version is "entirely trustworthy." Ideally, of course, that version should have been included in the volume. Readers could then compare it with the collated Catholic version (pp. 82-168), the Scudamore MS account of the afternoon session of the second debate (pp. 169-78) and the accounts of the first debate by Paolo Bombino and Daniello Bartoli (pp. 182-207) and draw their own conclusions. One has to recognise, however, that financial logistics probably prevent that. Instead the editor has to be the summariser of the official account and the comparative analyst and evaluator of both versions for the reader. His performance, therefore, is crucial to the volume's historical value.

How well then does the editor perform? An early concern was provoked by

the old-fashioned, outdated reading programme which he cited in his introduction: for example, Sir John Neale's *Elizabeth I* and his parliamentary history; J.H. Clapham on the economy, Antonia Fraser on Mary Stuart, H.F.M. Prescott and C. Erickson on Mary Tudor, Richard Bagwell's Irish history and so on. There seemed to be no awareness of W.T. MacCaffrey's *Elizabeth I*, David Loades on her half-sister Mary, G.R. Elton and David Dean on the Elizabethan Parliaments, or Steve Ellis on Ireland. Indeed only about ten of the 115 or so secondary works cited in the bibliography (pp. 231-40) are published in or after 1980 and the most recent are Catholic. This apparent ignorance of much recent literature leads the editor into some errors. For example, he still maintains that Campion had a secret meeting with Queen Elizabeth and he refers to Thomas Norton, London bureaucrat, as a nobleman. Whilst these are relatively minor slips, an updated reading list would be especially useful for the political, social and economic context in which the Jesuit mission, Campion's ordeal and the debates took place.

Despite this limitation, what Holleran has to say on Campion is generally accurate and informed and the detailed introduction to the text is, for the most part, well balanced and sound. He evaluates the debates judiciously, skilfully and in an even-handed manner. As he points out, the Protestant and Catholic accounts largely agree on "essential matters, that is, with regard to the order and the substance of the arguments" (pp. 55-56, 66, 74-75). Where they disagree is on the personal confrontations, the clashes of personality, and the quality of the participants. Holleran writes that "each version slants its coverage, by expansion, compression, or omission, to favor its own side" (p. 67). So readers are left "to choose the winner and the loser" (p. 75). It is true that there is a degree of editorial prompting. So the Protestant disputants were guilty of using "often redundant arguments," of engaging in "a relentless interrogation" rather than "open debate" and of "contentious theological haggling" (pp. 46-47, 71). On the other hand, the editor specifically avoids discussion of whether or not the current anti-Catholic legislation was just. He is right to point out the unfair nature of the proceedings and of the cruelty to Campion, as exemplified in Owen Hopton's reference to his racking as "a little tickling." And he is capable of acknowledging when Catholic commitment results in prejudice.

The editorial conclusion on the debates is pro-Campion: although the Protestants claimed victory, the Jesuit "had not been discredited." There is, however, justice in the claim of the Catholic versions that Campion was the victor. Why else did the government end the debates after the fourth day?

Whether these Catholic accounts of the debates will appeal to "a broader audience of readers" than the academic specialist, as Holleran hoped, must remain open to question. The marshalled arguments and the cut and thrust of theological debate, often scholarly, abstruse and (to the layman) sometimes

extremely pedantic, may deter or quickly exhaust patience. Nevertheless, the accounts of the discussions about justification by faith alone, whether the Church may err, and Christ's presence in the sacrament of the Eucharist are absorbing—in particular the prolonged discussion of the niceties of transubstantiation. Above all, as Holleran points out, "read as historical drama, the debates are fascinating theater." Here is one of the great attractions of the volume, which would certainly appeal to that wider audience: the excitement, drama and colour of the verbal duels and ambushes, petty bickering and wounding insults, heated ex-changes and confrontations. They also provide us with fresh glimpses of Campion's personality and performance.

These Catholic accounts are invaluable to the historian for other reasons too. Bombino's account, for example, highlights the participation of other priests, especially Ralph Sherwin, during the first debate. According to Bombino, the disgruntled Protestants attributed the reported Catholic victory that day to Sherwin. Above all, the availability of the Catholic versions in this volume at last redresses the balance between Protestant and Catholic. The editing is generally effective, illuminating and balanced and it enhances the accessibility of the source to the reader. Finally, access to these Catholic versions has in no way diminished this reader's admiration for Edmund Campion, recognition of his talents and respect for his endurance and faith under suffering.

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*Rodolfo Pio da Carpi (1500-1564). Diplomatico Cardinale Collezionista. Appunti Bio-Bibliografici.* By Fabrizio Capanni. (Meldola: Accademia degli Imperfetti di Meldola, 2000. Pp. 52. N.p. Paperback.)

Rodolfo Pio da Carpi (1500-1564) was a cardinal and diplomat who spent most of his career in Rome where he assumed important positions within the Curia, as well as immersing himself within the cultural climate of the day. Despite his importance, this figure is little known. This brief book by Fabrizio Capanni attempts to provide the reader not only with an overview of Carpi's life, but also a bibliographical study of the cardinal that will prove useful for future studies of this prelate. The book is divided into five chapters beginning with a biographical sketch of Carpi's life and an examination of his sepulchral monument in Rome, a survey of the various palaces and villas that he owned in Rome, an examination of his famous library and artistic collections, Carpi's involvement in collecting artifacts from antiquity, and finally his relationships with various artists and scholars of his day.

The image that emerges of Rodolfo Pio from this work is manifold. Capanni makes it clear that the cardinal emerged from a humanist context, his father and uncle being both educated by the famous Venetian printer and editor Aldus

Manutius. The author contends that Carpi's intellectual formation occurred within a humanistic cultural climate that manifested itself throughout his life. Capanni does a good job tracing this thread by examining the content of his library, that included both Latin and Greek manuscripts, classical and patristic literature, as well as Hebrew and Arabic works. Along similar lines, Carpi enjoyed collecting objects from antiquity, which according to Capanni is often cited by the critical literature because of its importance as a "*collezione archeologica*" given the artistic and historic nature of its contents. The humanist orientation of Carpi is also evident by his contact with significant artists and architects of his day, among them Michelangelo, as well as the literary figures of the age. The fact that Carpi had several poems dedicated to him by such figures as Marcantonio Falminio and Bernardino Rola, is evidence for Capanni that there existed a literary circle around the cardinal. In assessing these various links with the humanist culture of the age, the author concludes that Carpi's court played a fundamental role in the promotion of humanism.

Besides the image of Carpi as a humanist, the author also portrays him as an ecclesiastical diplomat. Popes Clement VII and Paul III sent him on several diplomatic missions, the most important being those to France. Capanni indicates that Carpi's mission in Paris under Francis I signaled a decisive step in relations between France and the Holy See.

As a bishop and cardinal, the author highlights the various responsibilities Carpi was entrusted with: member of the commission for La fabbrica di S. Pietro, member of the Roman Inquisition, Cardinal Protector of the Capuchins and of the Society of Jesus. While Carpi participated in the Council of Trent, Capanni indicates that his role at the Council needs further study even though it appears not to have been determinative. In examining these various roles, the author paints a picture of Carpi as a moderate reformer, who reflected the paradoxes of his age. This is especially apparent during his years as Bishop of Faenza (1528-1544). While he was concerned with the reform of the clergy in the diocese he never resided in his diocese but entrusted its care to vicars.

Capanni's study of Rodolfo Pio and extensive bibliographical notes provide the reader with a useful starting point for a study not only of this influential cardinal, who was almost elected pope in the conclave of 1559, but also of the Church in this era. The reader is left with an image of Rodolfo Pio as one who was remembered at the time of his death as a "man of great virtue, learning, prudence, experience and caution in every action."

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Francesco C. Cesareo

*Martino Martini S.J. (1614-1661) und die Chinamission im 17. Jahrhundert.* Eds. Roman Malek & Arnold Zingerle. (Sankt Augustin/Nettetal: Institut Monumenta Serica/Steiner Verlag, 2000. Pp. 260. DM 65. Hardback.)

A major part of this book consists of papers presented at a symposium at Würzburg in 1995 on the Italian Jesuit Martino Martini and the China mission of the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. The contributions do not make any new discoveries, but present the life and work of Martini for a German-speaking audience. Until this volume there was little in German about him. In addition to the proceedings of the conference, there are four articles, three of which are reprinted from other publications.

This interesting and varied collection includes articles on the following subjects: Martini and the China session in the seventeenth century (Franco Demarchi); Jesuits and "Propaganda" missionaries (Klaus Schatz, S.J.); the role of the decree of 1656 in the Chinese Rites debate and Martini's part (Severino Vareschi); Martini's *De bello tartarico* (Lanfranco Fedrigotti, S.D.B.); the literary reception of Martini's *De bello tartarico* in Europe (Adrian Hsia); scientific observations regarding Martini's *Novus atlas Sinensis* (Uta Lindgren); theology and chronology in Martini's *Sinicae historiae decas prima* (Claudia von Collani); Martini's treatise on friendship (Lucia Longo); rapport between Jesuit missionaries and literate civil servants (Arnold Zingerle); was Martini a mandarin? (Benno Biermann, O.P.); the Mongolian and Chinese sources of Martini's atlas (Henri Bernard, S.J.); a German edition of Martini's atlas (H. Verhaeren, C.M.). The collection opens with an impressive bibliography and concludes with a helpful general index. Thirty-one well chosen illustrations are included.

Several articles make clear the role played by Dutch Protestant publishers in the dissemination of Jesuit culture despite the fact that the Dutch Republic forbade public practice and worship to Catholics. But religious convictions gave way to commercial interests. Once the Calvinist publishers realised there was money to be made from Popish and Jesuit texts, religious scruples vanished. Unfortunately not all the authors are masters of the Dutch and one makes six spelling mistakes in one footnote (p. 119).

This attractive and scholarly publication is an example of contemporary research on Jesuit history and culture. No longer are Jesuits the only experts, but a growing number of "outsiders" prove to be real "insiders" who describe a particular aspect of the multifaceted history of the Society of Jesus from a fresh, new perspective.

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*Culturas indígenas y evangelización en José de Acosta.* By Iñigo Alvarez de Toledo Bandeira. (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Sanctae Crucis, 2000. Pp. vi, 289. N.p. Paperback.)

Alvarez de Toledo Bandeira's book on the creative and controversial sixteenth-century Jesuit preacher, theologian, missionary, ethnographer, and scoundrel, José de Acosta (1540-1600) is his doctoral dissertation done at the Theology Faculty of Opus Dei's Pontifical University of the Holy Cross in Rome. His thesis is that the key to understanding Acosta's thought on the religion, culture and evangelization of the Amerindians is his conception of the human person (pp. 5, 133-35, 178, 253). The work is divided into three chapters: the first deals with Acosta's life; the second summarizes some classic studies of Acosta's works, and the third is the author's argument that the best way of understanding Acosta on the religion and culture of the Amerindians is through the prism of his Thomistic theological anthropology. Sadly, most of these chapters contribute nothing new to our previous knowledge about Acosta, his writings, or the impact of his thought and life. Moreover, there are some significant omissions that give the reader an impoverished impression of the state of a number of questions concerning Acosta, his writings, and legacy.

Chapter one provides the reader with a brief introduction to the life of Acosta with the goal of situating him in a historical context so as to better understand his thought. Few would argue with this methodology, however, this biography of Acosta not only does not break any new ground, but leaves out a number of important recent contributions that paint a richer and more complicated panorama than the author presents. Rather, he primarily bases his biography of Acosta on León Lopetegui, S.J.'s classic work, *El Padre José de Acosta S.I. y las misiones* (1942), and some other, principally Spanish, authors who have basically followed Lopetegui and only slightly clarified and expanded upon some minor and obscure points in Lopetegui's biography of Acosta. Let me cite just two examples of the author's omissions. In his discussion of Acosta's Jewish ancestry, the author does not allude to Lopetegui's 1980 concession that he believes Acosta was probably of *converso* Jewish background, but follows Lopetegui's earlier (1942) opinion that the evidence that we currently possess is insufficient to make any such determination. Neither does he give adequate attention to the similarities in Acosta's thinking to that of Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas, O.P., nor Acosta's role as an inquisitor in the mid-1570's case of the Dominican Francisco de la Cruz because of his apocalyptic preaching and Las Casas-like doctrine. While the author cites Abril Castelló's 1992 work on this subject in his bibliography, his text remains oblivious to it. The same can be said of my own 1999 book on Acosta: the author cites it in his bibliography but never engages the arguments in his text. Thus I am left with the question: how many other works cited in the bibliography have actually been read and assimilated by the author?

The chapter on Acosta's commentators is also a disappointment. Again he examines principally Spanish authors such as Mateos (1952, 1954), Pereña (1984), O'Gorman (1962), Alcina Franch (1987), Barbarini (1992), and Quilis (1998). Anglophone authors and Latin American authors of a liberationist bent who have offered critiques of Acosta, e.g. Brading (1991), Cavassa (1992, 1993), Cervantes (1994), MacCormack (1991), and Trigo (1990) are never engaged in the body of his work. This is unfortunate for two major reasons. First, they impoverish the author's treatment of certain points that he considers central to his analysis of Acosta's thought, e.g. his discussion of Acosta's reflections on Satan in the New World in chapter three. His presentation would have profited immensely from MacCormack, Cervantes and my own writing on the matter. Secondly, by citing and responding only to positive assessments of Acosta, the author's work takes on a certain hagiographic tone that detracts from a rigorous, comprehensive, and balanced assessment of Acosta and his thought in its historical context and for its contribution, or lack thereof, to the contemporary challenge that the Church faces of inculturating the Gospel in non-Western and post-Christian cultures. To say, as he does, that Acosta's contribution to the task of inculturation is that "the human person should be the start of all reflection on inculturation" (p. 256) is neither particularly helpful for serious students and practitioners of contextualization nor fair in its anachronistic trivialization of his contribution to the history of Christian evangelization.

Lastly, let us examine the author's thesis that Acosta's contribution to inculturation is that the promotion of the human person should guide any efforts of accommodating the Gospel to new cultures. The author identifies Acosta's theological anthropology as classically Thomistic, that is, Acosta sees the human person as a composite of body and soul who is, a creature of God, a descendant of Adam and Eve, and a rational subject oriented by nature toward the source of his or her true happiness who is God (pp. 133-35). To support his argument, the author cites Acosta's famous maxim from the *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, "first human beings, then Christians" ("primeros hombres, después cristianos") to highlight the place of Thomistic theological anthropology in Acosta's thought and program for the evangelization of the Amerindians (p. 238). Undoubtedly this notion of the human person can be found in Acosta's writings. But is it the hermeneutic key to understanding Acosta's thinking about native cultures, religions, and their inculturated evangelization as the author claims? I remain unconvinced.

In my opinion, the author overstates his case because such an essentialist conception of human nature and the human person is not unique to Acosta. For example, one finds it in Las Casas's thought, who, like Acosta and other colonial writers, judges the morality of Amerindian cultures by whether they conformed to a Thomistic conception of the natural law. Secondly, Acosta's Thomistic theological anthropology, while an important part of his thought, is

too individualistic and reductionistic to account for the richness and originality of Acosta's contributions not only to theology but also to ethnography and the natural sciences. What most clearly convinces me that the concept of the human person is not the key to Acosta's thinking and program of evangelization is how Acosta's ideas were put into practice, particularly at the apple of his eye, the first Jesuit reduction in South America at Juli on the shores of Lake Titicaca, the prototype of the more famous Jesuit reductions of Bolivia, Paraguay, and Northern Argentina.

Acosta accepted Juli from Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1576 when he was the second Jesuit provincial of Peru. The author does not devote much attention to Juli in his book although he cites Albó's work (1966) on this remarkable laboratory for Acosta's thought. Had he studied Albó and Meiklejohn's studies (1988) on the evangelization techniques used by the Jesuits at Juli, he would have discovered the principally communal approach employed by these missionaries for spreading the Gospel that produced an evangelization that was both personalist and communitarian. The genius of the Jesuit reductions at Juli and elsewhere, inspired by Acosta's thought, was that it produced not just Indians who were Christians but an Indian society that was Christian.

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*La Lyre Jésuite. Anthologie de poèmes latins (1620-1730).* Eds. Andrée Thill e Gilles Banderier. Préface de Marc Fumaroli. [=Travaux du Grand Siècle.] (Genève: Librairie Droz, S.A., 1999. Pp. xxiv, 288. Fr.s. 73, 70. Hardback.)

"*La Lyre Jésuite*," che ci accingiamo a presentare e commentare, si iscrive in unità tematica con il libro del professor Szörényi, "*Arvades Ambo*" recensito da noi sopra, dedicato alla poesia neolatina ungherese nell'ambito dell'Impero Asburgico. Naturalmente i limiti cronologici, il taglio dei testi e le problematiche specifiche affrontate sono diverse, poiché diversa è ed era la condizione storica dei due paesi, l'Ungheria e la Francia nel xvii secolo.

L'opera postuma di Andrée Thill, morta il 9 giugno 1998, un anno prima della sua pubblicazione, è frutto della proposta del prof. Fumaroli accolta con entusiasmo dalla celebre latinista francese, di completare il lavoro sul Balde con una antologia sui poeti gesuiti a lui contemporanei.

Come spiega accuratamente Gilles Banderier nel "Liminaire" che precede l'Antologia della Thill, quest'opera non è la prima del genere. Essa ha almeno due precedenti, l'uno antico e l'altro contemporaneo. Gli antichi sono "*Parnassus Societatis Jesu*" del 1654 e "*Patrum Societatis Jesu ad Rhenum inferiorem Poemata*" del 1758, a distanza di un secolo l'uno dall'altro. Il moderno è "*Jesuit Latin Poets*" pubblicato nel 1989 dai PP. Mertz e J.P. Murphy.



Perché, dunque, pubblicare ancora una antologia di poeti latini? Prima di tutto per fare conoscere e valorizzare alcuni autori contemporanei dei ben più famosi Jacob Balde (1604-1668) e di M. Kazimierz Sarbiewski (1595-1640), conosciuti con i loro celebri soprannomi di Orazio tedesco (Balde) ed Orazio Polacco (Sarbiewski). In secondo luogo perché mancava una edizione non ancora critica, ma certo più criticamente organizzata di quella offerta da Mertz-Murphy. Mancava insomma una antologia di poeti latini europei arricchita di un breve profilo biografico, di note e di bibliografia. A questo particolarissimo riguardo, si deve rilevare criticamente che, mentre Gilles Banderier ringrazia il p. László Polgár che "nous a réservé la primeur de ses fiches à paraître dans l'*Archivum*," non menziona la terza parte in tre volumi pubblicati da IHSI nel 1990, della sua "*Bibliographie sur l'Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus 1901-1980*," che contiene bibliografie molto ricche e complete per tutti i gesuiti nominati ed antologizzati nel volume della Thill. Questa precisazione è, ci pare, necessaria per ragioni di completezza.

Se dunque, come aveva ben compreso Marc Fumaroli quando aveva chiesto ad Andrée Thill di scriverla, mancava una antologia attuale che rimettesse in valore e nei circuiti della memoria i gesuiti francesi e non, vissuti al tempo di Luigi XIV, le ragioni per redigerla e limitarla ai decenni più gloriosi del xvii secolo in Francia della poesia neo-latina erano ancora più profonde.

Da sempre in Francia la tradizione cattolica-gallicana di lingua francese, ha avuto un ruolo preminente e concorrente rispetto all'altra tradizione cattolico-romana rappresentata dai Gesuiti che scrivevano in lingua latina. Questa è a nostro parere la ragione più profonda per pubblicare una antologia di poesia francese neo-latina nei decenni di maggiore splendore del xvii secolo. Si deve pertanto rendere grazie tanto all'autrice dell'opera, Thill, che ne ha scritto i "Remarque Générales," orientati a mettere in luce il profilo di genere e di stile, di metrica e di contenuti della poesia offerta, quanto a Marc Fumaroli, autore del progetto e della profonda, non meno che elegante prefazione di 24 pagine all'antologia della Thill. Ed è su questa prefazione che conviene si concentri la maggiore attenzione del lettore, onde possa essere introdotto alla comprensione degli autori antologizzati.

Il Fumaroli si è trovato di fronte a due diverse esigenze che ha assolte, insieme, con perizia professionale, delicatezza rispetto alla memoria dell'autrice, e ampiezza. La prima in apertura di testo, era quella di rendere omaggio ad Andrée Thill, latinista francese professoressa a Moulhouse e conoscitrice della lingua tedesca, specialista del poeta Jacob Balde (1604-1608), attraverso l'abbozzo di un breve medaglione biografico ed insieme simbolico che guarda agli autori raccolti nell'antologia ed al lavoro della Thill come ad un "bouquet" messo insieme nel tempo. L'immagine del bouquet rinvia al personaggio di Glycera evocato da Plinio e di cui scrive San Francesco di Sales nell'opera "*Introduction à la vie dévoté*":

"La bouquetière Glycéra savait si proprement divesifier la disposition et le mélange des fleurs qu'avec les mêmes fleurs elle faisait une grande variété de bouquets" (p. X). Tale immagine non è soltanto una bella metafora-metonimica che allude al lavoro della scrittrice capace di fare dei bei bouquet con la sua arte di disporre in modo diversificato e mescolato, gli stessi fiori. In realtà è molto di più. Perché infatti dietro la metafora del bouquet (simbolo) è il significato dell'antologia di poeti latini, gesuiti, che erano stati addestrati nell'arte poetica, secondo il dettato della "Ratio studiorum," e grazie ad essa erano diventati veri artigiani, possessori di un mestiere e delle sue regole. Addirittura Fumaroli, nel suo stile immaginativo prospetta l'artigianato dei gesuiti e dei loro allievi, di elevate categorie sociali come "un immense atelier mondial de broderie poétique." Contro questo atelier si sarebbe levata la voce di Rimbaud che nel XIX secolo avrebbe dato il colpo fatale alla poesia intesa come mestiere, ponendola di fronte alla più forte delle costrizioni: l'assenza di ogni tipo di costrizione, la scomparsa di ogni punto di appoggio (quasi una sorta di Galilei, si direbbe, della poesia). L'opinione di Fumaroli a tale riguardo è che la sparizione di un mestiere e della base su cui si fonda, la retorica, ha arrecato una perdita, nello stesso modo che il mondo moderno e contemporaneo ha perduto qualche cosa quando il mestiere della tessitura conosciuto dai Cinesi e da altri popoli dell'oriente è stato sostituito da altre tecniche.

Fumaroli non è un "laudator temporis acti," tuttavia. Infatti il discorso sul mestiere di scrivere, ovvero sull'arte di scrivere versi, porta con sé due riflessioni, una classica e di sapore epistemologico, sulla natura della poesia (che cosa è la poesia) e l'altra politica. Entrambe queste riflessioni sono intrecciate fra loro. Se infatti si seguisse il modello crociano della poesia pura, così come dovrebbe essere fatta piazza pulita addirittura della terza cantica della *Commedia* di Dante perché troppo filosofica, analogamente il barocco — e dunque anche la letteratura gesuitica, benché Fumaroli preferisca inserirla in un'altra categoria che non è quella del barocco — sarebbe antipoetico tout-court perché cortigiano e risultato dell'imitazione di modelli. Ma non è questo il modo giusto di guardare alla produzione letteraria e poetica dei gesuiti. Infatti se si vuole comprendere ciò che essi hanno fatto e il modo come hanno lavorato, bisogna ricordare che l'apprendimento poetico, lo studio di poetica e di retorica prefigurato e voluto dai gesuiti passava attraverso tre testi differenti fra loro, ma frutto di una stessa impronta ignaziana: la *Ratio studiorum*, posteriore a Sant'Ignazio, le *Costituzioni*, e gli *Esercizi Spirituali*. Di conseguenza Fumaroli può giustamente commentare: "Ratio et Exercitia sont en réalité tous deux, comme il sied à des actes de grand législateur . . . une solution à la fois libérale et conservatrice apportée au problème politique qui se pose à toute société (religieuse ou laïque), mais qui devient tragique en cas de crise: comment concilier la singularité errante et centrifuge des 'sujets,' avec l'indispensable généralité centripète et durable des normes qui autorisent leur appartenance à

une communauté? Comment intégrer solidement la partie dans le tout sans empêcher la partie de contribuer volontiers et selon sa pente à la vitalité du tout?"

Abbiamo voluto citare completamente il pensiero di Fumaroli perché il problema che si pone a livello di segno e parola è in realtà un problema politico di autonomia—quale?—e di libertà—se è possibile—del soggetto poetico, dell'io, di fronte a un sistema di valori cristiano, cattolico-romano, universalista e che pone alla base della sua manifestazione linguistica il latino e dunque l'imitazione (attraverso arti mnemotecniche) dei classici. Qui appunto, viene la necessità di superare la nozione di barocco con quella di classicismo, usata dal Raimondi e richiamata opportunamente da Fumaroli (VI) a proposito dello studio dell'opera di Famiano Strada e di Bernardino Stefonio, certamente sfuggiti all'analisi di un Croce o di un Getto. E se non si vuole parlare, per la Francia, di classicismo, c'è pronta allora una definizione diversa, quella di età dell'eloquenza che è appunto classica. Con tutti gli altri problemi che vengono da ciò, per esempio quello della valutazione delle favole antiche e dei miti e degli dei del mondo greco-romano.

Così la Francia diviene terreno di incontro e di scontro di due tendenze, la letteratura di ispirazione cattolica gesuita, fondata sulla radice latina e sulla retorica, una letteratura che non è soltanto una parte della società francese, ma che coinvolge anche l'opera saggistica di Montaigne, scritta in volgare, ma le cui basi erano fortemente latine, e l'altra gallicana e sempre cattolica ugualmente di base latina ma francese d'espressione, perché l'“*Art Poétique*” di Boileau trasferisce in francese generi letterari classici (epopea, tragedia, commedia, elegia, ode, epigramma). I confini tra gli Antichi e i Moderni non sono così netti come si potrebbe immaginare (del resto Montaigne e Boileau insegnano appunto una visione più mossa del rapporto antichi-moderni, latino-francese). Mentre il modello gallicano-romano si chiude stilisticamente su una attribuzione delle virtù più eroiche solo alla figura del sovrano—il che è tipico di un quadro politico assolutista—e in una rappresentazione della vita francese che coincide con la vita di corte, il cui centro è Parigi, il modello cattolico-romano dei gesuiti è diverso. I poeti gesuiti che lo mettono in pratica offrono una immagine della Francia tutt'altra, agricola, fondata su una tonalità sentimentale (Balde iniziò la poesia cimiteriale che in Italia per esempio è frutto della recezione neo-classica del modello pre-romantico inglese) e sull'apprezzamento della campagna, sulla meditazione, come nel caso di René Rapin (1620-1687) autore di “*Hortorum Libri IV*,” che si iscrive nel genere dei giardini non trattato da Virgilio, o di Jacques Vanière (1664-1739), autore di “*Praedium Rusticum*” che trova in Virgilio il suo modello. Le due France che si rivelano ad una analisi e conoscenza più approfondite della poesia di corte e della poesia gesuita, non sono opposte anche se spesso si sono combattute. E non necessariamente si deve guardare alla Francia contadina dei giardini, a cui i gesuiti hanno rivolto i loro occhi,

come ad una Francia reazionaria o conservatrice. Per questo aspetto, fondamentale, conviene insistere e comprendere quello che Fumaroli scrive a proposito dell'Io lirico dei gesuiti: "Le Je' lyrique jésuite sait donc dire la 'terre des hommes.' Il sait aussi se faire l'interprète de la créature humaine lorsque, se livrant au 'connais-toi-toi-même' en présence de son Créateur et Sauveur, elle découvre sa soif de Dieu. Pour dire cette conversion intérieure, et la vie du coeur qu'elle inaugure, le principe d'imitation demeure: on a toujours affaire à ce jeu raffiné de citations, échos, allusion à la poésie antique, aux versets bibliques . . . qu'autorise le dire dans une langue de très longue mémoire. Ce que T.S. Eliot a nommé 'poésie métaphysique', ce que Louis Martz a appelé 'poésie de méditation' est une invention catholique post-tridentine, et à bien des égards, une invention jésuite."

E' un fatto inoltre, che quell'eloquenza latina e quella retorica tanto criticate non solo dal Croce, ma dalla letteratura romantica europea, hanno dato espressione a molti sentimenti umani, al "furor," non soltanto appannaggio del re o dei personaggi di ceto elevato, e ad altri sentimenti o stati dell'anima come il misticismo.

Pare dunque opportuno concludere questa presentazione critica e problematica citando alcuni dei poeti gesuiti dell' antologia della Thill che meritano particolare attenzione per la loro originalità. Essi sono il fiammingo Hermann Hugo (Bruxelles 9 maggio 1577—Rheinsberg 11 settembre 1629), autore dei "Pia desideria emblematis egijs et affectibus SS. Patrum illustrata" (Anversa 1624), a metà strada fra immagine e testo, ("mi-étage entre image et commentaire" commenta Fumaroli), Sidronius Hosschius (1596-1653), uno dei collaboratori anonimi di Jean Bolland nell'ideazione della raccolta di poesie, prose e incisioni pubblicate ad Anversa nel 1640 per celebrare il primo centenario della Compagnia di Gesù, "L' *imago primi seculi*," René Rapin (1620-1687), ritenuto dalla Thill come il più grande poeta neo-latino francese, nato e vissuto a Tours. Celebre per essere autore delle "Eclogae Sacrae" e soprattutto del poema dei giardini "Hortorum Libri IV" (1665, rivisto l'anno seguente), qualificato da Jean-Baptiste de Santeul "opus saeculi." Si vuole segnalare qui, l'"Éloge du Paysage Français," (195-196) che non è soltanto un contraltare alla poesia cortigiana gallicano-romana fondata sulla città, ma una visione interiore cui centro è il Pays de Loire, la Touraine in particolare, cui non si può rimanere insensibili se se ne sono gustati i tesori nascosti, la bellezza non appariscente, discreta, legata soprattutto al fiume, la Loira, e alle fasi della sua civilizzazione lungo le sue rive. Il migliore modo per leggerlo sarà storico-visivo. E poi naturalmente, i due grandi poeti Mathias Casimir Sarbiewski (1595-1640) e Jacob Balde (1604-1668).

Altri nomi Pierre Juste Sautel (1613-1662), Jacques Vanière (1664-1739). Nell'appendice al testo figura anche il Papa Urbano VIII con una interessante

"Poesis probis et piis ornata documentis primaevo decori restituenda" oltre che una parafrasi del salmo CXXXVI e la morte di Maria Stuart (242-251).

Droz ha pubblicato dunque un libro fine, elegante, anche sobrio nella veste tipografica perché non ci sono figure ma solo testi scritti—forse ci si sarebbe attesi qualche immagine per capire il contesto dei Pia Desideria—la cui parte migliore sotto il profilo critico è appunto la prefazione del prof. Fumaroli in quanto suscitatrice di riflessioni profonde e nuove sulla poesia neolatina dei gesuiti, come si è cercato di mettere in rilievo—da integrare con le osservazioni stilistiche della Thill specie sul genere dell'Elegia (3-6) e certo con la lettura dei testi in latino e nella versione francese.

In un mondo che sia autenticamente pluralista, deve esserci spazio tanto per la poesia pura, per le fughe e per le passeggiate del camminatore solitario (Rousseau), fuori dal potere ed eccentrico rispetto all'autorità, quanto per la poesia frutto dell'esercizio, del mestiere di scrivere acquisito attraverso i latini. Solo così si potrebbe avverare l'utopia di Fumaroli che prospetta in futuro una antologia mondiale della poesia neo-latina. Che sarebbe appunto, cattolico-romana, universale, e gesuita.

Sia consentito di chiudere pertanto, in francese e non in latino, perché la traduzione latina sarà forse comprensibile da più lettori che non l'originale latino, con un breve epigramma, senza titolo in latino, ma solo Epigrammatum liber I 74, che la Thill ha voluto intitolare "*Fraises du lat*" di François Vavasseur (1605-1681):

"Ces fraises, certes, me rappellent le sein de ma mère  
Que j'ai sucé mais, je crois, elles l'emportent par  
Leur suc sur le lait. Le lait a beau nourrir l'enfant,  
lui donner de quoi grandir, fortifier ses membres, votre  
saveur, fraises, me plaît plus que le lait. A la fin  
cependant, par que vous rendiez hommage au lait  
maternel, je veux que vous soyez mêlées au lait que je mange".

Poesia apparentemente semplice. Tanto che, in fondo a questa dotta analisi viene di chiedersi, in che cosa si distingue un poeta gesuita dagli altri poeti? In tutto quello che ha scritto Fumaroli, ma oltre quello, ben al di là, egli partecipa profondamente di quello che scriveva Terenzio: "homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto."

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*Història de la Provincia de Filipines de la Companyia de Jesús 1581-1606.* By Pedro Chirino, S.J. Prologue by Miquel Battlori, S.J. Transcribed by Jaume Górriz. (Barcelona: Pòrtic, 2000. Pp. 413. No price. Paperback.)

The reader need not be deterred by the Catalan title given to this important work. The original title of the manuscript here published is "Primera parte de la Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de IHS, por el Padre Pedro Chirino de la misma Compañía." The manuscript is entirely in Castilian (with the Latin text of some papal documents) and the prologue of Father Bartlori and the introduction of Jaume Górriz, though appearing first in Catalan, are immediately followed by a Castilian translation. One may be surprised that a manuscript by a Jesuit who was a native Andaluz and never known to have written or even spoken in Catalan, should be published with a title in that language. The reason, as one can gather from the introduction of Górriz, is, first, that the original manuscript is found in the Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu Cataloniae [Arxiu Històric de la Companya de Jesús a Catalunya] (in Sant Cugat del Vallès at the time of publication but now transferred to Barcelona), from which came the manuscript and the initiative for the publication; and secondly, that the publication was assisted by financial support from the Comissió 1898 of the Departament de la Presidència, Generalitat de Catalunya, in its series *Enciclopèdia Catalana*.

Fr. Pedro Chirino, who first arrived in the Philippines in 1590, is well-known to historians of the Philippines as the author of a small but informative book, *Relación de las Islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas an trabajado los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús*, first published in 1604 in Rome, where he had gone as procurator of the Philippine Vice-Province in 1602. It has been republished twice in Spanish and in two different English translations, and is outstanding for its description of Filipino life, customs, and language in the early years of Spanish rule. Moreover, as the title implies, it is the first published account of the history of the Jesuits in that mission from 1581 to 1602.

This small book formed the nucleus of the larger work that Chirino began while he was in Rome, and continued back in the Philippines, completing the substance of the manuscript around 1610, but continuing to work on it occasionally until shortly before his death in 1635 in Manila. In it he extended the coverage of his smaller work to 1606, the date when he arrived back in the Philippines with letters patent for the new provincial, as the vice-province had been made an independent province the previous year. Though for unknown reasons this manuscript remained unpublished, it became, as the later author acknowledged, the principal basis of Francisco Colín's *Labor Evangélica* (1663), which brought the story of the Jesuit Philippine mission up to 1616, and was subtitled "Primera Parte." The "Segunda Parte" would be the work of Pedro Murillo Velarde, S.J., published in 1749, which brings the story up to 1716.

Chirino's original manuscript was bought in a Paris book auction by Bishop Ramón Martínez Vigil, O.P., of Oviedo, a former professor in the Dominican University of Santo Tomás in Manila, who gave it to the historian Father Pablo

Pastells, S.J., in the hope that the latter would publish it. Unfortunately, Pastells never did so, though he included very extensive sections of it, usually amplifications of the text of Colín, in his massive three-volume edition of Colín's *Labor Evangelica*, published in 1900-02. Father Horacio de la Costa, S.J., in his modern history, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), made appreciative mention of the Chirino manuscript, on which he had largely depended for the first part of his book, and announced his intention to publish the original work, but unfortunately was never able to do so.

Jaume Górriz, with the help of several assistants, has finally undertaken the publication of this major work of 682 folios, in a double-columned folio volume of over 400 pages, while retaining as marginal references the manuscript folio numbers. He has preceded the transcription with a substantial and wide-ranging historical introduction to the manuscript and to its author, as well to Fr. Alonso Sánchez, S.J., whose politico-religious activities as emissary of the colony and of the bishop to Madrid and Rome comprise a large part of the first of the five books of the manuscript. The only minor slip I have detected in this introduction is the date of 1599 (instead of 1597) for Hideyoshi's persecution of the Japanese church. The transcription has preserved the original orthography except for regularizing according to modern usage the u/v, and modernizing the accentuation.

The transcription is followed by an intricately devised index of persons, even those cited in Chirino's reference notes (the Latin ones being translated into Spanish in their proper place), followed by a botanical and a zoological index. Unfortunately, these latter two indexes are arranged according to the Latin names of the plants or animals, rather than according to the Spanish or Filipino names actually found in Chirino's text; hence are of very limited usefulness. The "index d'antropònims" similarly gives the real or supposed original form of the person's name, rather than that which actually appears in the text. Thus we find "Yehosua" as the index entry under which Iesu, Jesucristo, and Jesús appear. All of this is very erudite, but not very helpful to the ordinary user of the index. Much more helpful than these indexes would have been a topical index, including proper names as well as places, as there is no way to use the book as a handy work of reference for a particular topic or event. Even a table of contents containing the headings Chirino gave to the chapters has not been supplied. For a book of this size, that is a grievous omission.

The bibliography, limited to the works cited in the introduction, is often strange, if not to say confusing. Not only is the format unusual, but sometimes the actual title of the work used is not given, only that of the volume in which it appeared. There are a few errors, probably the printer's, in the citations of English names. Finally, what is more a source of bemusement than a defect is the ahistorical "Catalanization" of the names of persons who were indeed

Catalans, but who, in the books cited and in all their books, not only wrote in Castilian but used only a Castilian form of their names—e.g., Francesc Colí is here used for Francisco Colín, and worst of all, Pau Pastells, for Pablo Pastells. Not only in his published works, but in the dozens of personal letters of his that this reviewer has read in the archives of Sant Cugat and of the Philippine Jesuit Province, even writing to fellow Catalans he never signed himself otherwise than “Pablo Pastells.” Indeed, in the hundreds of letters between Catalan Jesuits of the Philippine Mission, I do not recall ever seeing more than an expletive or joke in Catalan, the same way as they occasionally used an expressive Visayan word. Their language, long before the Franco era, was Castilian. The insistence on using in a scholarly work on a non-Catalan subject a language whose world literature is only medieval, seems odd to those of us who live and work in an Asia where English has become the medium of scholarly expression even in countries of millennial cultures and sophisticated languages.

In spite of these observations on the presentation of the volume, any historian interested in the Philippines can only be grateful for the immense amount of work that must have gone into transcribing a text of this length. Its importance is much wider than merely Jesuit history. Amid Chirino's biblical and classical pedantry, any historian or anthropologist concerned with sixteenth century Philippines will find a wealth of information. For this we must be grateful to Jaume Górriz, in spite of our criticism of the presentation, for undertaking what must surely have been an enormously difficult, but at the same time rewarding, manuscript.

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*Francisco de Borja, Grande de España.* By Enrique García Hernán [Colección Biografía 29.] (Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1999. Pp. 302. N.p. Paperback.)

*La acción diplomática de Francisco de Borja al servicio del pontificado 1571-1572.* By Enrique García Hernán. (Valencia: Organismo Público Valenciano de Investigación/Generalitat Valenciana Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència, 2000. Pp. 562. 2500 pesetas. Paperback.)

These two books represent a potentially great contribution to the early history of the Society of Jesus, in the context of a new understanding of that history, pursued in the manner of John O'Malley. As the larger of the volumes stresses, the years of Borja's tenure as Father General have presented something of a problem, despite the five volumes of the *Monumenta Historica Borja* and other relevant publications, including the work of Mario Scaduto. Nor was such an historiographic problem confined to the early attempt by Dionisio Vázquez to claim the life and spirituality of Borja for the rigorist



position championed by Vázquez in the unhappy disputes over the Society's nature and evolution which afflicted, above all, the Spanish provinces during Mercurian's generalate and beyond. That indeed is a point which the author of the present volumes touches on only briefly in the introductory pages of the larger book. More generally, as he sees it, the problem is to identify and to document fully what exactly Borja himself performed, as opposed to the actions of the many among whom he moved. It can certainly be said at once that the potential contribution of these two works is monumental, because of the impressive and unusual range of reading cited and quoted, not only from archival and manuscript sources located across Europe and from a vast sequence of edited and published primary sources but also from a very extended repertoire of other printed materials, from the sixteenth to the twentieth century. The larger of the two volumes will thus itself become a major resource for other historians, its use made possible by a full index. Both volumes offer, in addition to a bibliography and lists of archival and manuscript sources, genealogical charts. Yet the author himself frankly summarises, at the conclusion of the larger volume, the crucial areas in which actions presumably undertaken by Borja remain uncertain because undocumented, and this despite his efforts to trace all potential material, about which there can be no doubt. Some apparently extant and relevant sources indeed disappeared, frustratingly, as recently as the 1990s.

To assess how far the author has been able, in these circumstances, to make effective the potential transformation attempted in the historiography of this vital period in the early history of the Society, it is best to begin with the shorter volume. For here the author attempts to establish the foundations for understanding Borja's person and actions. The work is less easy to use, as it lacks an index, but the footnotes, though less extensive than in the larger volume, where indeed they often transcribe primary sources paraphrased in the text, make clear beyond doubt the scholarship on which the work is based. The intended readership is less clear, as the wording of the text suggests a very traditional manner of Spanish historical writing, with extended and yet rather impressionistic descriptions of persons, places and episodes. Some passages are reproduced in large measure in the very early pages of the larger volume, as introductory material. The years of Borja as Father General are nevertheless confined to the last fifty pages of the text in the shorter volume. More immediately, understandably, the reader is directed, from within those pages, to the larger work for detailed treatment of the last two years of Borja's life.

However the shorter volume still provides a key foundation for the author's approach to Borja. It is, precisely as the title indicates, a study of Borja as *Grande de España*. For the author this is evidently the single most important fact for understanding Borja, even as Jesuit and Father General. The cumulative effect of this approach is indeed helpful, for by the end of the work the reader

cannot be in any doubt that Borja was indeed intimately connected not only to and within the royal as well as noble lines in Spain and Portugal but also, thence, throughout other European noble and ruling families, especially in Italy and France. This cumulative dimension is thus undoubtedly valuable, even if it means, in both volumes, that Borja himself is often in danger of being eclipsed, as nobles or royals first mentioned in relation to him are each traced through their own parents, children, marriages and other relations. This shorter volume also suggests other personal features of Borja and his life which are clearly crucial in following the author's attempt to distinguish Borja's own actions from those of his contemporaries and associates. The health problems which dominated Borja's life are stressed, and indeed the delay in the adult Borja's production of facial hair, even allowing for different rates of personal physical development in early modern European society, might perhaps suggest some essential constitutional imbalance. While the early date of Borja's involvement in questions surrounding the royal succession in both the Spanish and Portuguese lines is made evident, it is also made clear how promptly Borja became interested in providing resources to further the work of the Jesuits, not just in Gandia but above all in their Roman College. Furthermore an impression is certainly given that Borja's life as a noble layman was ultimately a series of disappointments, whether in terms of military aspirations, or appointment to Court office, or even, in the end, in vice-regal tenure. On the other hand the vital, personal transformation of Borja in spiritual terms is critically detached from the legendary trauma of the death of the Empress Isabel. What is not made so clear, despite reference to Borja's association from the start with learning and culture, is how he was able so rapidly to command what one might describe as a professional theological ability, enabling him to become himself a spiritual writer. That is of course a fundamental question, because of the relative speed with which, a decade after full entry into the Society, he felt forced to leave the Spain of Philip II, via Portugal, when works attributed to him provided the opportunity for the hostility of the Inquisitor General to be made manifest. Even in this shorter volume the impression is also given that Borja was not necessarily able at all times to establish his personal authority in spheres supposedly under his control, as with the personal difficulties among the Iberian Jesuits, both Spanish and Portuguese. There is even allusion to the possible difficulty in showing that orders written in Borja's name once he had become Father General of the Society truly represented his own initiative or direction, rather than the conscientious conduct of business by his senior officials and associates. In this volume the summary consideration of Borja's final two years, returning to Spain and Portugal at papal instance and, at the same instigation, prolonging his absence from Rome (when the conduct of the Society's business had increasingly and overtly to be delegated) by a detour to France, Piedmont and Ferrara, again stresses, fairly and helpfully enough, the way in which Borja's noble status and royal connections made him a natural

agent among royal and ducal Courts. The painful end of Borja's journey, in a literal and more profound sense, enabled him to regain Rome only just in time to die there under a new pontificate (Gregory XIII), one in which the Jesuits were to be much more obviously appreciated than they had been generally, Borja himself apart, by Pius V, right up to the last days of that pope.

The larger of these two volumes, therefore, though in essence confined to Borja's last two years (with, in fact, many references to earlier political and ecclesiastical developments, and sometimes to subsequent outcomes) enables the author to identify in the finest detail what can be shown to have been Borja's own action; and, consequently, what are the limitations to that historical proof. Throughout the volume the historical context is explained with extended care, and every important episode is examined from as many angles as possible, exploring the views of each sequence of events represented by rulers, their ministers and military officials, and above all their diplomatic agents. So that at each moment the policies considered and judgments reported reflect the views of the chief figures in Rome and at the Spanish Court, and of other rulers, but also of various ambassadors, whether Venetian, Florentine, Piedmontese, Ferrarese or other. For this reason the volume is a wonderful resource for all students of European politics during the two years in question. But once again the figure of Borja can easily be missing for pages at a time, though the reason for the author's slow exposition is that with every document cited he hopes to find explicit reference to Borja. He is not that often rewarded. The general context is well established. During these two years Pope Pius V was desperately anxious to promote, and to keep in active being beyond the exemplary victory of Lepanto, the Holy League against the Turks. There was even an ambition to proceed to the recapture of the Holy Places. Venice was anxious to continue the League, but understandably only on the basis of its own priorities. In the case of Spain, royal policy was potentially subject to the influence of different groups at or in relation to the Court. Such policy was also affected by a potential question of the royal succession in Portugal, by the need to keep watch on Florence and other Italian states including Piedmont and Ferrara, by the emerging problem of control in the Netherlands, by consideration of projects for intervention in Ireland, England or Scotland, and above all by the dangers and opportunities represented by the religious and political instability within France. The pope's main but not exclusive line of policy was to promote dynastic marriages which would bind Catholic states (or states still officially Catholic) together in commitment to the Holy League, but that in turn potentially affected not just Spain but also Portugal and France, as well as Italian principalities. When the pope sent his relative Cardinal Alessandrino to Spain as Legate he chose to send Borja in his company. In formal or ceremonial terms Borja can be glimpsed early in this itinerary acting in an openly subordinate way, as was appropriate. But in Spain, and then in continuation in

Portugal, it is not too difficult to trace, at this stage, the use intended by the pope of Borja's personal connections at the two royal Courts. He was to try to further a project for ensuring by a Catholic marriage that the young King Sebastian commit Portugal to participation in the Holy League. But it is equally, relatively easy to trace the degree to which this compromised Borja's freedom to act as Father General towards the Jesuits in the Spanish and Portuguese kingdoms. The was true not only with reference to a local dispute at Toledo between the Jesuits and Dominicans, where the sensitivities of this particular pope obviously had to be given first consideration. Nor did it affect just what Borja may or may not have been able to do to help the case of Carranza, where evidence of Borja's action cannot be established. Above all it meant that the criticisms within Portugal itself, and more widely in the Iberian peninsula, of the way in which the Portuguese king was supposedly dominated, to an unhealthy degree, by leading Jesuits could only be treated in a context beyond that of the Society's own needs in that province. The author is, however, able to establish here that it was not those Jesuits who prevented the king from agreeing with any real conviction to a proposed French marriage, even if Borja had much greater difficulty in persuading Queen Catalina to accept this as fact and to remain herself, as Philip II wished, as guardian of Spanish interests in Portugal.

The author is also able to establish that the Jesuits in Portugal were certainly not working for an eventual Spanish succession in that kingdom, and later events certainly support his point. But what he is unable to dispute is that the legation of Cardinal Alessandrino was moving on rapidly, and that the internal difficulties of the Jesuits in Portugal were not the only affair which was left unsettled when the Jesuit General was rushed along into France by the progress of the legate. Other aspects of Alessandrino's intended programme of negotiation in Spain can hardly be described as successfully completed, which had long-term consequences, extending at the least to the later pontificate of another member of the Legation, Aldobrandini, subsequently Clement VIII. Borja himself found that to serve the pope's intentions he had to seek a more liberal interpretation of his own initial brief from the pope. Yet for his action, in France, where once again the pace of the legation was extremely rapid, not all the relevant documentation has survived. What is all too clear is that his main effort, to assist in blocking the marriage of the Catholic Valois, Princess Margarita with Henri of Navarre, or at least prevent its taking place without papal dispensation, was in formal terms a failure. The chronology of events, and a scrupulous study of every possible contemporary account, rightly enable the author to discharge either the legate or above all Borja, from any complicity in the subsequent Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The author invites the reader to consider Venetian pressure on the French royal family, with all its own divisions, to preclude Admiral Coligny from engaging France in open war

against Spanish interests which would deter Spain from further participation in the Holy League as Venice envisaged it. But in any case by mid-summer 1572, the ex-legate was back in Italy and a new pope was in office, while Borja had received, still from Pius V, a mysterious mission to perform at the Court of Savoy. This mystery the author is unable to decipher, while he insists that the mission has been wrongly neglected by previous historians regarding Borja. For documentation directly affecting the mission is lacking and the author is reduced to admitted conjecture. For the following residence of Borja at Ferrara the picture is, in a different sense, more sad still. The author can establish only too clearly how precarious by this time was Borja's health, and how his poor constitution had finally been undermined by the pace of the progress through the Iberian peninsula and into France. The documentation which the author is certainly able to present reveals exactly how Borja was progressively less and less able to do more than follow events passively, whether within the Society or on the broader European and ecclesiastical scene. Jesuits Juan de Polanco and Jerónimo Nadal, each and together, kept some watch on affairs, together with other senior Jesuits. All that remained was the delegation of administration to Nadal, the election of a new pope, Borja's painful return to Rome and his death there, followed by Polanco's interim administration in place of Nadal.

In these two volumes, then, the author has admirably, and in exemplary fashion, investigated what can be documented of Borja's personal action, above all as Jesuit Father General and especially in the last two years of his life. If the reader's consequent assessment is that Borja's personal direction of events, within the Society but certainly more widely within Catholic Europe, was essentially limited, though painfully pursued in obedience to papal orders, that is not a judgment on the author. His work is magisterial, and from it other readers may be able to form a different assessment as to what with certainty can be attributed to Borja.

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A.D. Wright

*Gottfried von Laimbeckhoven SJ (1707-1787). Der Bischof von Nanjing und seine Briefe aus China mit Faksimile seiner Reisebeschreibung.* Transkribiert und bearbeitet von Stephan Puhl und Sigismund Freiherr von Elverfeldt-Ulm unter Mitwirkung von Gerhard Zeilinger. Zum Druck vorbereitet und herausgegeben von Roman Malek, SVD. (Sankt Augustin/Nettetal: Institut Monumenta Serica/Steyley Verlag, 2000. Pp. 492. DM 98. Hardback.)

Between 1759 and 1785, the Jesuit Bishop Gottfried von Laimbeckhoven (1707-1787) sent 25 letters in German and French to relatives in Breisgau in Southern Germany. Now preserved at the Freiherrlich von Ulm's archive in

Schloß Heimbach, this correspondence had not been discovered by historians until recently. These letters are an important supplement to the previously known fourteen letters published in the eighteenth-century Austrian volume *Der Neue Welt-Bott* (a list of these letters can be found on pp. 272-73 of this edition). Often letters from Jesuits to relatives and friends reveal more personal reflections and feelings than those to ecclesiastical superiors or colleagues. This is especially true of these letters by Von Laimbeckhoven. For example, the first letter written after the suppression of the Society of Jesus, dated 24 July 1777) clearly reveals the reaction and emotions of one of many now ex-Jesuits (pp. 164-66). Taken together, the letters provide interesting information about the life and work of Jesuits and ex-Jesuits in the second half of the eighteenth-century. Unfortunately the editors have added few annotations and explanations to the correspondence; more serious is the absence of a general index.

The volume contains a facsimile of the manuscript of Von Laimbeckhoven's journey to Goa in 1736, and a facsimile of the printed edition of his travels from Vienna to China, which was published in Vienna in 1740. Among the many illustrations, the Jesuit in oriental dress (p. 372) from the manuscript, and recent photographs of Gottfried's grave in Suzhou are most noteworthy (pp. 62-64).

Stephan Puhl has written a well researched but brief biography of the mathematically gifted Gottfried, sent to China in 1738 to become a missionary in Huguang. After eight years, Father General Franz Retz appointed him visitor of the Chinese mission. In 1750, Von Laimbeckhoven became Bishop of Nanjing, not an easy office to hold because of the persecution of Christians in China, on the one hand, and Roman suspicion in connection with the Chinese Rites conflict, on the other.

With every letter, the editors have provided a facsimile of the manuscript. Because said facsimiles are not easy to read, this seems to me rather superfluous: without them, the book would have been half its size and, one hopes, at a considerable lower price. Instead of the facsimiles, the editors could have reprinted the letters from *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, a publication not easy to find, so that all the Bishop's letters would be generally accessible. Even more important would have been the full transcription of his 1736 trip to Goa, which is almost impossibly illegible for anyone but those accustomed to eighteenth-century German handwriting. Nonetheless, despite omissions and flaws, this is an important edition for anyone concerned with the Jesuit mission to China, the Chinese Rites controversy, and the suppression of the Society of Jesus.

Ignatiushuis, Amsterdam

Paul Begheyn, S.J.

*Hindiyya. Mystique criminelle 1720-1798.* Par Bernard Heyberger. [=Collection Historique.] (Paris: Aubier, 2001. Pp. 456. N.p. Paperback.)

L'A. ha dato a suo tempo un buon lavoro storico, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient au temps de la Réforme catholique (Syrie, Palestine, XVII-XVIII siècles)* Rome 1994. Nel corso di quel lavoro l'A. incontra più volte la figura di Anna 'Ujaymî nata nel 1720 in una famiglia maronita di Aleppo. Detta dalla zia, per la pelle scura, "Hindiyya", cioè indiana, Anna passa alla storia con questo soprannome. Personaggio singolare, fin da bambina attira su di sé l'attenzione, per la sua ascesi precoce, sfociata poi in una vocazione monacale, che non si adatta però ad entrare in comunità religiose già costituite, ma vuole fondarne una propria, ispirata alla devozione del S. Cuore di Gesù.

Rimasto colpito da questa singolare figura l'A. le dedica una monografia per fare luce sui lati oscuri della vicenda. E studia i numerosi documenti che si trovano negli archivi, specie a Propaganda, compresi quelli in arabo. Hindiyya, con tutta la sua eroica ascesi, è tutt'altro che mite agnella, tanto che nonostante le pressioni dei suoi direttori di spirito, resiste alle proposte di farsi visitandina o di raggiungere le suore melchite e realizza comunque il suo sogno, trovandosi appena trentenne, fondatrice e superiora, alla testa del monastero di Bkerke a settecento metri a picco sulla baia di Juniah. E' illetterata, eppure disquisisce della propria unione mistica con Cristo. Vari gesuiti si succedono nel compito di dirigerla: un certo Padre Giuseppe, di cui l'A. non conosce il cognome, ma avrebbe potuto cercarne l'identificazione servendosi per esempio di *Missionnaires jésuites du Levant (1523-1823)*, che fornisce nomi e cognomi dei gesuiti impegnati nel Levante con le date del loro arrivo in Oriente e della partenza dalla missione o della morte. Gli altri tre gesuiti che la guidano spiritualmente sono Giacinto Triva, Antonio Venturi e il fratello della stessa Hindiyya, Nicola 'Ujaymî S.I. Ma altri membri della Compagnia di Gesù, come Charles Léonard Périgord e Marc-Antoine Séguran e lo stesso superiore, Padre Ferdinand Cuisset la guardano con sospetto. Alcuni membri del clero locale, Germano Saqr e Ignazio Dyäb sono invece favorevoli a lei. Il patriarca Giuseppe Istifân la protegge. Il papa Benedetto XIV in un breve del 1752, sopprime la congregazione del Sacro Cuore e ordina il trasferimento di Hindiyya in altro monastero. Un francescano della Custodia, Desiderio di Casabasciana, è spedito sul posto per curare la messa in atto delle direttive del papa. Ma l'emiro locale gli raccomanda caldamente Hindiyya. L'inviato raccoglie un nutrito *dossier* sulla questione, da sottoporre a Roma al cardinale Antonio Andrea Galli e al francescano Isidoro Mancini. Questa prima parte del dramma si chiude con una vittoria di Hindiyya. Per incriminarla nuovamente devono prima cadere delle vittime innocenti: Nasîma, Rufina e Pelagia, torturate per non aver voluto confessare colpe che non hanno commesso. Allora parte un'altra inchiesta, questa volta condotta dal francescano Pietro da Moretta il quale non si lascia intimidire dalle risposte di Hindiyya: "Non è tenuta ad obbedire al papa. Non ha mai peccato, perché la

sua unione con Cristo è più forte di quella che sussiste nell'Eucaristia. Non può neppure mentire" (p. 223). Adesso tra i suoi accusatori figurano anche i maroniti. Arsenio Dyâb, nipote del vescovo Germano Dyâb, che denuncia soprusi e ingiustizie commessi nel monastero di Hindiyya. Il vescovo maronita Michele Fâdil, ex alunno del Collegio Maronita, pubblica i decreti romani e scrive una lettera pastorale che il patriarca maronita Giuseppe Istifân giudica diretta contro di sé. Anche suor Angela Kumayd depone, a costo di torture, contro suor Caterina, prediletta di Hindiyya. Il Generale dei gesuiti, Lorenzo Ricci invia nuovamente nel Libano il fratello di Hindiyya P. Nicola 'Ujaymî. Nicola dice a Pietro da Moretta di aver già fatto ricorso al patriarca maronita, ma senza alcun risultato. Il nuovo visitatore costituisce un'ancora di salvezza per quelle religiose che si sono sottratte al sistema, come Maria Mukarzal e Teresa Khâzin. Pietro da Moretta riconosce che non crederebbe a queste religiose fuggitive senza la testimonianza del fratello di Hindiyya, Nicola (p. 243). Il Moretta giunge alla conclusione che il punto negativo del sistema è proprio la straordinaria unione con Cristo che Hindiyya sbandiera. Tra gli oppositori di Hindiyya ci sono anche il cappuccino Raffaele, il superiore dei Minori di Harissa, il superiore generale dei Baladiti e i libanesi Michele al-Khâzin e Arsenio Sukrî (p. 266). Questa volta Hindiyya è sconfitta e paga duramente. Costretta a lasciare Bkerke, che dal 1823 diverrà sede del patriarca maronita, è spesso tenuta in cattività in condizioni inumane. Infatti il fratello Nicola ne ha pietà e scrive a Roma che un giudizio vendicativo è contrario al diritto umano e divino (p. 276).

Il problema è se l'A., nonostante tutto il materiale raccolto e un'indagine che sembra guidata da sana metodologia senza idee preconcepite, riesca a convincere il lettore che Hindiyya piuttosto che mistica è una criminale. E' già successo in passato che, dopo i giudizi severi della Curia romana o di un Cirillo Korolevskij su Hindiyya, i Maroniti siano tornati alla carica a difendere la memoria della religiosa "dalla pelle scura." Lo ha fatto per esempio Yoakim Moubarak pubblicando su di lei un dossier dai toni più pacati. Non sappiamo se qualcuno cercherà ancora di riabilitare questa figura discussa. Ci resta tuttavia il dubbio che la ricostruzione del contesto sia completa. Che, per esempio, lo sfondo gesuitico del dramma non sia valutato a sufficienza. Eppure l'istituto di Hindiyya si basa sulla devozione al Sacro Cuore la cui efficacia era stata rivelata a S. Margherita Maria Alacoque, spiritualmente diretta da S. Claudio de la Colombière S.I. Molti gesuiti le furono vicini, sia per favorirla, sia per osteggiarla. Era il periodo in cui si preparava e poi si attuava la soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù. Credo che la crisi e poi la soppressione dell'Ordine avrebbero dovuto essere sottolineate. Anche il contesto maronita di allora avrebbe dovuto essere maggiormente illuminato sotto i più diversi punti di vista per rendere il quadro più completo e oggettivo. Per esempio non si dice nulla di conversioni al Cristianesimo di personaggi influenti, drusi e musulmani,



contemporanei di Hindiyya. Eppure alcune conversioni, del tutto straordinarie in simile ambiente, avvennero proprio a quell'epoca nella regione. Non solo. Ma lo stesso Pietro da Moretta, oltre a quella su Hindiyya, fu pure incaricato di un'inchiesta in merito alle conversioni e all'esenzione dei convertiti dall'osservanza di certe pratiche pubbliche, come il frequentare la messa domenicale o praticare apertamente digiuni e astinenze cristiane. Infatti il da Moretta scrive a Propaganda "che il principe Youssef Scihab, zio di chi comanda i Drusi, ha ricevuto il battesimo per opera di Mons. Michele Fâdil. Questo principe per vivere più liberamente e poter adempire i precetti di nostra religione si è fabbricato per sé e per la sua famiglia, ormai quasi tutta cattolica, un palazzo vicino al monastero dei monaci Greci Melchiti. Siccome ha ricevuto il battesimo da un vescovo maronita dovrebbe comunicarsi secondo quel rito, vale a dire in azimo, ma essendogli difficile il far celebrare nella sua cappella segreta un sacerdote maronita senza dare nell'occhio a quei domestici turchi e drusi che per decoro del suo stato è obbligato a tenere, supplica che gli si impetri da Sua Santità la facoltà di comunicarsi per mano di un sacerdote melchita, senza lasciare per altro il rito maronita" (Paul Abboud Gostaoui, *Relazione della Nazione Maronita con la Santa Sede nel secolo XVIII*, I, Beirut 1909, pp. 275-76). Propaganda invece nega simili concessioni ai neofiti provenienti dall'Islam o dai Drusi, in una lettera che parte da Roma alla volta del Libano, firmata dal prefetto card. Giuseppe Castelli e dal segretario Stefano Borgia. Forse a questo proposito, come riguardo a Hindiyya, Roma ha difficoltà a capire la situazione locale. Tanto è vero che in ambedue i casi ha un atteggiamento più severo di quello del patriarca maronita. Molto più liberale e comprensivo verso i convertiti è l'orientalista maronita Giuseppe Luigi Assemani, membro della illustre famiglia di Giuseppe Simonio e di Stefano Evodio. Egli scrive a Propaganda che la Chiesa non deve usare maggiore severità di quanto non usasse all'epoca delle persecuzioni, quando i cristiani potevano praticare la loro religione nascostamente. Cita in proposito il pensiero di famosi teologi. Sottolinea la difficoltà particolare al Vicino Oriente dove i Musulmani sono al potere. Queste considerazioni sul contesto storico ci confermano nell'opinione che l'indagine su Hindiyya non sia ancora esaurita e si debba ancora lavorarvi attorno per escludere tutti i dubbi e risolvere tutte le questioni. Non nego tuttavia all'A. il merito di aver nuovamente messo il problema sul tappeto e di averne una volta di più illuminato alcuni aspetti. La storia ha bisogno di tentativi anche parziali di comprensione dei fatti. Comunque, a mio debole parere l'epoché di un fenomeno storico come quella di Hindiyya non è ancora raggiunta. Dò piuttosto ragione all'ex archivista di Propaganda il P. Sarkis Tabar che sembra vedere nel severo giudizio su Hindiyya il risultato di un malinteso fra Roma e la Chiesa locale maronita. Roma stava arrivando al punto di sacrificare il patriarca maronita favorevole a Hindiyya. Tabar scrive infatti: "L'ablégat Pietro da Moretta fut d'une injustice tellement criante que le Saint Siège dut le blâmer. . . . A Rome, la vérité

commença à se faire jour peu à peu sur les injustices commises contre le patriarche Estéphan. . . . Le résultat en fut que dans la congrégation particulière du 21 septembre 1784, la Propagande se prononça en faveur du patriarche et le réintégra dans ses pouvoirs et sa juridiction patriarcale. . . . Les chefs d'accusations étaient en effet si graves que jamais le Saint Siège n'aurait rétabli Estéphan dans les fonctions patriarcales, s'il n'avait constaté l'innocence de l'inculpé" (S. Tabar, "Relations avec l'Eglise Maronite" in *Sacrae Congregationi de Propaganda Fide, Memoria Rerum*, Herder 1973, II, p. 346).

Pontificio Istituto Orientale, Roma

Vincenzo Poggi, S.I.

*Thy Honored Name. A History of The College of the Holy Cross, 1843-1994.* By Anthony J. Kuzniewski, S.J. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1999. Pp. xxi, 516. \$34.95 Hardback.)

American colleges and universities are big business. Currently there are 2,343 colleges and universities with nine million students. Two hundred and thirty five are Catholic schools serving three quarters of a million students. Roughly 25% of these students are in 28 Jesuit institutions. They have almost 200,000 students and approximately 1,180 Jesuits (out of 4,385 Jesuits in the United States) as faculty, administrators, and staff. The largest Jesuit school is Boston College with 14,419 students; the smallest is Spring Hill with 1,003 students. Boston College has the largest number of Jesuits on campus, 108; Regis the smallest, 11. One school was founded before the restoration of the Society in 1814; five between the restoration and 1849; fifteen between 1850 and 1899; six between 1900 and 1949; and one since then. I have counted thirteen others which were absorbed into other schools or quietly died.

A minor spin off of this huge industry is the writing of histories of these institutions. All Jesuit institutions except for four or five have produced such volumes. Georgetown has 12 histories, the College of the Holy Cross has six, St. Louis has five. Loyola Chicago, though 130 years old, and some of the newer colleges have none, with the others having one or two histories.

With so many books we should not be surprised to find a certain variety of approaches and distinctive features. Most of the histories have been written by Jesuits, Jesuits with some personal experience of the school. Three recent ones have been written by laymen: Donald P. Galvin and Nicholas Varga are long-time members of the faculty at, respectively, John Carroll and Loyola Baltimore; David R. Contosta writes of St. Joseph's in Philadelphia and teaches history at neighboring Chestnut Hill College. Some of the variety is due to different authors writing at different times. But like every social institution, universities have distinctive cultures. And different authors highlight different features. One can write about the top administrators, the faculty, the students,

lay persons, women, the local community, relations with state, country and hierarchy, relation with Jesuit superiors, finances, clubs and sports. Most authors focus in on the undergraduate divisions. But Robert Emmett Curran does very well by the early history of the Medical and Law Schools at Georgetown and William B. Faherty on the Medical School at St. Louis. Gerald McKevitt is especially good on the great role of the Italian Jesuits of the Turin Province with Santa Clara and the western part of the United States as is Harold Stansell on the Naples province and Regis University. Mid-western schools profited greatly from the founding of the Buffalo Mission and the coming of Jesuit refugees from Switzerland. Faherty traces the growth of St. Louis University within the story of the City of St. Louis. Raphaël N. Hamilton tells the story of Marquette effectively from newspaper clippings. All spend the bulk of the histories on their presidents and the erection of buildings.

Anthony J. Kuzniewski, S.J. tells the story of the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, located in what is now the Jesuit Province of New England. Using a developmental model, he paints a picture that began with a dream of Benedict J. Fenwick, Bishop of Boston and a Jesuit. It was given existence on a hillside, as a reality struggled for many years to stay in existence, and became for a time the largest Jesuit college in the US and the largest Catholic college as well. It began as a school for Catholics, paid a price for that decision of Fenwick's, and finally opened its door to others, first to men of other faiths under the pressure of World War I and then to women, as faculty members in 1967 and as students in 1972. Holy Cross began as a slightly toned down version of the Jesuit novitiate (it had in those early days a phenomenal number of vocations to the religious life and the priesthood), relying on the *Ratio Studiorum* for curricular guidance, and only after a hundred years accepting the elective model proposed more than fifty years before by its neighbor, Harvard.

Such a developmental model is quite different from what Curran uses in his history of Georgetown and what McKevitt uses for Santa Clara. Kuzniewski writes of three Holy Crosses: the first (1843-1901) built consciously on a Jesuit model that took a few steps toward the regnant American model of the liberal arts college and the expectations of its Catholic American public; the second (1901-1960), the college which realized that it had to conform to the American model and struggled to meet those demands; the third (1960-), the college of today meeting all the standards, curricularly, financially (dare I say ideologically?), imposed by government, accrediting boards, graduate schools, and the desires of Jesuits to conform to secular standards. Curran uses a straightforward growth model from academy to college to university to multi-university. McKevitt proposes a different model: mainstream—backstream—mainstream. He points out that a Jesuit speaking of the *Ratio Studiorum* was using the same humanistic vocabulary as other religious colleges were using. He reminds us

that before the civil war there were only 21 state colleges; the rest were religious. More than that, all colleges wanted to form their students intellectually and spiritually; they were not interested in purveying useful knowledge. Santa Clara was mainstream. It became backstream by remaining what it has always been while the American college and university were becoming more and more vocational and, in the German mode, more research oriented. The 1970s showed a Santa Clara back in step with other American universities.

A part of being in step with other schools is the saga of becoming financially stable institutions. Jesuit schools were supposed to be tuition-free. But not one of the 28 began tuition-free or came to be that way. (There is a rumor that Princeton will no longer charge tuition after this year.) No Jesuit school began with a huge endowment; Holy Cross was exceptionally lucky in having its beginnings bankrolled by Bishop Fenwick. It was also lucky that St. Louis got permission from Rome to break with the tuition-free tradition. In 1833, after a report from the visitor Peter Kenney, the urging of President Peter Verhaegen and Bishop Joseph Rosati, Pope Gregory XVI granted a dispensation, and Roothan drew up a new set of rules—rules the other American schools applied to themselves. In the 1890s 98% of students paid full tuition at Holy Cross. But funds from tuition did not meet the budget. It never paid all the running costs. Room and board plus tuition sometimes were enough, but that was only because the Jesuits taught for room and board themselves. The added cost of new buildings, the losses brought about by fire, and new expenses such as athletics made other means of gathering cash necessary. Add, too, the losses brought about by depressions in the late 1890s and 1930s, the increased hiring of lay persons, and the sagging numbers of Jesuits on staff, and we see that the financial viability of the school was fragile. Kuzniewski is especially good at giving his readers charts that tell much of this tale in an attractive graphic way. (The same can be said of charts on geographic origins of students, vocational choices, annual budgets and indebtedness, graduates and their degrees, tuition and financial aid, endowment, and characteristics of the faculty). And he shows that outside money, from the government, private not-for-profit organizations, alumni and friends, is now part of a school's way of life.

Yet another part of a school's way of life is athletics. Kuzniewski spends a 10th of his history on athletics at Holy Cross. The well-told saga begins with baseball, student-run and successful beyond expectation; then football with its panoply of professional help, which brought Holy Cross to the attention of the nation; and then basketball, in which they won the NCAA tournament in 1947. But athletics, in spite of a profitable year here and there, turned out to be financially draining. The cost per student was higher than at any other school in the area. Scholarships were given to baseball players as early as the 1870s. Though there were always the supporters of varsity athletics, a demand for intermural sports had continued to grow. And women admitted to the student

body, who have grown to be 50% of it, demanded equal representation on varsity teams, equal use of facilities on campus and equal numbers of scholarships. One of the interesting by-plays in recent times was that football players could only get scholarships based on financial need while scholarships distributed to students generally were not based on need. At Holy Cross football has been downplayed under the last three presidents. At Santa Clara football was abolished.

In the latter instance, the president took the heat although the deed was ordered by the provincial. From the very beginning of Jesuit colleges and universities, the job of president-rector was not easy. It wasn't until the 16th president at Holy Cross, John F. Lehy, that the president lasted the usual two terms of three years each. One of the reasons for this was that presidents reported not only to a board of trustees but also took orders from their provincials. For instance, at Loyola Chicago, until 1970, deans as well as presidents were ultimately appointed by the provincial. Steps were taken to ease this situation. One helpful measure was making the president and the rector separate jobs. Most schools made the move after 1934, but Marquette for a time in 1922 had already tried this separation. Kuzniewski is very good on describing the situation at Holy Cross under Raymond J. Swords which necessitated the separation in 1962. Another more radical step was separating the college from the Jesuit community legally, which of course meant that the college was no longer under the provincial—and the Jesuits were legally not responsible for the school. All 28 schools eventually took the step: St. Louis in 1967 was the first and Holy Cross made the move in 1969. The embrace of the John J. McGrath thesis made the step easier to take.

Once separate incorporation was a fact, it was clear that another step has also been taken. The schools no longer sent reports to Rome, and the General directly and the General Congregations lost their veto power over them. Generals traditionally had named and allowed resignations of president-rectors. Micromanaging was also frequently practised. In 1843 the General Jan Roothaan was consulted on the building of a school in Benedicta, Maine, and shortly afterwards on the building of a school in Worcester, Massachusetts. Permission was gladly given. In 1856, Peter Beckx would allow no school in Boston because of the presence of Holy Cross, but he was not very enthusiastic about the continued existence of that institution either. In 1891, the provincial Thomas J. Campbell had received permission from the General Anton Anderledy for a new building to be erected at Holy Cross, but shortly afterwards Anderledy died. Campbell in 1893 then had to order the president Martin A. O'Kane to stop work on a project until Luis Martín in Rome had given his permission. In 1907 Thomas E. Murphy, the president of Holy Cross, through Joseph F. Hanselman, the provincial, had to explain to the General Franz Wernz why students were being giving permission to spend the night

away from the college. In 1908 Murphy asked for permission to separate the college from the high school. Even the provincial had to then ask the general for permission. James J. Carlin as president in 1919 needed the permission of the General Włodimir Ledóchowski to build a new chapel for an anticipated expansion in enrollment; in 1924 the General wanted an explanation why costs were now much larger than anticipated; in 1925 he wanted an absolute limit of 800 imposed on the boarding students. And all the Jesuit colleges have similar tales to tell; Contosta manages to mention only Ledóchowski and Arrupe.

But the schools were also bound by the decrees of the General Congregations. The histories give them short shrift, and seemingly so did the schools themselves. Decree 13 of Fourth General Congregation in 1581 warned about taking in boarders; decree 19 of Twenty-second General Congregation in 1853 allows them but under fairly stringent conditions hard to meet. Decree 15 of the Twenty-first General Congregation in 1829, decree 38 of the Twenty-second and decree 12 of the Twenty-fifth in 1906 see Roothaan's *Ratio Studiorum* as no longer viable and in need of revision; the revision came out in 1931 and had little influence on educational practice. So over the years these documents were both appealed to and ignored. For instance, the prescription of the use of Latin in the higher courses was ignored as was the prescription of one teacher teaching all the courses. But business schools were allowed as early as 1853 in decree 39 of the Twenty-second General Congregation. Even with the free use of the dispensation given St. Louis from being tuition-free, several General Congregations insisted that only those fees were to be charged which were necessary for the sustenance of the Jesuits, decree 42 of the Twenty-second in 1853 and decree 42 of the Twenty-third in 1883, but these decrees were ignored. The 66th decree of the Thirtieth General Congregation in 1957 that future professors needing further training would get it preferably in Catholic universities was a response to a need to meet legal and academic requirements noted much earlier (decrees 20 and 21 in the Twenty-third in 1883). And surely not the least requirement demanded is that of decree 12 of the Twenty-fifth: if externs are to teach, they are to be men of proven faith and virtue—which sheds some light on the episode Kuzniewski writes about involving John C. Ford and Cardinal Augustine Bea. Surely a study of universities in relation to the General Congregations remains to be written.

To speak generally, some things are too recent to have received the thoughtful reflection that needs to consider consequences as well as the acts themselves. What are the effects of women on campuses as presidents and vice-presidents and deans, as faculty members and students? Another question concerns the downplaying of sports on finances and collegiate morale. A third concerns the elective system of studies. A fourth relates to the study of new forms of governance. As Pedro Arrupe noted, the family business became a publicly held corporation. In the United States, Catholic colleges have in the

main followed the McGrath thesis and opted for boards who are both owners and directors. On the other hand, each of the colleges in the Detroit provinces has two boards: a board with Jesuits members and a mixed board with directors in charge of the operations of the institution—a mixture of family business and publicly held corporation. The University of Notre Dame has also gone the latter way. The results are not yet in. Which is the better system? If one of the great questions is how to keep or make these schools Catholic and Jesuit and if we look at what lay boards of directors have done in Protestant schools, secularization seems inevitable. Are our schools Catholic and Jesuit only by extrinsic denomination? Will the Detroit model make a difference? Is there a place for both an IBM and an Apple computer? Or are we trying as hard as we can to bring about what the Jesuit deans of all American schools meeting at Prairie de Chien in 1921 saw as their Avalon: Every Jesuit college a standard college.

A final focus on the Cross. Clearly, Holy Cross gives its own degrees and no longer depends on Georgetown, as it did at the beginning for its degrees; Saturday rather than Thursday has become its free-day; its Board of Trustees represents American society with substantial representation from the corporate sector; it has a substantial endowment; its faculty has representatives with degrees from a great number of American universities; its student body is representative of the diversity of American youth: fifty percent are women; many ethnic and religious groups are represented among faculty and students. After a glorious past record in athletics Holy Cross has settled into being satisfied with being a typical New England college team; it cannot support itself from student fees; it has an appropriate number of Ph.Ds; it has a Phi Beta Kappa chapter. No longer does it stand alone.

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*Visuelle Medien im Dienst der Gesellschaft Jesu. Johann Christoph Storer (1620-1671) als Maler der Katholischen Reform.* Von Sibylle Appuhn-Radtke. [Jesuitica: Quellen und Studien zu Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur der Gesellschaft Jesu im deutschsprachigen Raum, Band 3.] (Regensburg: Schnell Steiner, 2000. 411S. 226 Abb. in schwarz-weiß und 23 in Farbe, nebst 2 schematischen Skizzen. Dm. 148. Hardback.)

Wie kaum ein anderer Maler, hat Johann Christoph Storer im lombardischen und süddeutschen Raum in engem Kontakt mit den Jesuiten seine künstlerische Tätigkeit entfaltet. Nun liegt der gesamte, vorbildlich gegliederte, kritisch bearbeitete Katalog (S. 189-365) seiner Werke vor, die Altargemälde, Druckgraphiken und deren beider Vorzeichnungen, und solcher für Silberschmiedearbeiten umfassen.

Der erste Teil des Buches zeichnet den Lebensweg des Künstlers nach und gibt Auskunft über seine Entwicklung und die Anregungen seitens der flämischen und der oberitalienischen Malerei. Die Autorin kann sogar einen direkten Besuch des süddeutschen Malers nach seiner italienischen Zeit in der Rubenswerkstatt in Antwerpen sehr wahrscheinlich machen.

In den Anfangskapiteln ihres Buches kommen auch, ausführlich wie bisher noch nie, das Verhältnis der Gesellschaft Jesu und ihre Kunsttätigkeit ganz allgemein zur Sprache. Besonders werden die verschiedenen Funktionen des Bildes beim Bildgebrauch durch die Jesuiten erörtert. So wird je ein längerer Abschnitt dem Bild als Mittel der Unterweisung (S. 26-28) und als Meditationsanregung (S. 28-35) und ein kürzerer als Medium der Repräsentation (S. 35) gewidmet.

Was Storer für die Jesuitenkunst beigetragen hat, und was überhaupt sein gesamter künstlerischer Werdegang war, wird in vier langen Kapiteln dargelegt (S. 37-163). Dabei öffnet sich der Blick auf die Typen und die Raumwirkung des Altarretabels in den Jesuitenkirchen des 17. Jahrhunderts ganz allgemein, auf die ikonographischen Themen, besonders der Darstellung der *Immaculata Conceptio*, der Ordens- und Lokalheiligen, und auf die Entwicklung und den Gebrauch der künstlerisch gestalteten Thesenblätter.

Über alles nur erdenkliche werden wir genauestens informiert, so über die Einkommensverhältnisse des Malers, die nach seinem Steueraufkommen in Konstanz Jahr für Jahr aufgelistet werden, über die Mechanismen der Auftragsvergabe, und sogar über alle nachweisbaren Auftragsorte nördlich der Alpen, die in der Abb. 30 auf S. 87 (Skizze der Verfasserin) mit ihrer geographischen Himmelsrichtung und Entfernung von Konstanz aus, erfasst sind.

Besonders erhellend und interessant sind die Abschnitte über die Ausdrucksmodi, über die Beschränkung auf das Wesentliche in der Bilderrzählung, über deren angestrebten Wahrheitsgehalt, über die Lichtregie, die Verdeutlichung der Erzählung durch Physiognomik, Mimik und Gestik, und über das Streben Storer, von möglichst allen Gesellschaftsschichten mit seinen religiösen Bilderfindungen akzeptiert zu werden.

Nur ein kleines Detail, das der Autorin entgangen ist, mag der Rezensent beitragen: auf S. 44 findet sich die Abb. 9 mit dem Stich von Cornelius Bloemaert nach dem Gemälde der Vision von la Storta von Abraham Bloemaert. Dieses Gemälde ist nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in die Jesuitenkirche von Innsbruck gekommen und dort am ersten Seitenaltar links vom Eingang aus zu sehen.

Nur ein einziges Mal fühlte sich der Rezensent desorientiert, da er bei der Anm. 20 auf S. 39 nicht feststellen konnte, auf welchen Titel sich das allzu sehr abgekürzte "siehe hier, 33 f." beziehen mag, da in der vorhergehenden Anm. 19 gleich vier verschiedene Titel angeführt werden.



Als abschließendes Urteil mag aber gelten, daß die Tatsache, einen bisher kaum bekannten Maler wiederentdeckt und dabei dessen kulturellen Hintergrund, nämlich das Eingebettetsein in die Kunsttätigkeit der Gesellschaft Jesu im 17. Jahrhundert neu durchleuchtet zu haben, mit Fug und Recht eine wissenschaftliche Leistung auf dem Gebiet der Kunstgeschichte genannt werden darf.

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Heinrich W. Pfeiffer, S.J.

*Pierre-Joseph de Clorivière. Un maître spirituel pour aujourd'hui.* A Chantal Reynier. (Paris: Parole et Silence, 2001. Pp. 103. 52 Fr.f. Paperback.)

Le P. de Clorivière (1735-1820) est l'un des très rares jésuites français à avoir vécu dans l'Ancienne Compagnie et dans la Nouvelle. Quand la Compagnie est supprimée en France en 1762 il est encore scolastique. Relevé de ses premiers vœux, il demande et obtient d'être intégré à la province d'Angleterre, qui, sa formation achevée, lui confie celle des novices à Gand. Il prononce ses derniers vœux à la veille de la suppression de la Compagnie dans le monde en 1773. Expulsé des Pays-Bas il gagne la région parisienne, le temps d'écrire son traité spirituel *Prière et oraison*, puis la Bretagne où lui sont confiés une paroisse puis un collège-séminaire. Opposant, malgré le danger, à la politique antireligieuse de la Révolution il démissionne et entre en clandestinité. Au moment où l'Etat révolutionnaire supprime les vœux de religion il fonde et dirige deux sociétés, la Société du Cœur de Jésus, pour les hommes, et la Société des Filles du Cœur de Marie: la vie religieuse sera vécue dans le monde, sans les signes extérieurs des ordres traditionnels. Un attentat meurtrier contre Bonaparte dans lequel il est compromis malgré lui lui vaut, à 70 ans, cinq années d'emprisonnement. En 1808 il est agrégé aux jésuites de Russie Blanche et en 1814, âgé de 80 ans et presque aveugle, il reçoit du P. Général la mission de restaurer la Compagnie de Jésus en France, tâche à laquelle il s'emploie avec beaucoup d'énergie, pendant quatre ans.

Homme d'action autant que de prière, homme de terrain mais aussi d'écriture (l'inaction de la clandestinité et de la prison facilitera une abondante production. . . ), homme d'initiatives mais toujours sous le contrôle de l'obéissance, affronté à de multiples obstacles et épreuves, mais toujours dans la confiance et l'abandon, en paix dans le danger, attentif aux réalités politiques et économiques; les facettes de cette personnalité sont multiples. Chantal Reynier connaît bien Clorivière, dont elle a publié la correspondance avec Charles Fleury (*AHSI* 61 [1992]) et avec le P. Brzozowski, (*AHSI* 64 [1995]). Elle nous en donne ici une présentation d'ensemble axée sur sa personnalité spirituelle. Le cadre historique et événementiel est fourni, simplement, mais l'auteur sait s'effacer avec discrétion devant son personnage qu'elle laisse parler

à travers d'abondantes citations de ses écrits. L'ouvrage ne s'adresse pas à des historiens érudits, mais cette introduction donne envie d'aller plus loin et d'approfondir tel ou tel aspect de la vie ou de l'œuvre du P. Clorivière qui n'est que rapidement évoqué ici.

Archives Françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus, Paris      Robert Bonfils, S.J.

*La Penitencia en la Primera Evangelización de México (1523-1585).* By Luis Martínez Ferrer. (México: D.F.: Universidad Pontificia de México, 1998. Pp. lii, 294. N.p. Paperback.)

The role of the Sacrament of Penance in the early modern period is a controversial one. Some have argued that it was bitterly resented by the Christian faithful who were required since the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 to make a sacramental confession at least once a year. Authors such as Jean Delumeau and John Bossy have maintained that the sacrament functioned as a means of moralizing and oppressive social control. On the other hand, the concern evidenced by the Mendicants and the Regulars to stress the consoling aspects of the sacrament or to serve as a check on widespread social sins, such as the exploitation of the Amerindians in the encomienda system, present it in a more positive and even prophetic light. It is generally in this latter vein that Luis Martínez Ferrer's survey of the history of the sacrament during the first sixty years or so of the first evangelization of New Spain or Mexico is described in this book.

In addition to recounting the history of the sacrament of penance in New Spain, the author also seeks to shed light on the way that diverse social groups lived their Christianity, the chief moral violations in which these groups engaged, the pastoral priorities of the Mexican bishops to deal with these, and how the sacrament was accommodated to the indigenous mentality. Martínez Ferrer highlights that his interest is not just in focusing on how the indigenous peoples of Mexico were introduced, received, and practiced the sacrament, but also to understand how the criollo and mestizo populations participated in it as well. The author wants to provide the reader with a "religious sociology" that describes what the goal of the sacrament of penance was for the Catholic hierarchy and also how it was generally lived out among diverse populations. To this end he offers in this book a summary of a plethora of the existing sources and legislation associated with the sacrament. This is at the same time the book's greatest strength and also its greatest limitation.

Martínez Ferrer divides his work in eleven chapters. In the first two he provides a synopsis of the canonical legislation about penance on the Iberian peninsula in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as, a review of the penitential literature that existed at the time. Chapter three focuses on the

penitential rites of the indigenous people of Mexico. Chapter four looks at the penitential practices of the first Spaniards, the conquistadors of Tenochtitlán (1519-1521). Martínez Ferrer then looks at the early canonical legislation about the sacrament during the first twenty years or so of the conquest (1524-1547) in chapter five. Chapters six through eight focus on the penitential pastoral practice of the Mendicants, the Jesuits, and the secular clergy. Chapter nine looks at penitential literature that was imported to New Spain or produced there from the 1520's through 1585. Finally, chapters 10 and 11 focus on the canons and penitential literature produced by the Third Provincial Council of Mexico of 1585 that marks the end of the first evangelization of New Spain.

The chronicles of the missionaries give an ambiguous account concerning a number of issues related to the penitential practice of the Amerindians. Certain chronicles such as those of Sahagún and Remesal stated that the pre-Hispanic native penitential practices were a detriment to the Christian practice of confession, while Las Casas, Mendieta, Ximénez, and Acosta disagreed. Contemporary historians such as Ricard and Martini agreed with the former. In Chapter three, Martínez Ferrer weighs in agreeing with those who saw the penitential practices of the natives as preparative to the Christian sacrament of penance. However, elsewhere, in chapter six, he provides no assessment of the contradictory positions in various Mendicant accounts about the preparedness and effectiveness of the missionaries' efforts to instruct the Amerindians concerning the sacrament. Durán and Sahagún were of the opinion that due to the poor knowledge of the native languages, the missionaries inadequately prepared the Indians to receive the sacrament and that these did not know very well what they were doing. On the other hand, Valadés, Mendieta, Garcés, Motolinía and Grijalva maintained that the natives embraced the sacrament well, and that the missionaries were able to adequately ween the natives from their pre-Hispanic penitential practices.

Sadly, Martínez Ferrer does to adjudicate between these competing visions of the situation. His treatment of the penitential literature produced in New Spain for the Amerindians suggests creativity and a successful efforts to develop materials for many native groups, even while strictly penitential works did not begin to be produced in significant numbers until the second half of the sixteenth century, after the initial evangelization. Outstanding among these efforts are the pictographic catechism of Fray Peter of Ghent, OFM for the Aztecs (1529) that emphasized that confession was a matter of ordering the heart correctly, and Fray Alonso de Molina, OFM's *Confesionario Mayor* (1565) that distinguished itself in specific examinations of conscience for multiple trades in which the natives were involved. Martínez Ferrer notes that such attempts exceeded the attempts of catechists in Spain to expand their teaching about confession among Spaniards on the peninsula.

Concerning the confessional practices of the Spaniards in New Spain, the author makes the general observation that they tended to be neglected by the Mendicants. The Mendicants preferred to confess the natives because they found them less jaded than the Spaniards. Jesuits, on the other hand, focused their early ministry in New Spain with the Spaniards and were sought out by royal administrators and business people in the urban centers of Mexico, Oaxaca, Veracruz and Guadalajara where they ministered. In Veracruz in particular, the Jesuits targeted sailors and the African slave population, and in Oaxaca, poor women. And of course, everywhere they promoted use of the sacrament among their students. They also organized courses of cases of conscience, first promoted by their friend Archbishop Moya of Mexico, for the secular clergy of his diocese, and eventually for the secular clergy of the dioceses of Oaxaca and Puebla.

Some of these diocesan priests would occupy themselves in hearing the confessions of the indigenous peoples, something which had not been previously thought to be the case because of their generally poor preparation in native tongues. But it would not be until almost ten years after their arrival, in the 1580s, after the appointment of Plaza as Provincial and the constant entreaties of their Superior Generals in Rome, that the Jesuits' efforts with the natives matched those with the Spaniards. At that time, the Society established centers of ministering to various indigenous peoples in Puebla, Tepotzotlán, Pátzcuaro, Oaxaca, and Mexico.

But the most controversial of penitential books published in 1552, without the Crown's permission, for Spaniards of New Spain who were conquistadors, encomenderos, arms dealers, and merchants who had profited from the conquest, was Bartolomé de Las Casas, O.P.'s *Avisos y reglas para los confesores*. It was written between 1545-1546 when he was bishop of Chiapas. The twelve rules of the *confesionario* supported the New Laws of 1542 by emphasizing, especially in the third rule, the need for the penitents mentioned above to provide, what some considered to be, extreme forms of restitution to the Indians they had exploited.

However, the ultimate goal of Las Casas' *Avisos* was nothing less than the cessation of the exploitation of the Amerindians by the conquistadors and encomenderos, and he argued in rule seven that the Crown had no right to the Indies. Martínez Ferrer judges Las Casas' *confesionario* to be unique because of the prophetic harshness with which it judged those involved in the conquest. This judgment was not shared by many contemporaries, such as Fray Toribio de Motolinía, OFM, who were also committed to eliminating the abuses of the Spaniards against the natives. Lastly, Las Casas' *Avisos* stood out because it was written in the New World, unlike the *confesionarios* used for Spaniards at this time in the Americas, most of which were imported from the Iberian peninsula.

The most original contribution of this volume is its treatment in Chapter eleven of the *Directorio para Confesores y Penitentes* of the Third Provincial Council of Mexico of 1585. Mexico III applied the Council of Trent to New Spain. The Jesuits, in particular the former Jesuit provincial Plaza and Pedro de Ortigosa, S.J., under the auspices of their friend the new Archbishop of Mexico, Moya, were instrumental in the drafting of the reformist canons and pastoral literature that came out of the council. One of the pastoral books that came out of the council was a directory for confessors and penitents which unexplicably was never published. It provided detailed examination of consciences for a wide spectrum of society in New Spain, giving evidence of what Martínez Ferrer calls the seriousness with which the Mexican hierarchy took its missions to evangelize all sectors of society. The author hypothesizes that part of this directory may have been published by the Jesuits in 1590 for members of their Sodality of the Annunciation of Mexico.

Martínez Ferrer has provided us with a detailed compilation of documents—penitential books, conciliar legislation, reports from missionaries—about penance. One is left with a clear impression of how the sacrament was in theory supposed to have been administered and what effect those who were administering it wanted to achieve. However, at times these sources are contradictory in their assessment of how the sacrament was being received and practiced in New Spain, and Martínez Ferrer does not shed light on this conundrum. In addition, those looking for a description of how the sacrament influenced the private conduct of individuals will be disappointed that the author explicitly distances himself from an investigation that would shed light on this issue. So the voices of native peoples, mestizos and Spaniards about how they experienced the sacrament during this initial period in New Spain are not directly heard in this book. Thus the social history of the sacrament that the author sets out to document in this book continues to contain a number of significant lacunae.

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*Die katholische Arbeiterbewegung in Bayern nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg (1945-1963).*

Von Dietmar Grypa. [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte, Reihe B, Band 91.] (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh GmbH, 2000. S. 594. DM 158. Hardback.)

Der Wiederaufbau Deutschlands nach dem Zusammenbruch erfolgte von unten, von den Gemeinden aus unter möglichstem Rückgriff auf Kräfte, die vom Nazi-Regime unterdrückt dennoch im deutschen Volk wirksam geblieben waren. Dazu gehörte auch die Katholische Arbeiterbewegung, die in Bayern ihre eigene Geschichte gehabt hatte. Die Untersuchung wurde an der

Universität München 1999 als Dissertation angenommen. Sie sucht auf der Grundlage weit ausgreifender Archiv-Forschungen einen Überblick über die Entwicklung der Katholischen Arbeiterbewegung im angegebenen Zeitraum für den süddeutschen Raum zu bieten. Denn aus historischen Gründen war nicht nur die früher zu Bayern gehörige Diözese Speyer zu berücksichtigen, sondern auch die Arbeit in den Diözesen Freiburg und Rottenburg. Insofern wäre der Titel auszuweiten. Da indes organisatorisch München als Zentrum unbestritten ist, hat der Titel ein gewisses Recht, zumal dann in der Durchführung ständig vom süddeutschen Verband die Rede ist. Nach einer Einleitung (13-28) zu Forschungsstand, Aufbau und Quellenlage, entwickelt sich die Arbeit in drei großen Blöcken. Der erste zeichnet "Entwicklung und Struktur des Süddeutschen Verbands" (29-150) nach, der zweite wirft einen Blick auf die "Verbandsarbeit" (151-358) und der dritte behandelt schließlich die "Aussenbeziehungen" (359-492). Eine knappe "Zusammenfassung" (493-502) rundet die Darstellung ab, ehe im "Anhang" (505-522) Tabellen und Statistiken und im "Quellen- und Literaturverzeichnis" (523-571) ungedruckte Dokumentenbestände sowie Veröffentlichungen nachgewiesen werden. Auf den letzten Seiten ist ein umfassendes "Personen-, Orts- und Sachregister" (572-594) geboten.

Auf die Fülle an Informationen läßt sich hier nicht eingehen; der Anteil der Gesellschaft Jesu jedenfalls verdient eigene Aufmerksamkeit, selbst wenn er thematisch nur knapp unter den Aussenbeziehungen über das Verhältnis zur kirchlichen Hierarchie im Abschnitt "Die Rolle der Orden als Träger der Arbeiterseelsorge" (372-377) zur Sprache kommt. Daß der Aufbau der "Christlichen Arbeiter-Jugend" (CAJ) in Deutschland von Jesuiten wie Joh. Leppich (249) eingeleitet wurde, ist freilich für den süddeutschen Raum zunächst nur nebenher bedeutsam, wo man sich mit dieser Jugend nicht sonderlich leicht tat. P. Fr. Prinz und P. O. Footterer (251, 260) trugen diese Anregungen allerdings schon früh nach hier und bereiteten in Südbayern mit P. K. Sieben (209) und P. Cl. Mayer-Lauingen (275) den Weg für die neue Form der "Jugendarbeit" (237-277) mit vor. Weniger glücklich war der Versuch, einen Jesuiten mit der traditionellen geistlichen Begleitung des Verbandes selbst im Bistum Augsburg zu betrauen (109-111), was aber für Nordbaden dennoch möglich war (149). Gleichwohl lag nicht auf dieser Ebene der eigentliche Beitrag der Jesuiten. Der ist vielmehr in erneuernden Anstößen zu sehen wie in Konzeption und Durchsetzung der "Katholischen Sozialen Wochen" durch P. Fr. Prinz (167-171) seit 1947 oder in der Idee und ihrer Umsetzung von "Christlichen Werkgemeinschaften" (308, 311) oder "Werkgemeinschaften Christlicher Arbeitnehmer" (314) ebenfalls durch P. Fr. Prinz. Daß dabei auch Anregungen aus dem Westen Deutschlands mitspielten, wo die Katholische Arbeiterbewegung eine andere Geschichte hatte, dürfte nicht nur an mitbrüderlichen Verbindungen gelegen haben. P. O. von Nell-Breuning, P. H.-J. Wallraff, P. H.

Ostermann u.a. finden gelegentlich Erwähnung. Auffälliger ist, daß die Bemühungen eines P. F. Löwenstein von Mannheim aus (Heinrich-Pesch-Haus; später Ludwigshafen) nicht einmal genannt sind. Jedenfalls im Verständnis der süddeutschen Jesuiten sollte hier das Zentrum des eigenen Beitrags zur Sozialen Frage vor allem wirksam werden. Allerdings ist sich die Untersuchung ihrer Begrenztheit und Vorläufigkeit durchaus bewußt (501). Die Rolle der Orden sei "in einem weiteren Schritt auf europäischer Ebene einzuordnen" (ebd.); die römischen Archivbestände seien auszuwerten und mangels Studien über andere Laienorganisationen der Nachkriegszeit seien wichtige Fragen noch nicht zu beantworten. Das Stichwort "Organisation" macht hier ganz zum Schluß noch einmal auf einen Schwerpunkt dieser Arbeit aufmerksam: sie befaßt sich vor allem und fast ausschließlich mit der institutionellen Seite der Arbeiterbewegung. Das dürfte sich aus der Quellenlage ebenso ergeben wie im Blick auf die Nachprüfbarkeit der Ergebnisse nahelegen. Gleichwohl ist es nicht alles und im Bereich von Bewegungen, die letztlich aus christlicher Glaubensüberzeugung erwachsen und von ihr getragen werden, auch nicht das, was das tiefste Interesse weckt. Der Neuaufbau des deutschen Katholizismus nach dem Zusammenbruch des Nationalsozialismus war sicher auch Versuch, die unterdrückten und z.T. zerstörten Organisationen wieder herzustellen. Äußerlich gesehen war das ein staunenweckendes Werk. Aber noch erstaunlicher bleibt die Entdeckung, daß es dabei durchaus nicht nur um die Durchsetzung von Vorstellungen ging, die einfach aus Tradition übernommen wurden, sondern um Überzeugungen, die lebendig waren. Vielleicht ist der Lebenskraft des Glaubens in letzter Konsequenz durch die Entwicklungen, auf die man sich einließ, sehr viel und hier und da zuviel zugemutet worden. Es dürfte vor allem das Menschenbild gewesen sein, nach dem gefragt und das Belastungen und Zerreißproben ausgesetzt war, die vielfach als untragbar schienen. Gewiß: "Aktion ohne Organisation ist auf Dauer Wirken im luftleeren Raum" (313), aber Bemühen nur um Organisation läuft letztlich auf Seelenlosigkeit hinaus, so daß Erfolglosigkeit kaum noch Bedauern wecken kann. Der Einsatz von Jesuiten, wie er hier immer wieder angesprochen ist, hat erkennbar einem Menschenbild gegolten, dem es um Würde, Verantwortung und Einsatz ging.

Universität Innsbruck

Karl H. Neufeld, S.J.

Castelnau-L'Estoile, Charlotte de. *Les Ouvriers d'une Vigne Stérile: Les jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil, 1580-1620*. (Lisbon and Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and Commission Nationale pour les Commémorations des Découvertes Portugaises, 2000. Pp. 557. Fr.f. 200. Paperback).

Adopting the metaphor employed in a set of instructions given to a Jesuit Visitor to Brazil in 1582, Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile characterizes the

Jesuit missionary enterprise in Brazil as a "sterile vine" in this new and important contribution to the study of Jesuits in Brazil. Based on a doctoral thesis at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (1999), this book is a detailed analysis of the complexities of the Jesuit mission in Brazil in an important, but virtually unstudied, period: 1580-1620. The time frame of the book coincides roughly with the generalate of Claudio Aquaviva, but it has its own logic in the history of Brazil.

Castelnau L'Estoile's book begins in 1580, thirty-one years after Manoel da Nóbrega, leader of the first Jesuit Mission, landed in Salvador da Bahia with Brazil's first royal governor. In 1583, the Jesuit Visitor Cristovão de Gouveia arrived Brazil for "the consolation of ours who work on that vine so sterile, laborious, and dangerous." Castelnau-L'Estoile suggests that the use of this metaphor indicates that the first phase of missionary activity had ended, and that a new, substantially more difficult and more discouraging, one had begun. The preeminent position of the Jesuits in the early years of the colony could no longer be taken for granted, as increasingly, the Society of Jesus found its convictions regarding the lives of Indians and the direction of the colony challenged by colonists and governors alike. Still privileged as the premier religious order in Brazil, by 1620, when Castelnau L'Estoile's book ends, the Jesuits nevertheless saw their influence in the colony diminished.

Castelnau-L'Estoile covers a great deal of ground in this book—from the analysis of well-known writings by Jesuits, to laws regarding Indian slavery, to the development of the *aldeias* (mission villages), to the evaluation of individual Jesuits by their superiors—which makes it a treasure trove of information on the Society in Brazil in between the two great Jesuit figures of colonial Brazilian history: José de Anchieta and Antônio Vieira. Of particular use for historians is her careful treatment of her sources. Castelnau-L'Estoile relies almost exclusively on Jesuit sources, but she carefully distinguishes between what she terms "administrative" texts and "literary" texts. The administrative texts, which include letters, catalogues, and reports intended for internal use, have rarely been consulted by historians of colonial Brazil. Castelnau-L'Estoile argues that these documents focus on the problems encountered in the Jesuit mission and their proposed solutions. It is from within this corpus that the metaphor of the "sterile vine" emerges. The second corpus includes the texts written to be read by Jesuits outside of the Portuguese Assistancy, as well as by a wider public. Such texts, such as Fernão Cardim's famous *Narrativa*, had spiritual dimensions to them, i.e., the reader, through his reading of the text, underwent a spiritual journey. But here too, Castelnau-L'Estoile interweaves the metaphor of the "sterile vine," for the challenge of the Jesuit writers was to write edifying texts about a mission that they themselves recognized as bearing little fruit.

Castelnau-L'Estoile makes many perceptive observations in this book, but



two arguments are particularly interesting. The first concerns the role of the *aldeia* (mission village), which increasingly came under internal criticism in the period under study. Castelnau-L'Estoile argues that the Jesuits created the *aldeias* in Brazil in order to respond to realities they found there and that they imposed the *aldeia* on Rome. It was thus born of an adaptation to local circumstance, but it ran counter to ideals expressed by first generation of Jesuits. The *aldeias* isolated Jesuits (typically two to four Jesuits lived in the *aldeias*) from the Society, making it more difficult for them to maintain their identity as Jesuits. Jesuit superiors and colonists alike saw *aldeias* as places where sin might flourish, given the proximity with which Jesuits lived to Indian women. The third Jesuit Visitor to Brazil, Manuel de Lima (who visited Brazil from 1607 to 1609) saw the spiritual shortcomings of the Brazilian mission as emanating from the *aldeias*; therefore, he recommended greater and more careful regulation of the *aldeias*. According to Castelnau-L'Estoile, Lima reflected the insecurity and searching for identity characteristic of the later years of Acquaviva's generalate; it played out in Brazil as criticism of the *aldeias*. Lima's assistant, Jácome Monteiro, carried this critique further; through a scathing denunciation of the *aldeias* written on his return to Portugal, Monteiro argued that the dangers of Jesuits living amidst the Indians in the *aldeias* far outweighed the paltry results of missionary work done there. Returning to some of the very themes used by colonist Gabriel Soares de Sousa, author of the most anti-Jesuit Brazilian text of the sixteenth century, Monteiro went so far as to suggest that the Society should abandon the *aldeias*. This internal criticism of the central missionary institution of the Society in Brazil is an important contribution to our understanding of the *aldeias*, for more commonly, historians portray the Jesuits as defenders of the *aldeias*.

A second argument advanced by Castelnau L'Estoile focuses on the personnel of the *aldeias*, the missionary Jesuits. Known as *linguas*, or tongues, these were the men skilled in Indian languages, knowledgeable about Indian culture, and persuasive in their preaching in the wilderness. These men, Castelnau L'Estoile argues, had marginal status in the Society. They lived in the *aldeias*, isolated from the center of the Society in Brazil, the college of Bahia, where the majority of the Jesuits in Brazil resided, yet their work, both in the *aldeias* and on their journeys into the wilderness, was essential to the very identity and *raison-d'être* of the Society in Brazil. Those in high positions in the province were not directly involved in missionary work, with the one great exception being José de Anchieta. Vieira, too, would deviate from this pattern in the seventeenth century. Given Castelnau L'Estoile's evidence, historians would do well to evaluate more carefully the model presented by these prominent Jesuits, who were likely the exceptions, rather than the rule.

Castelnau L'Estoile approaches the great missionary priest Anchieta (†1597) after his death, through the writings of Jesuits. Already called the "Apostle of

Brazil" in his funeral elegy, Anchieta quickly became the subject of biographies, which Castelnau L'Estoile argues, portray him as the "saint" on the "sterile vine" of Brazil. In these writings, Anchieta's virtue, giftedness as a missionary, and humility represent the conscience of Jesuits in Brazil. Brazil might be a sterile vine, but the life of Anchieta proves that the work of Jesuits was not in vain.

Castelnau L'Estoile concludes this long book with a reflection on her central metaphor: the sterile vine. She writes that the metaphor reflects one of the modalities of the larger process of European contact with and domination of indigenous peoples in the modern world. The absence of indigenous voices in the Jesuit sources reflects the lack of success in the missionary enterprise. The Indians appear in the texts, but the Jesuit writers do not let them speak, because they do not trust them as true spokesmen. The Jesuits themselves perceive this failure in their mission, hence their adoption of the metaphor: the sterile vine. Through this metaphor, Castelnau L'Estoile lets her Jesuit historical actors voice their disappointments, frustrations, and self-criticism without judging them; but by adopting the metaphor as a way to understand the Jesuit mission in Brazil, she inadvertently accepts their judgment that the mission was barren. Certainly, by the values and standards of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Jesuits, the mission did not live up to expectations, but the missionary enterprise did leave its mark on Brazil. The development of popular religious traditions in colonial Brazil reflects the Jesuit mission, not, perhaps in the ways that Jesuits intended. Nevertheless, part of the vibrant mixing of beliefs, rituals, and sects visible in colonial and modern Brazilian religious culture derives from the missionary enterprise of the Jesuits.

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Alida C. Metcalf

*Athanasius Kircher: il Museo del mondo.* A cura di Eugenio Lo Sardo. (Roma: Edizioni De Luca, 2001. 373 p. Ital. £80.000 Paperback.)

Ospitata nella stessa città che la vide crescere ad opera del suo fondatore rive, sebbene mutilata, la raccolta di cose "curiose" che vide impegnato, tutta la vita: il gesuita tedesco, il "suo" Ordine e i molti missionari nel mondo, ciascuno presente con oggetti e relazioni dall'Asia all'Europa. Questo bizzarro Museo interpretando lo spirito barocco tenta di riproporre la meraviglia, che sappiamo essere categoria psicologica necessaria per definire la sensibilità di questo periodo, così come incontrovertibile è il fatto che domini lo schema mentale dell'uomo di questa età.

È di questi ultimi anni un interesse del tutto particolare verso gli studi sul Padre Kircher, che viene considerato letto ed interpretato non solo all'interno del suo specifico rapporto con la Compagnia ma con una chiave di lettura privilegiata, capace al contempo di affrontare la coeva storia sociale e culturale.

Il catalogo, di cui ci accingiamo a dare resoconto, è quel che è rimasto della mostra ospitata a Palazzo Venezia da Febbraio ad Aprile del 2001. Di difficile descrizione, senza che nessuno dei contributi venga penalizzato e ridotto a mero riassunto, pone l'accento sulla complessa e poliedrica personalità del gesuita, sul suo sterminato interesse ed enciclopedismo. Se fosse mutilato delle schede descrittive delle opere presenti nella mostra si presenterebbe come una autorevole monografia. Non essendo possibile dare una descrizione dettagliata di tutto il contenuto l'estensore di questa recensione si limiterà a fornirne la struttura e a sottolineare i campi di interesse specifico in cui gli autori si muovono.

Il catalogo si compone di otto sezioni, all'interno delle quali troviamo venticinque contributi. Seguono ai contributi le schede fotografiche e tecniche: dodici in totale. Gli interventi in ordine di paginazione:

Mark Lewis. Il suo intervento con chiarezza e buona capacità di sintesi ripercorre la storia della Compagnia di Gesù dai suoi "trionfi" fino al suo decadimento. L'autore ritiene importante far luce sullo stato politico e sociale in cui Kircher ha lavorato. Questo contributo, spaziando dall'Europa all'Asia giungendo fino alle Americhe analizza gli aspetti economici e commerciali del tempo.

Nicolini ripercorre la storia dei musei personalizzando il suo contributo con una particolare attenzione alla nascita del concetto di museo "pubblico." Museo come luogo sacro alle muse, come luogo di raccolta delle cose antiche. Kircher partecipa, con il suo modo di narrarci il mondo, all'evolversi dell'umanità. Nel suo alternarsi di luce ed ombra apprende e ci trasmette l'apoteosi del mondo. Gli oggetti, al mondo appartenenti, divengono bagaglio culturale per comprendere e dominare il divenire.

Findlen offre un dettagliato quadro della personalità di Kircher. Curioso padrone di casa del suo museo e perfetto ambasciatore dell'Ordine è il primo sperimentatore delle sue invenzioni (pg. 40). Il lascito di Alfonso Donnini alla Compagnia segna la fortuna del Kircher, investito della carica di "custode" dei beni dell'aristocratico. Unitamente inscindibili la collezione privata di Kircher e i beni dell'aristocratico prendono forma verso quello che, senza ombra di dubbio, fu considerato il museo più curioso e significativo del barocco. "Nessun visitatore straniero che non abbia visto il museo del Collegio Romano può affermare di essere stato veramente a Roma" (pg. 41). Antropologo *ante litteram* utilizzava gli oggetti provenienti dal mondo per affermare la presenza della Trinità in tutte le religioni del mondo. Chiude il contributo di Findlen una nota introduttiva al catalogo, curato da Giorgio De Sepi, dei visitatori del museo (12 volumi di scambi epistolari). Una lunga sezione è dedicata a Cristina di Svezia, la morte del museo coincide con quella del suo "inventore."

Nella sezione dedicata alla zoologia kircheriana, curata da Ernesto Capanna, malgrado le aspettative, di ritrovare una disordinata concitazione riguardante l'illustrazione dell' "Entrata degli animali nell'Arca," gli animali avanzano "absque ulla confusione," a coppie come suggerito dal testo sacro (Arca: 122). La rappresentazione di quest'ordine era nella prima sala della mostra ed alla pagina 170 del catalogo (schede).

Mastroianni fornisce una serie di elementi atti ad attribuire a Kircher l'autorità che indiscussamente il mondo seicentesco gli ha riconosciuto in campo esotico, e a tutto quello che a questo mondo era associato. Il contributo mira pertanto ad offrire minutamente elementi sulla sua attività di "orientalista." La teoria che Kircher voleva avvalorare era quella di una "conoscenza unitaria universale" alla base di tutte le culture dell'umanità. Il "suo" museo era teso e concepito secondo questi dettami e l'Oriente non era che un tassello dell'intero puzzle. Il volume *China illustrata* (1667) documenta la passione e la conoscenza per l'Oriente e pone il nostro autore tra gli iniziatori della comparazione religiosa.

Prendendo in prestito dal De Sepi il titolo *Oggetti stranieri proveniente da ogni parte del mondo* Cardarelli Antinori fornisce un dettaglio sugli oggetti provenienti d'oltreoceano confluiti al Museo Preistorico Pigorini di Roma, (classificati in due cataloghi De Sepi-Bonanni). Redatti con trenta anni di differenza presentano differenze inevitabili e tanto più evidenti se li si compara con l'altro inventario del Museo Pigorini. Un viaggio tutto da fare che aprirebbe certamente esplorazioni riguardanti non solo gli oggetti ma anche gli uomini che si adoperarono perché questi "oggetti stranieri" risiedessero a Roma.

Il legame tra Kircher ed il Messico è affrontato da Clara Bargellini che nelle pagine 86-91 (schede: 92-97) ci offre uno spaccato sui legami fra la cultura precolombiana e quella europea. Kircher approdò nella terra d'oltreoceano grazie a due personaggi: un creolo (Favián) ed un europeo (Guillot meglio noto in Messico come Francisco Ximénez). Dal primo ottiene doni: metalli preziosi, cioccolata, artigianato locale (in particolare quadri a mosaico composti di piume), dal secondo probabilmente notizie sulle missioni e divulgazione dei suoi testi. Essendo il Messico traietoria obbligata per il commercio tra l'Oriente e la Spagna la collezione kircheriana si arricchisce anche di oggetti provenienti dal Giappone e di animali sconosciuti in Europa (iguana, armadillo). Rispettando la teoria della reciprocità del dono come fondamento della bilateralità di tutte le relazioni sociali Kircher invia a sua volta: libri, macchine, apparecchi di ottica, stampe, immagini e reliquie come simboli della scienza europea e della religiosità cristiana. In realtà questo scambio rappresenta anche una fase importante nel processo di evangelizzazione ed acculturazione dell'intraprendente creolo che contagiato dal carisma di Kircher riferisce di aver ideato un museo ad imitazione di quello di Roma e fondato a Puebla una Cong-

regazione di sacerdoti. Per concludere altri due nomi ritornano significativi nel medesimo contesto: Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora e Suor Juana Inés de la Cruz.

Emetismo ed egittologia (101-41) è la sezione del catalogo curata nell'ordine da: Sergio Donadoni "I geroglifici di Athanasius Kircher" (101-110), Ingrid D. Rowland "Kircher Trismegisto" (113-21), Enrichetta Leospo "La collezione egizia del Museo Kircheriano" (125-30), Claudia Mazza "Le antichità imperiali e i culti orientali: l'Iseo Campense" (133-41).

Aprè la sezione IV: "Astronomia e scienze della terra" il contributo di Giuseppe Monaco. Il testo è arricchito da otto carte di tavola del Museo Astronomico e Copernicano di Roma. Orologi, lavagne sciatistiche, calendario gregoriano i soggetti rappresentati.

Dal tempo al favoloso occulto della terra sotterranea Nicoletta Morello passa in rassegna le fasi evolutive delle eruzioni vulcaniche (179-96). Riassumendo le conoscenze della tradizione filosofica classica riguardo i fenomeni "meteorologici"; passando da Seneca a Lucrezio ad Ovidio fino a Descartes riordina gli scritti e le teorie cui si era giunti. Ampio spazio è dedicato ai movimenti delle acque sotterranee correlati con i movimenti terrestri. Tutta la materia è trattata in modo esauriente da Kircher nella sua opera: *Mundus*.

In Sicilia Kircher sperimenta ed osserva i fenomeni di cui aveva soltanto letto. Grazie all'osservazione diretta e sul campo riesce a dare misure, a spiegare la tipologia del terreno del vulcano, a fornire elementi significativi per la spiegazione del fenomeno eruttivo. Trova interesse anche per i fenomeni delle correnti marine presenti nello stretto tra Scilla e Cariddi e tenta la misurazione della profondità marina, di ritorno per Napoli il terremoto calabro del 1638 lo sorprende in mare nelle vicinanze di Tropea.

Al pari dell'importanza che questa sezione rivestiva nella mostra anche nel catalogo un posto di tutto rilievo è riservato alle macchine ed alle "scoperte" scientifiche (207-73), corrispondente alla quinta sezione aperta dal contributo di Umberto Eco "Kircher tra steganografia e poligrafia." Dopo un'accurata descrizione delle nozioni di crittografia, poligrafia e steganografia—e del rapporto di quest'ultima con le scienze occulte come si credeva nel 1600—introduce il rapporto di Kircher con la materia. Kircher, staccandosi dalla tradizione magico-cabalistica, individua nella steganografia tutte le potenzialità di una lingua propria. Non solo è utile per leggere messaggi non in chiaro ma anche per scriverne. Grazie all'utilizzo comparato di due dizionari ed al latino, lingua di parametro tra le altre da questa discendente, Kircher sperimenta una nuova forma di comunicazione crittografata. I risultati di questi studi si trovano nel mss. Chigiano: "Novum hoc inventum quo omnia mundi idiomata ad unum reducuntur." Passando da Becher a Kircher attraverso Gaspar Schott e Leibniz Eco conclude allegando una essenziale Bibliografia di riferimento (209-13).

Michael John Gorman e Nick Wilding affrontano il tema: barocco e macchine. Il tentativo degli autori, peraltro riuscito, è quello di collocare queste bizzarre costruzioni meccaniche all'interno della cultura barocca e di spiegare il loro funzionamento e la loro ragion d'essere. Secondo gli autori la macchine di Kircher svolgevano una funzione fondante nell'individuazione del soggetto osservante ad una specifica classe sociale. Quasi un filtro per la formazione di un pubblico elitario. Essi ritengono utile riportare il catalogo delle macchine presenti nel Museo, curato da De Sepi (222-23). Sia per Clavius che per Kircher la raccolta di strumenti, macchine, oggetti e cose curiose aveva uno scopo preponderatamente didattico, per entrambi—secondo quanto ci documentano gli autori—la propria camera all'interno del Collegio Romano fu il primo spazio espositivo. Sembra che tra tutte le macchine presenti nel museo l'Oracolo Delfico suscitò particolare fascino ed interesse, ad esso è dedicato molto spazio ed attenzione (225-27). Il gemellaggio tra Kircher e Schott è abbondantemente documentato nelle pagine 229-30, in esse gli autori relazionano non solo della cooperazione tra i due gesuiti ma anche delle particolari macchine ideate e realizzate, un posto significativo è per le macchine idrauliche da giardino. Alla magia sono dedicate le colonne interne delle pagine 232-33, le relazioni riguardo questo argomento sono di Gaspar Schott. Con "Macchine miracolose" si chiude questo contributo impegnato a dimostrare che: "Le macchine di Kircher erano giochi che occupavano uno spazio ludico intermedio fra il regno demoniaco e quello sovranaturale." Due pagine di note documentano e rinviano a materiale d'archivio, testi kircheriani e saggi.

Sulla stessa linea, ossia nella comparazione tra Seicento macchine e scienze si muove Filippo Camerota (239-47). Dopo una breve introduzione alle macchine seicentesche—concepite e costruite non per compiere un lavoro ma piuttosto per generare immagini in grado di evocare sensazioni e stupore—l'autore è attento alle macchine ottiche. La camera oscura in particolare interessa le pagine 240-42 dove c'è anche qualche accenno alla lanterna magica ed al Proteo catottrico. Della teoria del suono, del vuoto e della musica (*Musurgia Universalis* 1650) si tratta nelle pagine 245-46. Riprende questo argomento in modo più dettagliato Roberto Zarpellon (261-73) di cui si relaziona appresso. La sezione delle schede di questo capitolo (248-56) illustra: la camera oscura, la lanterna magica, il Proteo catottrico, la colomba di Archita, la statua di Iside (curatori Cristina Candido e Monica Pugliara).

Attraverso lo studio di *Musurgia Universalis* Zarpellon affronta il legame tra Kircher e le conoscenze in campo musicale, acquisite fino a quel momento (261-73). Legando la musica all'affetto considera gli effetti benefici che questa riesce a provocare. Durante i quarantasei anni di permanenza a Roma Kircher pubblicò quaranta opere a stampa, coniugando musica e teatro scolare contribuì alla formazione dei giovani scolari del Collegio Romano. Una dettagliata descrizione dell'opera di Kircher (*Musurgia Universalis*) interessa la pagina 268 e

seguenti. Volendo proseguire nella descrizione dei quadri presenti nel Collegio Romano le schede descrittive sono alle pagine 292-323.

La settima sezione è dedicata all'Archeologia: oggetti e statue dell'antichità presenti nel Collegio Romano ed attualmente dislocati nelle varie gallerie del Museo Nazionale Romano.

Le trentadue opere che Kircher diede alla stampa si avvalgono di un potente strumento educativo: l'immagine e la sua forza evocativa. In questo contesto l'immagine, antiporta e frontespizio del libro, è strettamente legata al contenuto del volume stesso, è il primo approccio del lettore con la materia che il volume tratta. Angela Deutsch analizza la retorica iconografica attraverso lo studio di tredici frontespizi (più uno interno) divisi in quattro gruppi: opere "magnetiche," opere "ottiche e matematico-musicologiche," opere "linguistico-antropologiche" ed opere dedicate al disegno di una scienza universale (356-62). Più generosa nell'estensione si è dimostrata con le opere ottiche, matematico-musicologiche (*Musurgia Universalis*, *Phonurgia*, *Ars magna lucis*, *Arithmologia*). Una spiccata somiglianza tra i frontespizi dell'*Arithmologia* e quello della *Musurgia* induce l'autrice ad affermare che matematica e musica, "proporzioni e numeri" occupano per Kircher un posto centrale (358). Le opere egittologiche—rientranti nella sezione linguistico-antropologica—sono in totale la descrizione di tre frontespizi. Indice dei nomi: 365-73.

Istituto Storico Compagnia di Gesù (Roma)

Nicoletta Basilotta

Thomas M. McCoog, S.J.

## *A GUIDE TO JESUIT ARCHIVES*

*A Guide to Jesuit Archives* opens up and enhances research opportunities around the world for historians, linguists, theologians, anthropologists, philosophers, specialists in the natural and physical sciences, to make but a few areas in which this book will be of assistance.

*The Guide* presents data on the official archives of the ninety provinces and independent regions of the Society of Jesus on every continent as well as data on the central or Roman Archives of the Society.

I response to a questionnaire of eighteen items sent in five languages, English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish, the archivists of these collections responded with data on such items as location (address, telephone fax, e-mail, historical back-ground, conditions of use, acquisitions policies, and a description of the nature and extent of the archival material in the repositories. All the data in response to the questionnaire are presented in this book in English as well as in the languages in which the replies were originally sent.

*A Guide to Jesuit Archives* is the first joint publication of the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu (Rome) and The Institute of Jesuit Sources (St. Louis) and may be obtained from either. The American price is \$20 (plus postage) and the European price Euro 22 (plus postage).

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# JESUIT HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

## INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU

With tremendous pride and considerable relief, the Historical Institute announces the publication of the *Diccionario de Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*. This dictionary in four volumes (4,110 pages) was initiated by Charles E. O'Neill, S.J. in 1977 after the feasibility of such a project was discussed during the Thirty-Second General Congregation in 1975. Originally the small staff under Father O'Neill's direction, worked on English and Spanish editions simultaneously. In 1995, work on the English edition was suspended. Joaquín M. Domínguez, S.J., directed the Spanish edition. Approximately 700 authors contributed to the *Diccionario*. There are approximately 5700 articles on Jesuits, Jesuit terminology, other persons important for Jesuit history, and short histories of different provinces and missions. Comillas University Press published the work. The set costs Euro 300 (plus postage) and can be ordered either from Comillas University, <coria@bib.upco.es>, or the Jesuit Historical Institute, <ihsiroma@sjcuria.org>.

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## BIBLIOTHECA INSTITUTI HISTORICI SOCIETATIS IESU (BIHSI)

The Historical Institute announces the publication of two new volumes in the BIHSI series.

*Le 'De Controversia Janseniana Historia' du P. François De Cleyn, S.J. [1645]. Les premières années du jansénisme belge* by Léon Wullaume, S.J. BIHSI 53. The price is Euro 24.

*Il Teatro degli Argomenti: Gli scenari seicenteschi del teatro gesuitico romano. Catalogo analitico* by Bruna Filippi, BIHSI 54. The price is Euro 42.

## SUBSIDIA AD HISTORIAM S.I.

Two new volumes have appeared in the series *Subsidia ad historiam S.I.*

*Epistolae Kircherianae: Index Alphabeticus et Index Geographicus* by Wiktor Gramatowski, S.J., and Marjan Rebernik. *Subsidia ad historiam S.I.* 11. The price is Euro 16.

*A Guide to Jesuit Archives* by Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. *Subsidia ad historiam S.I.* 12. This volume was published jointly with The Institute of Jesuit Sources (St. Louis). The price is Euro 22.

## FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

In the calendar year 2002, the Historical Institute anticipates the publication of at least five new volumes. New volumes in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* will be Charles Libois, S.J., *Monumenta Proximi Orientis V (1592-1700)* and John W. Witek, S.J., and Joseph S. Sebes, S.J., *Monumenta Sinica I (1546-1562)*. Enrique García Hernán should complete the first volume of his edition of documents pertinent to St. Francis Borgia (see *sopra*, pp. 141-48). The Historical Institute will co-publish his edition with the Generalitat Valenciana (Spain). In collaboration with the Jesuit Province of The Netherlands, the Historical Institute will publish *Gids voor de geschiedenis van de jezuïeten in Nederland 1850-2000/A Guide to the History of the Jesuits in the Netherlands 1850-2000* as a *Subsidia ad Historiam S.I.* volume in April. Finally, in collaboration with The Institute of Jesuit Sources, the Institute will publish *The Mercurian Project: 'Forming Rather than Reforming' the Society of Jesus (1573-1580)* with articles by Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Paul Begheyn, S.J., Francesco C. Cesareo, Ronald Cueto, John Patrick Donnelly, S.J., Philip Endean, S.J., Dennis Flynn, Mario Fois, S.J., Paul F. Grendler, Rita Haub, James F. Keenan, S.J., Philippe Lécivain, S.J., Mark A. Lewis, S.J., Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., A. Lynn Martin, Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J., Alida C. Metcalf, Susan Spruell Mobley, Thomas J. Morrissey, S.J., Markus Pillat, S.J., Manuel Ruiz Jurado, S.J., Flavio Rurale, Jennifer D. Selwyn, Nuno da Silva Gonçalves, S.J., Antoni Üçerler, S.J., José Vaz de Carvalho, S.J., John W. Witek, S.J., and A.D. Wright in the *BIHISI* series.

Web-page. Up-to-date information about the Jesuit Historical Institute and related Jesuit activities can be found on the Institute's web-page in English and Spanish:

<http://space.tin.it/scuola/mmorales/ihsi.html>

## CONFERENCES

### ROME

The first conference of archivists of Jesuit provinces and institutions was held in Rome in late October of 2001. Nearly seventy archivists gathered to hear papers by Archbishop Francesco Marchesano, President of the Pontificia Commissione per Beni Culturali della Chiesa and author of "The Pastoral Function of Church Archives," Father Sergio Pagano, B., Prefect of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Dr. Eugenio Lo Sardo, Inspector General of the Ufficio Centrale Beni Archivistici of the Ministero per I Beni e le Attività Culturali of Italy, Robert Geisinger, S.J., Procurator General of the Society of Jesus, Nicolás Verástegui, S.J., former sub-secretary of the Society of Jesus and currently archivist of the Castile Province, and Joseph De Cock, S.J., Director of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu. The Jesuit Historical Institute will publish the principal addresses along with a few of the shorter interventions in English, Spanish and Italian editions.

### PARMA

The University hosted a conference on "Gesuiti e Università in Europa (secoli XVI-XVIII)" from 13 to 15 December 2001. The following were the principal addresses:

Dominique Julia (Parigi), "Gesuiti e università: posizioni di problemi"

Paul Grendler (Toronto), "I tentativi dei gesuiti di entrare nelle università italiane tra '500 e '600"

Flavio Rurale (Udine), "Milano-Mantova: conflitti culturali e politici nei collegi-università della Compagnia di Gesù"

Maurizio Sangalli (Siena), "Gesuiti senza università: fortune e sfortune della Compagnia di Gesù nella Repubblica di Venezia tra Seicento e Settecento"

Andrea Romano (Messina), "Il Collegium Prototypum di Messina"

Rainer Müller (Eichstätt), "Universities and Jesuits in the Imperial Territories"

Simona Negruzzo (Pavia), "I collegi dei gesuiti in Alsazia: un assedio educativo"

Annie Bruter (Parigi), "Les relations entre le collège jésuite de Paris et l'Université, et le mythe du "complot" jésuite, XVIe-XIXe siècles"

Istvan Gyorgy Toth (Budapest), "Accademia, università, ginnasio. Educazione e gesuiti nell' Europa centrale"

Toon Quaghebeur (Lovanio), "L'écho européen du conflit entre les jésuites et l'Université de Louvain: 1586-1686"

Enrique Gonzalez Gonzalez (Città del Messico), "Precariedad jurídica de las Universidades jesuíticas en el Nuevo Mundo"

Antonio Trampus (Venezia), "I gesuiti e la riforma delle università in Austria nel secondo Settecento"

Sergio Di Noto Marella (Parma), "Il Collegio dei giuristi di Parma"

Enrico Sandrini (Parma), "Il Collegio dei medici di Parma"

Denise Aricò (Bologna), "Politici e confessori alla corte di Ranuccio Farnese: i gesuiti Mario Bettini e Jean Verviers"

Miriam Turrini (Pavia), "Il 'metodo stabile' per regolare il Collegio dei Nobili di Parma ad inizi Settecento"

Giovanni Gonzi (Parma), "Le Costituzioni di Ranuccio I e le Costituzioni paciaudiane del 1768"

Richard Bösel (Vienna-Roma), "Progettare una chiesa: osservazioni sulla tipologia architettonica gesuitica"

Maria Giovanna Arrigoni (Parma), "Il lascito di Giovanni Federico Cusani per la costruzione del Collegio S. Rocco in Parma"

Ugo Baldini (Padova), "Parma e la scuola scientifica emiliana"

Veronica Gavagna (Pavia), "Paolo Casati e la polemica sul vuoto"

Alessandra Fiocca (Ferrara), "Ferrara e i gesuiti periti in materia di acque"

Maria Teresa Borgato (Ferrara), "N. Cabeo tra teorie ed esperimenti"

Mordechai Feingold (Blacksburg, Virginia), "Jesuit Science in Early Modern England"

Eberhard Knobloch (Berlino), "Clavius's Textbooks and His Knowledge of Arabic Science"

Victor Navarro Brotons (Valencia), "Scientific Activity in Spain and the Role of the Jesuits"

Antonella Romano (Parigi), "I Gesuiti nella cultura scientifica francese in età moderna"

## TOKYO

On 25 and 26 January 2002, the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo held a symposium on "The Past, Present and Future of History and Historical Sources" to commemorate 100 years of publications of the Historiographical Institute. M. Antoni Üçerler, S.J., a corresponding member of the Jesuit Historical Institute, an advisory editor of the *AHSI*, and a permanent member of the faculty of Sophia University (Tokyo), spoke "Critical Documentary Editing at the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome: Past, Present, and Future." In recognition of the close collaboration between the host Institute and the Jesuit Historical Institute on the publication of documents relevant for the history of Christianity in Japan and, specifically, the Society of Jesus, Mark A. Lewis, S.J., Director of the Jesuit Historical Institute, was an invited guest.

## SAN FRANCISCO

One session at the 116th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association held in San Francisco from 3-6 January, dealt with the Society of Jesus:

Jesuits and the Frontiers of Science in China:

New Perspectives in the History of Science and Medicine

Chair: Norton Wise, University of California at Los Angeles

Papers: Roger Hart, University of Texas at Austin, "Imagining Civilizations: China, the West, and Their First Encounter"

Benjamin A. Elman, University of California at Los Angeles, "Jesuit Scientia and Natural Studies in Late Imperial China"

Florence Hsia, University of Wisconsin at Madison, "French Jesuits and Enlightenment Histories of Chinese Science"

Ruth Rogaski, Princeton University, "'The Mechanics of Circulation': The Jesuit Transmission of Chinese Exercises for Health"

Comment: Norton Wise

## SCOTTSDALE

Renaissance Society of America

Scottsdale/Tempe, Arizona, 11-13 April 2002

Papers scheduled for presentation at the annual conference of the

Renaissance Society of America of possible interest to historians of the Society of Jesus are:

Gregory Kneidel, "Southwell and the Poetics of Scandal"

Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "Art and Jesuit Sodalities in Germany."

One session, "Jesuits and Franciscans in 16th and 17th Century France, organized by Larissa Taylor and chaired by Craig E. Harline, includes

Megan Armstrong, "Order in Disorder: The French Observant Friars and their Generals during the Sixteenth Century"

Eric Nelson, "Competing Demands for Obedience: The Society of Jesus and the Oath before the Paris parlement in 1612"

Thomas Worcester, S.J., "A Gentle Rigor? Etienne Binet and Jesuit Superiors in Early 17th Century France."

## SHEFFIELD

Conscience and the Early Modern World: 1500-1800

University of Sheffield, June 2002

To the early modern mind the conscience was a powerful mediator between God and man, directing and judging moral actions. It not only governed the relationship between the human and the divine but the relationship between the individual and society. The conscience emerged as a potent concept on a variety of discourses and literary genres: casuistry, advice to princes, economic treatises and political pamphlets. No part of human experience was seen as being beyond the jurisdiction of the conscience. All moral actions raised questions of conscience and, as a moral action was frequently defined as any act of voluntary human agency, the range and number of possible cases of conscience was almost limitless.

Casuists were called upon to resolve queries of conscience arising in every area of private and public life. Popes, confessors, and theologians dispensed casuistic advice to princes and city magistrates on matters of state. Political authors found casuistic treatises an ideal source for resolving questions of allegiance. Pamphlet literature in political controversies frequently appeared as printed cases of conscience. Individuals torn between religious and political allegiances would quiz their consciences and use casuistic strategies to make up their minds. Whether probing their stance on religious dogma and political loyalty or examining their own mind so as to recover a moral equilibrium disturbed by the state of their domestic and marital affairs, individuals wittingly or unwittingly "wrote themselves." Confronted with insights into the workings

of the order of nature opened by new methods of scientific enquiry, scholars sought to find means and ways to link heterodox knowledge to orthodox attitudes.

As a concept with currency in early modern thought as a whole, the notion of the conscience was filtered through and affected by its specific geographical, political, religious and social contexts. Consequently, this conference will treat religious history, political thought, early modern science and medicine, moral regulation, drama and literature. Special interests are the relationship between Europe and the New World, similarities and differences between Catholic and reformed casuistry, similarities and differences between Christian and non-Christian notions of conscience.

For more information contact:

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## BOSTON

### The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts (1540-1773), II

An international conference entitled "The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts (1540-1773), II" will be held at Boston College from 5 June until 9 June 2002. For further information and a copy of the program, please contact Ms. Patricia Longbottom, Conference Coordinator, Department of Music, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 02167; tel. (1-617) 552-8720; FAX (1-617) 552-3807; e-mail: <Longbott@BC.edu>. For the programme see *AHSI* 70 (2001) 604-09 or consult <http://jesuitconference.bc.edu>.

## AWARDS

El Padre Miquel Batllori, dos veces editor de la *AHSI* y miembro emérito del Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, ha recibido en Madrid el premio Nacional de las Letras 2001. De esta forma el Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deportes quiere reconocer la larga trayectoria literaria e intelectual del P. Batllori. Licenciado en Filosofía y Letras, en Derecho y en Teología y doctor en Historia, pertenece a la Compañía de Jesús desde 1928. Es Decano de la Real Academia de la Historia, miembro del Institut d'Estudis Catalans, de la Academia Pontaniana de Nápoles y de todas las Academias Nacionales de Hispanoamérica. Ha sido profesor, entre otros centros, en la Pontificia Universidad Gregoriana, de Roma. Ha publicado más de mil títulos y muchas

de sus obras han sido publicadas o traducidas al catalán, castellano, italiano, inglés, alemán y portugués. Actualmente trabaja en la publicación del volumen 17 de sus obras completas que comprenderán 19 volúmenes.

## DEATHS

Santiago Lucas Carro, S.J. (1903-2001)

(Dall' omelia del P. Urbano Valero, S.I., al suo funerale 17 ottobre 2001)

Il 15 ottobre 2001, quando alle 7.30 di sera alcuni di noi scendevamo a cena, incontrammo il P. Delegato e il suo Socio che stavano appendendo alla bacheca della Curia una lettera indirizzata alle comunità della Delegazione, che diceva così: "oggi alle ore 18.30, è morto nell'infermeria della Delegazione il Fratel Santiago Lucas (CAS, 99/81), della comunità della Residenza San Pietro Canisio (Casa degli Scrittori)." Non saranno stati pochi per la verità nella stessa Delegazione, e non soltanto fra i novissimi, che avranno chiesto, "ma chi era questo Fratel Lucas?" Infatti Fratel Lucas negli ultimi quindici anni circa della sua vita, era un essere invisibile, nascosto nell'infermeria, primo nella Curia, in una camera di rimpetto a quella occupata dal P. Arrupe per ben dieci anni, e poi nella Casa degli Scrittori. Ma per ben 24 anni collaborò col Padre Pietro Tacchi Venturi, prima nel Gesù e poi nella Curia, aiutandolo nella stesura della Storia della Compagnia nell'Assistenza d'Italia. Dal 1956 fino alla sua malattia aiutò ugualmente, nella stessa mansione, il P. Mario Scaduto principalmente nella composizione delle sue grandi opere sul Láinez e sul Borgia, in continuazione di quella Storia. Dunque un membro emerito e bene-merito dell'Istituto Storico della Compagnia di Gesù a pieno diritto.

Fratel Lucas nacque l'11 febbraio 1903 a Santa Eulalia de Tábara, nella Provincia di Zamora, nell'altipiano castigliano (Spagna), terra allora generosa nella produzione di grano (o come dicano i loro abitanti in un modo in traducibile, "*tierra de pan llevar*"); e anche terra abbondante di fede, dalla quale sorsero in tempi passati non poche vocazioni sacerdotali e religiose anche per la Compagnia (tra le quali alcuni parenti prossimi di Fratel Lucas). Tre giorni dopo la nascita, come di consueto al momento in quelle terre, fu battezzato. Frequentò la scuola del villaggio e incominciò ad aiutare i genitori nel lavoro della terra. A 18 anni entrò in Compagnia come Fratello. La sua storia in essa, quella che si scrive e si racconta, occupa poche righe. Due anni nella Residenza di Palencia come portinaio; altri due anni a La Coruña (Galicia), occupato nei lavori domestici anche nella Residenza. Il 14 maggio 1925—settantetre anni fa!—arrivò a Roma, e, come lui raccontava, da quel momento mai più tornò in Spagna. Da allora viene successivamente presentato nei cataloghi annui come "*Ammanuensis pro Historia Assistentiae Italiae*." Il P. Scaduto si riferisce a lui in termini di ringraziamento nel suo secondo volume sul Láinez, come, "all'istan-



cabile amanuense Fr. Santiago Lucas, compagno di fatica di tutti i giorni." E per la verità, riflettendo su queste vicende uno si chiede se quei grandi uomini avrebbero potuto portare a compimento le loro stupende opere, senza l'aiuto nascosto e paziente del suo fedelissimo compagno.

Curia Generalizia, Roma

Urbano Valero, S.J.

### James J. Hennesey, S.J. (1926-2001)

James J. Hennesey, S.J., died on September 27, 2001, at the Murray-Weigel Infirmary at Fordham University after a long battle with cancer. Born in Jersey City on October 6, 1926, he entered the Society of Jesus on August 14, 1943 at St. Andrew's Novitiate, Poughkeepsie, NY. During his philosophical studies at West Baden, IN, he took a leave of absence from the Society to enter the Trappists. After one year, he returned to the Society, completed his philosophical studies at Woodstock College in Maryland, taught for three years at Canisius High School in Buffalo, and then returned for theological studies at Woodstock, where he was ordained on June 22, 1957. After completing tertianship in Ireland in 1959, he did his doctorate in Church History at the Catholic University of America under the direction of Monsignor John Tracy Ellis. His dissertation on *Vatican Council I: The American Experience*, published in 1963, remains the most comprehensive study of the role of American bishops at that Council and is a model of the integration of Church History with theology. The author of over two hundred articles illustrating the interrelationship between history and theology, he also published *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* in 1981.

After finishing his doctorate in 1962, Father Hennesey's first teaching assignment was at the Jesuit philosophate at Shrub Oak, NY, where he influenced several students to pursue the study of American Catholic history. He then taught at Fordham University, where he also served as rector of the Jesuit community, and was socius to the New York provincial. In 1971, he began teaching at the Jesuit School of Theology in Berkeley, CA, before becoming president of the Jesuit School of Theology in Chicago, where he suffered a stroke in 1975. Upon his recovery, he became professor in the theology department at Boston College and later rector of the Jesuit community, first, of Canisius College and, later, of St. Peter's College in Jersey City. His failing health forced him to retire and take up residence in LeMoyne College in Syracuse, but he still taught the history of the Jesuits to the novices in the nearby novitiate and commuted to Buffalo to teach in Christ the King Seminary. In the fall of 1999, he discovered he had cancer and moved to the province infirmary.

Jim is fondly remembered by his students as a constructive critic of their

writing and as a master of story-telling, like Ellis, his mentor. He was intensely loyal not only to his students but also to his own roots. He was proud of his Jersey City birth and his family, particularly his brother and two sisters and his nephews and nieces.

University of Virginia, Charlottesville

Gerald P. Fogarty, S.J.

### Walter Hanisch Espindola, S.J. (1916-2001)

Falleció en Santiago de Chile, el sábado 26 de agosto de 2001, el Padre Walter Hanisch Espíndola, S.J. Historiador chileno de renombre, en 1996 recibió el Premio Nacional de Historia de su país. Al recibirlo el P. Hanisch dijo: "Esto es la voluntad de Dios [pero por Dios, que es linda la voluntad de Él]" El Premio Nacional de Historia, que vino acompañado de una pensión mensual vitalicia, solo fue uno de los muchos honores que el recibió. En 1980 había recibido la Condecoración a la Orden de Andrés Bello en Venezuela, desde 1969 fue miembro de la Academia Chilena de la Historia, y pertenecía a la Sociedad Chilena de Historia y Geografía (1957) y era Miembro Correspondiente de la Real Academia de la Historia en Madrid (1974). Fue Profesor titular en el Instituto de Historia de la Universidad Católica de Chile además de ser profesor en otras instituciones de Chile.

De 1970 a 1978 vivió en la Casa de Escritores de Roma como investigador y escritor en el Instituto Histórico. Se proponía publicar *Monumenta Chiliensis*, pero el proyecto no alcanzó llegar a la luz del día por diversas razones. De todas maneras el Padre Hanisch pudo copiar muchas colecciones de documentos que han quedado empastados, aunque no publicados, y que ahora están a disposición de investigadores en los Archivos de la Provincia Chilena y muchos de ellos en la Biblioteca San Ignacio en Santiago. Además colaboró con P. Félix Zubillaga en editar el libro, *Guía Manual de los Documentos Históricos de la Compañía de Jesús de los Cien Primeros Volúmenes* (Roma: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1971).

En la ciudad de Santiago de Chile el Padre Hanisch nació en 1916, el segundo de los once hijos que trajeron al mundo Otto Hanisch y Lia Espindola. Cursó sus estudios preparatorios y humanidades en el Seminario de los Santos Angeles Custodios de la Arquidiócesis de Santiago entre los años 1924 y 1934. Siguió con sus estudios de teología en la Facultad de Teología de la Universidad Católica donde consiguió el grado de Bachiller en Teología el año 1938. El mismo año entró la Compañía de Jesús en Chillán. Después del terremoto de 1939 terminó su noviciado en Calera de Tango y Marruecos y pronunció sus votos de biennio en 1941. Hizo su magisterio en el Colegio San Ignacio dando clases de ciencias naturales primero, y después historia, castellano y religión. En 1945 se fue al Colegio Máximo en San Miguel, Argentina, donde recibió su

licenciatura de teología el año 1946, siendo ordenado sacerdote el mismo año. Después de dos años en el Colegio San Ignacio de Santiago viajó a Uruguay, para pasar un año en su tercera probación bajo la dirección del P. Fernando Krebs.

En 1950 el Padre Hanisch empezó una larga época como profesor y prefecto de división en el Colegio San Ignacio en Santiago. Después de varios años, impulsado por los consejos de su amigo, el historiador Jaime Ezyaguirre, comenzó escribir y publicar. El año 1963 fueron publicados sus primeros libros importantes, *Peumo: historia de una Parroquia, 1662-1962* (Santiago: Universidad Católica de Chile, 1963) y *En Torno a la Filosofía en Chile, 1594-1810* (Santiago: Universidad Católica de Chile, 1963), y en seguida los libros abrieron las puertas de la Universidad. Continuó en el Colegio San Ignacio, pero también se convirtió en profesor universitario. En 1965 partió a Europa donde permaneció hasta el año 1968, revisando y trabajando en los archivos de Roma, Córdoba, Sevilla y muchas otras ciudades, y de 1968 a 1970 vivió en la residencia San Ignacio en Santiago, dedicado a la investigación y a la enseñanza en el Instituto de Historia de la Universidad Católica de Chile. En ese tiempo fue nombrado Miembro de la Academia Chilena de Historia y del Instituto O'Higginiano. Posteriormente vivió en la Casa de Escritores de Roma como investigador y escritor en el Instituto Histórico de la Compañía.

A la vuelta a Chile en 1979 tomó otra vez la docencia en el Instituto de Historia de la Universidad Católica de Chile, dirigiendo numerosos seminarios y tesis. Al mismo tiempo el P. Hanisch publicó mucho en las revistas académicas del país, como en *Historia, Revista Universitaria, Boletín De La Academia Chilena De La Historia, Anales De La Universidad De Chile* entre otros. También publicó varios libros y presentó ponencias en Congresos de historia. Se encontraron sus temas favoritas en la historia de la Compañía en Chile y los Jesuitas famosos en la historia del país como Ovalle, Molina, Diego de Rosales, Lacunza y otros. Su trabajo intelectual a lo largo de los años se tradujo en más de 150 libros y artículos publicados durante los años. Gracias a la petición del Provincial Juan Díaz, durante los últimos dos años trabajó en el ordenamiento y clasificación de sus escritos, tanto los publicados como los inéditos. Con permiso del P. Provincial en los últimos meses de su vida había preparado los pasos para entregar al Archivo Nacional de Chile sus ficheros con datos de investigación. Todo el cuerpo de sus escritos publicados ya están en los Archivos de la Provincia y en la Biblioteca de la Provincia hay ejemplares de muchos.

Pero no todo fue enseñar, investigar y escribir. Lo pastoral también fue parte de su vida. En los años de docencia en el Colegio San Ignacio compartía con otros compañeros dando misiones en los fundos del valle central. Durante bastante tiempo fué capellán del Hospital Clínico de la Universidad Católica y

cooperó en la Parroquia de la Vera Cruz. Dentro de la Comunidad Jesuita como en las aulas de las Universidades era un conversador incansable, hasta el punto que había que tener cuidado en preguntarle ya que, para contestar, el Padre tenía no sólo las respuestas, sino también muchas anécdotas para prolongar una conversación indefinidamente. Siempre fué muy generoso para compartir sus conocimientos con los demás, historiadores, amigos y Jesuitas. Fué gran hombre y buen Jesuita. Q.E.P.D.

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## PREFACE

Anniversaries can even escape the attention of historians. Last year, at the conference of Jesuit archivists, someone asked me how the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* would commemorate the 450th anniversary of the death of St. Francis Xavier. Nothing had been planned, but in subsequent discussions, members of the Institutum Historicum agreed that something should be done despite the imminence of the celebration. As I looked for authors willing to write on aspects of the life and influence of Xavier within a very strict time frame, Dr. Rita Haub proposed that the *AHSI* publish English translations (or in the case of the contribution by Paul Begheyn, S.J., the English original) of four articles included in a volume edited by her and Julius Oswald, S.J.: *Franz Xaver-Patron der Missionen. Festschrift zum 450. Todestag* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2002). With these four articles, each one revised and edited for the *AHSI*, providing the foundation, I invited Dr. Anita Mancina and Fathers Jesús López-Gay, S.J., and Fernando García Gutiérrez, S.J., to return to themes and subjects previously treated. I thank them for their willingness to produce articles within such a limited period of time.

Another commemoration nearly went unnoticed: the 200th anniversary of the election of Gabriel Gruber as Father General of the Society of Jesus in White Russia. Marek Inglot, S.J., author of *La Compagnia di Gesù nell'Impero Russo (1772-1820) e la sua parte nella restaurazione generale della Compagnia* (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1997) and ordinary member of the Institutum Historicum, eagerly returned to a subject he knows well.

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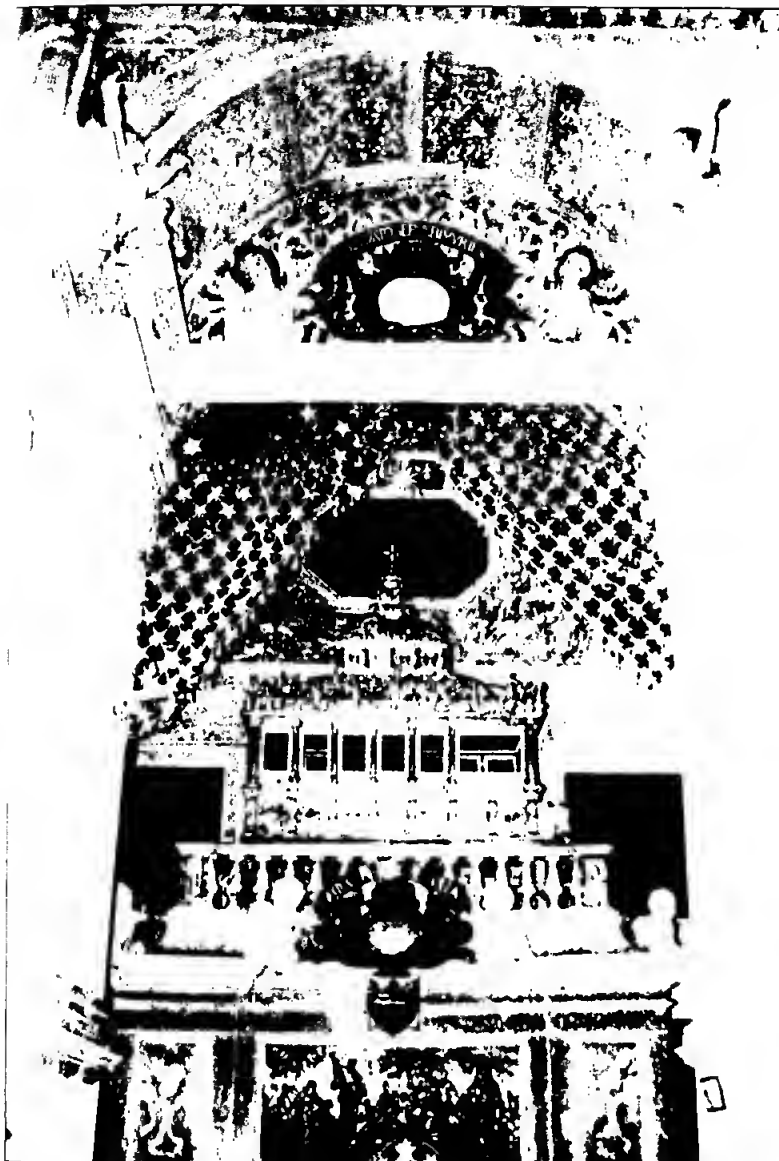


FIGURE 1



FIGURE 2



FIGURE 3



FIGURE 4

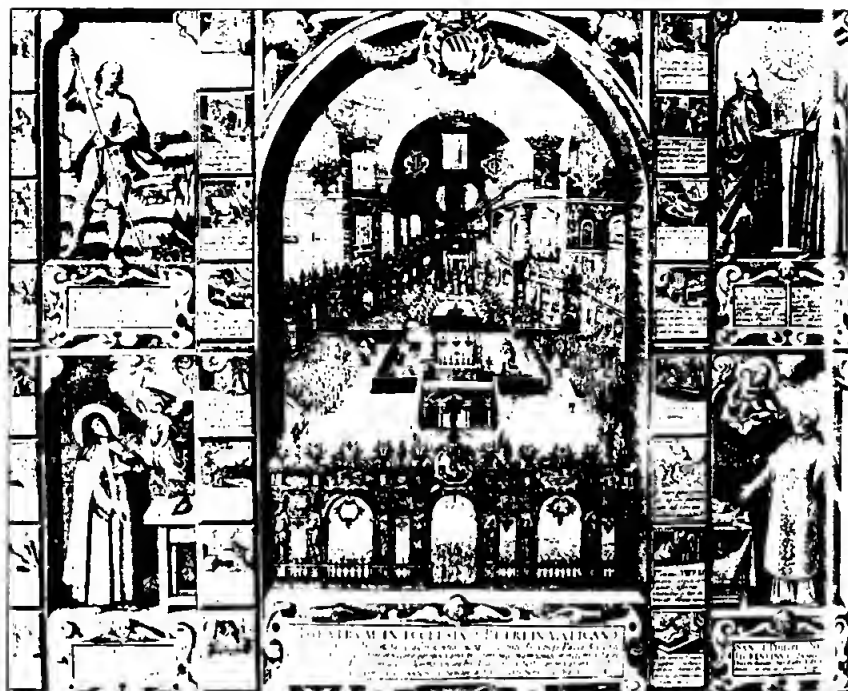


FIGURE 5



FIGURE 6



FIGURE 7



FIGURE 8





FIGURE 9



FIGURE 10



FIGURE 11



FIGURE 12



FIGURE 13

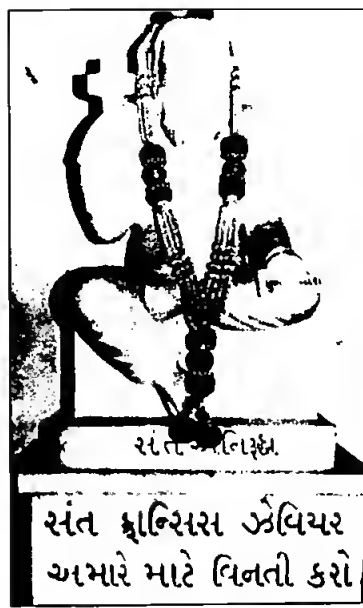


FIGURE 14



FIGURE 15



BERNARDVS XAVIERIV

FIGURE 16



FIGURE 17



FIGURE 18





FIGURE 19



FIGURE 20



FIGURE 21

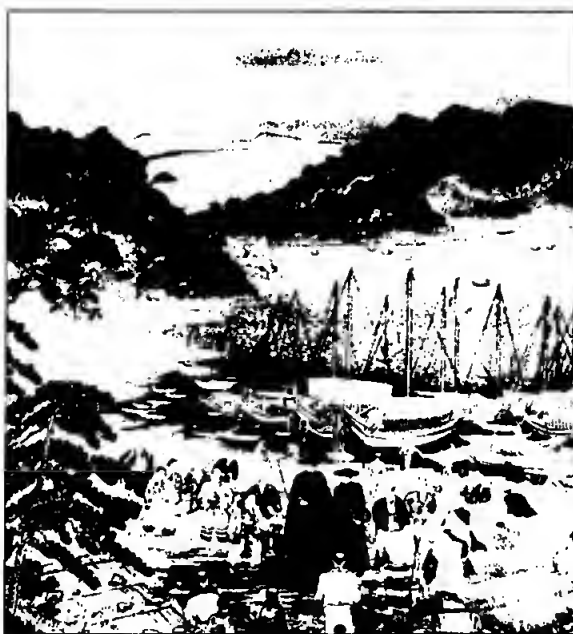


FIGURE 22



FIGURE 23



FIGURE 24

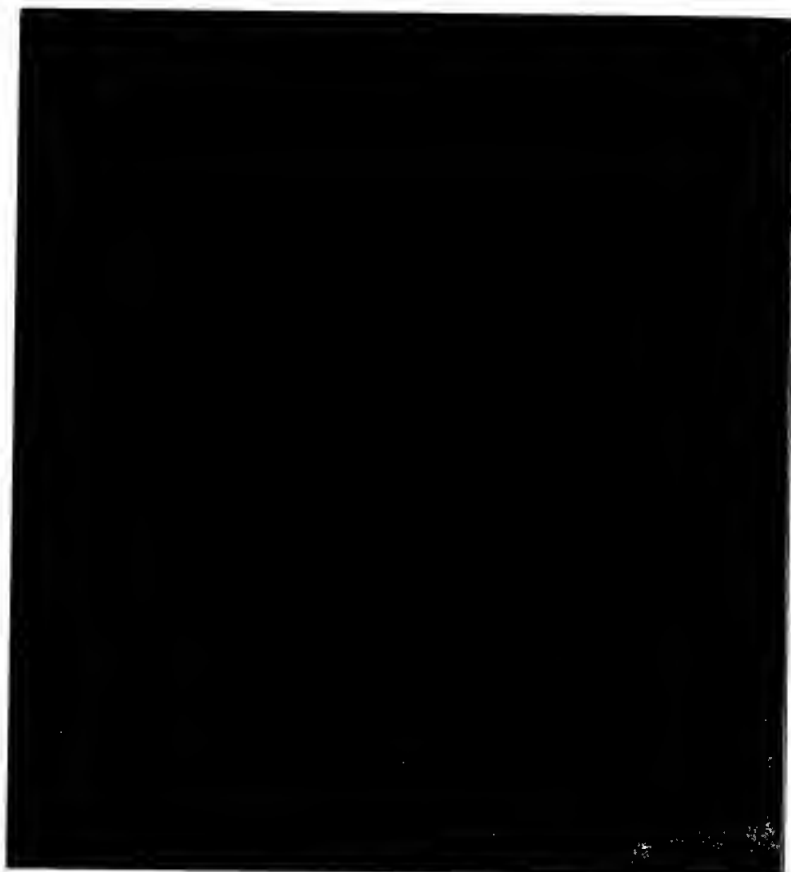


FIGURE 25



FIGURE 26

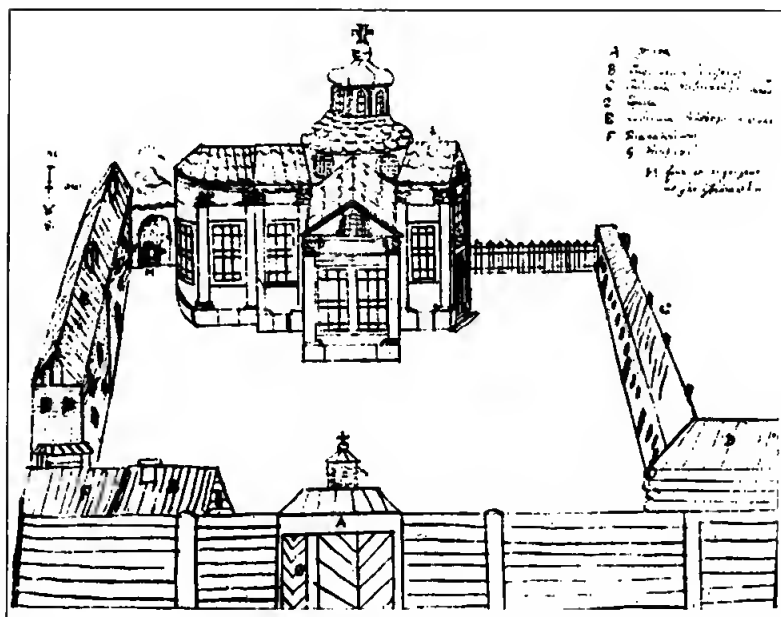


FIGURE 27

# FRANCIS XAVIER: AN INTRODUCTORY LIFE

Rita Haub\*

The apostolic ideal of the Jesuit order can be traced back to its founder Ignatius of Loyola and is marked by the willingness to do missionary work. After professing the vow of obedience, each member of the order has the duty to fulfil three apostolic aims: deepening, defending, and propagating the faith. Spreading the faith therefore is of equal importance as the other two goals; the vow of obedience is at the same time a vow to do missionary work, and the call to join the Jesuit order is at the same time a vocation to do missionary work.<sup>1</sup>

Ignatius of Loyola, born of a well known Basque aristocratic family, was wounded badly, defending the castle of Pamplona in 1521. During the long months of recovery, he decided to abandon his military career and to devote his entire future to serving God. During his studies at the University of Paris, he met Francis Xavier. With Xavier and five other friends, he designed a plan which eventuated in the foundation of the order.<sup>2</sup> To deepen their bond, the seven friends vowed at Montmartre on 15 August 1534 to live in poverty and

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\* A professional historian, Dr. Rita Haub is Archivist of the Southern German Province of the Society of Jesus. She and Julius Oswald, S.J., edited *Francis Xavier – Patron der Missionen. Festschrift zum 450. Todestag* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2002), the fourth volume in the series *Jesuitica. Quellen und Studien zu Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur der Gesellschaft Jesu im deutschsprachigen Raum*. This article is an edited English version of a piece originally published in that volume (pp. 13-38). Dr. Haub thanks David Collins, S.J., for translating the article into English.

<sup>1</sup> Regarding Jesuit mission, see Joseph Albert Otto, *Kirche im Wachsen. Vierhundert Jahre Jesuitenorden im Dienste der Weltmission* (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1940); Alphons Vöth, "Missionen," in Ludwig Koch, S.J., *Jesuiten-Lexikon. Die Gesellschaft Jesu einst und jetzt* (Paderborn: Bonifacius, 1934) pp. 1206-212.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding Ignatius and the foundation of the Society, see Stefan Kiechle, *Ignatius von Loyola. Meister der Spiritualität* (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 2001); Andreas Falkner and Paul Imhof, eds., *Ignatius von Loyola und die Gesellschaft Jesu 1491-1556* (Würzburg: Echter, 1990); André Ravier, S.J., *Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1987); John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

chastity, and to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. They also pronounced a vow to consider working with "heathens" a missionary enterprise. Persistent wars with the Turks prevented the execution of their plan to go to the Holy Land. On 15 April 1539 the small group ratified their decision to remain united despite their dispersal, with a solemn vow and so laid the foundation for a new order, calling it the Society of Jesus (*Societas Jesu*). In their discussion over the draft of regulations for the order, they requested of each prospective member the utmost willingness to do missionary work even if, as they expressed it in the "Formula of the Institute," they were sent "among the Turks or any other infidels, even those who live in the region."<sup>3</sup> Papal confirmation followed on 27 September 1540. According to the same Formula, this new order was founded primarily:

to strive especially for the defense and propagation of the faith and for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine, by means of public preaching, lectures, and any other ministration whatsoever of the word of God, and further by means of the Spiritual Exercises, the education of children and unlettered persons in Christianity, and the spiritual consolation of Christ's faithful through hearing confessions and administering the other sacraments.<sup>4</sup>

Jesuit missionary activity in the East began in 1541 with Francis Xavier's departure from Lisbon on a ship to India. He landed in Goa a year later. In 1549, he entered Japan and in the same year was appointed the first provincial of the Province of India. The extent of his work reached from the Cape of Good Hope to far away China. Francis Xavier served as a model by his own example and style of evangelization, adopting certain values and customs of the regions in which he worked. He became a model for all missionaries, ambassadors of European culture at that time. He was the first in a long line of Jesuit missionaries, preaching Christianity throughout the East. With his vigour, his Basque temperament, his organisational talent and healthy optimism, he had opened gates to the Indian, Indonesian, Japanese and Chinese world, and developed ways for a modern mission encircling the world, marked by accommodation, i.e., adoption of customs, language and ways of thinking of native peoples.

For Europeans in the 15th and 16th centuries, "India" was not just a geographical region, but the embodiment of all wonders and riches beyond their frontiers. The quest for a safer, quicker trip was the motivation behind Christopher Columbus's journey across the Atlantic and his consequent

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<sup>3</sup> Saint Ignatius of Loyola, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. Trans. George E. Ganss, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970) [4] p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Ignatius Loyola, *Constitutions*, [3] pp. 66-67.



"discovery" of America. Too often Columbus's evangelical aspirations are forgotten: he wanted to be a true "Christophorus," someone who carried Christ across the seas to all peoples. He died the year Xavier was born.

Francisco de Yasu y Xavier<sup>5</sup> was born on 7 April 1506 at the maternal ancestral castle Xavier in Navarre<sup>6</sup> and was baptised Francisco after Francis of Assisi. He was descended from Basque ancient aristocracy. His father, Don Juan de Yasu, was a doctor of Law at the university of Bologna and held high royal offices as minister of finance and as chairman of the Council of Navarre. His mother, Donna Maria Aznarez de Sada, Xavier y Azpilcueta, was the only heiress of one of the most ancient noble families in the country, a family that could trace its pedigree back to Carolingian times. Her dowry included the two palaces Azpilcueta and Xavier.

At the age of 19, Francis went to Paris to study. In the lecture halls as well as on the fields of athletic competition, his achievements were marked by strong mental powers, industriousness, and intelligence. He was also somewhat vain with a longing for worldly honour and dignity. He was proud of his noble blood, and lived accordingly. He was graduated with a degree in philosophy, and in 1530 he attained a master's of arts. He aimed for a doctorate after which he would receive a well-endowed prebendary as a canon of Pamplona. That income would provide a firm foundation for a prestigious life. As we shall see in the article by Julius Oswald, S.J., the appearance of Ignatius Loyola altered everything. Ironically Loyola only gained Xavier's confidence because he often loaned him money. Taking money was one thing, but Xavier persistently refused to listen to Loyola's spiritual advice and pious exhortations until the fateful question. According to pious legends, Loyola replied to Xavier's future plans of eminent titles and illustrious positions with the simple evangelical question: "What does it profit a man if he gains the whole world and suffers the loss of his own soul?" (Mt 16, 26).

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<sup>5</sup> The "definitive" biography of Xavier remains Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Franc. Xaver. Sein Leben und seine Zeit*, 2 vols. in 4 pts. (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1955–1973). The English translation by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., is *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, 4 vols. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1973–1982); and the Spanish translation by Félix de Arellano Arzuabarrota, S.J., Jesús Iturriz, S.J., Francisco Zurbano, S.J., *Francisco Javier. Su vida y su tiempo*, 4 vols. (Bilbao: Ed. Mensajero, 1992). For a review of the literature see Rita Haub, *Franc. Xaver–Aufbruch in die Welt* (Limburg/-Kevelaer: Lahn, 2002).

<sup>6</sup> The castle was remote, but strategically important since this was the sole entrance from High-Aragon to Navarre. From Roman times there was a bridge across the river, and fortifications. In the early twelfth century, the old Roman fortification was rebuilt closer to the river. The street and castle erected here was named "Etxaberrri" ("New House") after the Basque constructors. Later variations on this name were Exavierre (1217), Chavier (1516), Xabierre (1523), Chamer (1536) etc. See Jose Maria Recondo, *Castillo de Xavier*, 2nd. edition (Barcelona: Editorial Escudo de Oro, 1984).

In reply to a request from King John III of Portugal for some clergy to serve as missionaries in India, Loyola selected Simão Rodrigues<sup>7</sup> and Nicolás Bobadilla.<sup>8</sup> Illness prevented Bobadilla's departure so Rodrigues left Rome on 15 March 1540 with Xavier as his companion. Upon his arrival in Lisbon, Xavier received a letter of appointment as papal legate for the Far East. On 7 April 1541, his thirty-fifth birthday, Francis Xavier embarked on his journey to India without Rodrigues who remained in Lisbon.

The exhausting passage lasted thirteen months with a winter break in Mozambique. On 6 May 1542, Xavier arrived in Goa, an island town situated on the Indian West coast. It was the rich and splendid capital of the Portuguese-Asiatic colonial empire, and the centre of European life.<sup>9</sup> Behind the impressive facade of cathedral towers, a Franciscan monastery, and numerous churches lay a different reality. Since most Europeans travelling to India had been adventurers and speculators, interested in making money quickly, there was little concern for serious evangelisation of the Indians or, indeed, of their own personal sanctity. Xavier's initial missionary task was the reformation of Christians living in Goa. He used the rainy season that prevented his leaving Goa to browse through different parts of town, gather adults and children round, and preach to them and to teach them catechism. He consistently reminded them of their religious obligations. He did not carry on this struggle alone; he was assisted by a confraternity dedicated to St. Paul for the education of native missionaries.

After his success in Goa, Francis Xavier travelled to the far south of India, the so-called "Fishery Coast," the Cape Comorin. In 1530 Muslim marauders attacked the native Paravas, who appealed to the Portuguese. In return for assistance, they converted to Christianity; roughly 20,000 Paravas were baptised. However, no Christian ever visited the territory to instruct them. Consequently they continued worshipping their ancient idols. Eight years had passed between the "Christianisation" of the Paravas and Xavier's arrival. Before his departure from Goa, he had ordered that his sermons, the creed, the commandments, and other prayers be translated into Tamil. He then committed all this to memory. Xavier spent more than a year among these people and moved from village to

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<sup>7</sup> \*1510 Vouzela: SJ one of the original companions; †15.vii.1579 Lisbon (*DHCF*, IV, 3390).

<sup>8</sup> \*c. 1509 Bobadilla del Camino; SJ one of the original companions; †23.ix.1590 Loreto (*DHCF*, I, 463).

<sup>9</sup> The town had been conquered in 1509 by regent Afonso de Albuquerque, founder of Portuguese colonial power in the East. Basically, the Portuguese empire consisted only of water and a chain of castles and harbours, extending along the Asian seas. The most important and largest was Goa. It became the administrative, military-maritime, and spiritual centre of Portuguese-East India, residence of the vice-kings, governors and bishops.

village with a little bell summoning the children whom he instructed in prayer and the catechism. Through them, his influence spread.

In April of 1545, Francis Xavier travelled to Malipur, the burial place of Thomas the Apostle, who, according to the legend, had brought Christianity to India. During numerous vigils at the tomb, he prayed over and pondered where he should next proclaim the Gospel. The recent communities of Christians in India were being looked after by competent missionaries and more were expected. He wanted to tackle new challenges. As papal legate for the whole east, he sought to bring the Gospel to even more people. He opted for Malacca, centre of the European trading fleet in the Far East.

Xavier spent the spring of 1546 on the island of Amboina, north of Australia near New Guinea. As we shall see in Maria Cristina Osswald's article, a crab features prominently in Xaverian iconography. According to the legend, Xavier encountered a turbulent storm on a missionary journey to a neighbouring island. As the storm approached, Xavier dipped his cross into the sea and prayed that God free him from this trouble. His cross suddenly disappeared in the waves. The storm slowly abated and the boat reached the island of Seran, west of New Guinea, a day later. Shortly after he had reached land, a gigantic crab emerged from the water, carrying the lost cross in its pincers. Maria Osswald correctly notes the importance attached to this miracle in the canonisation process.

For seven years Francis Xavier wandered through the East Asian colonial empire of Portugal, from the rich cities to primitive fishermen tribes, and eventually into the dangerous world of the South Sea Islands. He headed north as soon as he heard about the discovery of new islands, east of China, that were an empire of high culture with intellectual inhabitants.

Xavier met his first Japanese in Malacca where they had sought refuge. He escorted them to Goa where he instructed them in Christianity, and baptised them. With these new converts he went to Japan, arriving in Kagoshima on 15 August 1549. The European faced a completely different world: all customs and traditions were strange, the language difficult and the food unknown. Formerly Portuguese colonists had treated Xavier with respect; now the Japanese despised the stranger because of his poor attire.

Xavier had planned to travel directly to the capital Miyako (today Kyoto) to obtain imperial permission to proclaim the Gospel. He had not known that the emperor, although worshiped as a god, had no political power. Real power was in the hands of local rulers, the daimyōs. But Xavier benefitted from earlier experiences in the missions, namely, if he wished to be successful, he must adapt to the country and this meant appearing with dignity and courteous manners. So he returned to Yamaguchi and, for the first time, appeared as a papal legate with all signs of his high dignity. Lavishly dressed with numerous

servants and delicate gifts, he visited the local ruler in April of 1551, Daimyō Ōuchi Yoshitaka. This powerful ruler, interested not simply in trading with the Portuguese, provided initial support even if he never embraced Christianity. Yamaguchi became the centre of a flourishing mission. The Daimyō of Bungo, Ōtomo Yoshishige, provided more support. He became a powerful sponsor of Japanese mission and Xavier's close friend.

During his two years in Japan, Xavier was very successful. He did not however succeed in gaining the trust of the Japanese religious leaders, the so called bonzes, who observed his every step with hostility. They fought Xavier whenever possible. The Jesuit's criticisms of their style of life antagonised them even more.

Xavier gradually realised how dependent Japan was on China for its cultural heritage. The Japanese had adopted the religion, writing, and most of the intellectual culture of the Middle Kingdom. The bonzes argued that the teachings of a Christian God could not be of any value because the Chinese did not know about them. To conquer Japan, Xavier must first win China. Of Xavier's missions, the proposed mission to China was the most carefully prepared. Ironically, he never carried it out.

Problems in Goa prevented his immediate departure for China and necessitated his return to India. In February of 1552, he arrived in Goa. He proposed to sail to China from Malacca with the aid of Portuguese merchants. But commercial interests ruled out this approach: merchants and government officials feared the repercussions on trade if it was discovered that they had introduced a missionary into territory closed to foreigners. A smuggler finally transported Xavier to Sancian, an island near Canton, but even he refused to carry him any farther. Xavier remained on the island with a Chinese servant. In this hopeless situation he caught a cold from the frosty northern winds and came down with a high fever. With the long desired goal in front of his eyes, he died in the early morning hours of 3 December 1552 in a poor reed cottage on Sancian. A year later, Xavier's body was returned to Goa for burial in a side chapel of Bom Jesus. Beatified on 21 October 1619 and canonised on 12 March 1622, Xavier quickly became the patron saint of seamen and missionaries. As Paul Begheyn, S.J., points out in his article, he also assumed an important role as a protector against the plague in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the late seventeenth century, Count Cosimo III of Tuscany commissioned a marble tomb by the sculptor Giovanni Battista Foggini [fig. 1], in gratitude for a pillow, allegedly used by Xavier, which he had received as a relic. On top there is the delicate silver tomb or shrine, still completely preserved. It is a rectangle silver chest in Renaissance style, crowned by a roof-like top with rich filigree work. The chest is put together from a massive lower part and a higher, hollow shrine, in which the threefold sealed casket can be pushed from the

front side. The whole shrine is the work of Indian Christian craftsmen. 32 reliefs illustrate scenes from Xavier's life, many of which are based on legends.<sup>10</sup> In 1748 Pope Benedict XIV proclaimed him the patron saint of India and the Far East; in 1927 Pope Pius XI named him and St. Therese of the Child Jesus (the "Little Flower") patron saint of Catholic missions worldwide.

Understandably the Society of Jesus fostered his cult. But Xavier in himself fascinated a wide European audience. As we shall see, the Society of Jesus circulated his accounts of new peoples and strange lands. Many entered the Society out of a desire to follow in his footsteps.

Arguably the most important devotion associated with Xavier was the "Novena of Grace." In Naples in December of 1633, the Jesuit Marcello Mastrelli<sup>11</sup> suffered a serious accident during renovations within the church. Close to death, he sought Xavier's intercession. On 2 January 1634, he vowed to go to India as a missionary should he ever be healed. The saint appeared to him, consoled him, gave him courage and declared that anyone who sought his intercession over the next nine days, specifically 4-12 March, would have his petition granted. And Mastrelli was healed. This apparition and the miraculous healing aroused considerable attention in Naples. The devotion spread throughout Europe. Popes Clement VIII, Pius VI, Leo XIII, and Pius X granted special indulgences to believers who made the novena<sup>12</sup> Mastrelli kept his vow: he went to Japan where he was martyred on 17 October 1637.

### Proclaiming the Mission

"I could never come to an end in describing to you the fruit that is being gained by baptizing newborn children and teaching those who are old enough to learn," Xavier wrote to his companions in Rome on 15 January 1544 about the need for workers. "Men fail to become Christians," he explained

because they have no one who is concerned with such pious and holy matters. Many times I am seized with the thought of going to the schools in your lands and of crying out there, like a man who has lost his mind, and especially at the University of Paris, telling those in the Sorbonne who have a greater regard for learning than desire to prepare themselves to produce fruit with it: "How many souls fail to go to glory and go instead to hell through their neglect!" And, thus, as they make progress in their studies, if

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<sup>10</sup> See Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Der Silberschrein des Hl. Franz Xaver in Goa. Ein Meisterwerk christlicher-indischer Kunst," in *Gesammelte Studien*, ed. Georg Schurhammer, S.J., 4 vols. (Rome: Istitutum Historicum Societatis Iesum, 1962-1965) BIHSI 20-23; IV, 562-67.

<sup>11</sup> \*1603 Nola; SJ 25.iii.1618 Naples; †17.x.1637 Nagasaki (*DHCJ*, III, 2566).

<sup>12</sup> See *DHCJ*, III, 2837.

they would study the accounting which God our Lord will demand of them and of the talent which has been given to them, many of them would be greatly moved and, taking means and making spiritual exercises to know the will of God within their soul, they would say, conforming themselves to it rather than to their own inclinations: "Lord, here I am! What would you have me do? Send me wherever you will, and if need be, even to the Indies!"<sup>13</sup>

Few have had an influence on foreign missions comparable to that of Francis Xavier. Because of Loyola's realisation that regular correspondence could play a significant role in the preservation of unity amongst dispersed brethren, Xavier's letters literally opened new worlds to the Society of Jesus. In their printed form, the letters circulated throughout Europe, read with interest and fascination. Many heeded Xavier's call. Many joined the Society in order to become a missionary and many, instead, taught Latin at one of the Society's numerous colleges. Friedrich Spee von Langenfeld<sup>14</sup> wrote to Father General Muzio Vitelleschi<sup>15</sup> in 1617:

For a long time, Reverend Father, a lasting consuming passion burns within me like ardent coal (and if I might say so, when it started: nearly when I was in the cradle). Until today I have tried to suppress this and for various reasons keep it secret. But while I'm a fool, wanting to extinguish fire underneath ashes, it is getting more and more ardent and wants to blaze high up in open flames. Now I can no longer fight it. I want to open my heart, show my inner part; what can I still hide? India, my father, and these far away lands have wounded my heart! . . . When I got older, the only badly healed wound opened up a new: This wound only, and hardly anything else, has driven me, to join this holy order.<sup>16</sup>

Spee had hoped to fulfil his desire in India, but he was not granted the required permission. His later poem "Poetisch gesang von dem H. Francisco Xaueri der gesellschaft IESV, als er in Jappon schiffen wolte" ("Poetical Song of St. Francis Xavier of the Society of Jesus as He Planned to Embark for Japan") depicted the missionary as a valiant knight facing wind and storms bravely.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Xavier to his companions in Rome, Cochin 15 January 1544, MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 160-67. [Editor's note: I have used the translation in *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992) pp. 67-68].

<sup>14</sup> \*25.ii.1591 Kaiserswerth; SJ 22.ix.1610 Trier; †7.viii.1635 Trier (DHCJ, IV, 3620).

<sup>15</sup> \*2.xii.1563 Rome; SJ 15.viii.1583 Rome; elected Father General 15.xi.1615; †9.ii.1645 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1621).

<sup>16</sup> Cited in Joachim-Friedrich Ritter, *Friedrich von Spee 1591-1635. Ein Edelmann, Mahner und Dichter* (Trier: Spee-Verlag, 1977) p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> Friedrich Spee, S.J., *Trutz-Nachtigall*, ed. Theo G. M. Oorschot (Bern: Francke, 1985) p. 94f.

A century later, Philipp Jeningen<sup>18</sup> persistently requested permission to go to the missions. In August of 1701, he pleaded:

I have not yet started the first year of my real life, being not even 60 years old. . . . On the Feast of the Assumption, I shall proceed towards my real birth with utmost eagerness. I shall see broad daylight only when Reverend Father will send me, unworthy but a persistent applicant for many years, to the land of Saint Francis Xavier or somewhere else to convert heathens. . . . I hereby enclose into all letters with my signature these my devout, permanent, eager and devoted plea. . . .<sup>19</sup>

But Father General Tirso González<sup>20</sup> assigned him Germany as a missionary field: He recommended that Jeningen "turn your ardent eagerness of soul entirely to Europe and to devote yourself, according to the apostolic example of the great apostle of India, your patron, entirely to the welfare of those, whose country you have traversed for so many years as a tireless missionary. . . ."<sup>21</sup>

Other Jesuits were more successful in their request to work in the missions. Matteo Ricci<sup>22</sup> succeeded where Xavier failed: he entered the closed "Middle Kingdom." Building on the principles of Xavier, he learnt Chinese and studied the writings of Confucianism. Instead of a Christian, he used a Chinese name and wore the attire of Chinese scholars, adopting their lifestyle and manners. Chinese scholars appreciated his education, and facilitated his admission into Beijing. With this "principle of accommodation," i.e., the adaptation of native culture for use in evangelisation, the German missionary (Johann) Adam Schall von Bell won the Chinese emperor's confidence, and received highly regarded Chinese into the Roman Church.<sup>23</sup> Xavier's dying words were: "In you, O Lord, I seek refuge. Let me not be disgraced! (Ps 71,1)."<sup>24</sup> The Jesuits inspired by Xavier's work, animated by the same Spirit, and in pursuit of the same dream, made sure that he was not disgraced.

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<sup>18</sup> \*5.i.1641 Eichstätt; SJ 19.i.1643 Landsberg; †8.ii.1704 Ellwangen (DHCJ, III, 2144).

<sup>19</sup> Cited in Anton Höß, *P. Philipp Jeningen S.J. Ein Volksmissionär und Mystiker des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1924) p. 340.

<sup>20</sup> \*18.i.1624 Arganza; SJ 3.iii.1643 Oviedo; elected Father General 6.vii.1687; †27.x.1705 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1644).

<sup>21</sup> Höß, *Philipp Jeningen*, p. 341.

<sup>22</sup> \*6.x.1552 Macerata; SJ 15.viii.1571 Rome; †11.v.1610 Beijing (DHCJ, IV, 3351).

<sup>23</sup> \*1.v.1592 Cologne; SJ 21.x.1611 Rome; †15.viii.1666 Beijing (DHCJ, IV, 3514).

<sup>24</sup> Antonio de Sante Fé provided an eye-witness account of Xavier's final days. in a letter to Manuel Teixeira, Cochin 4 September 1557 [?], MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 662-65.

### Sumario

Francisco Javier, el misionero más exitoso en las filas de los jesuitas nació en 1506 en el castillo de Javier en Navarra. Encontró a Ignacio por primera vez en París, quien en 1534 lo ganó finalmente para su idea de fundar una nueva Orden religiosa, la Compañía de Jesús. En 1540 sonó la gran hora para Francisco Javier. El rey de Portugal logró del Papa que dos de los compañeros de Ignacio fueran mandados en misión a la India. Francisco Javier fue destinado porque faltó otro que había caído enfermo. Armado con los poderes de un legado pontificio atracó en Goa en 1542. Ejercitó el trabajo de misionero durante diez años y se creció durante ellos hasta llegar a ser el mayor misionero de la cristiandad después de Pablo de Tarso. Sólo dispuso de unos pocos ayudantes. Desde la costa sur de la India se orientó hacia el Este, pasando por Malakka hasta las lejanas Molukas. En 1549 llegó a Kagoshima. Con un esforzado trabajo echó los fundamentos de la iglesia japonesa. Allí descubrió que ese pueblo dependía culturalmente del reino de Mittey, es decir, de China. Entonces concibió, él que siempre pensaba estratégicamente, el plan de iniciar la evangelización de China. Ninguno de sus planes misionales fue preparado tanto como el viaje a China. Y ninguno tuvo un fracaso tan radical como éste. Primero le impidió el uso de un barco el comandante de la flota de Malakka. Luego encontró un mercader chino que lo había de llevar a la costa continental en un junco, pero que se atemorizó y se corrió. Y finalmente adquirió una enfermedad mortal en la pequeña isla de Sancian, donde murió el 3 de diciembre de 1552. Francisco Javier fue canonizado en 1622 y en 1927 declarado Patrón de todas las misiones.



Julius Oswald, S.J.\*

Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier greet visitors in many Jesuit churches either at the church door, in the nave, or at the altar itself. Ignatius always stands on the left and Francis Xavier on the right. Thus they were seen on the banner outside in St. Peter's on 12 March 1622, the day of their canonization by Pope Gregory XV. The banner symbolised the presence of the new Jesuit saints and served as a reminder of the path that they had travelled together from their student days in Paris.<sup>1</sup>

## Early Life

Descended from an old Basque noble family, Francis Xavier was born on 7 April 1506 at the castle of Xavier in the kingdom of Navarre.<sup>2</sup> His father, Juan de Jassu, had received a doctorate in law from the University of Bologna and was the president of the Royal Council of Navarre. After the Spanish conquest of Navarre and the expulsion of its king, Juan de Jassu's two older sons stood in the forefront of the loyal Navarrese troops and with their French allies, besieged the fortress of Pamplona in May of 1521. Ignatius Loyola was one of

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<sup>1</sup> Ursula König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola. Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationkampagne um 1600* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1982) p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S.J., wrote thoroughly and extensively on Xavier's life. See his *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., 4 vols. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1973-82) and *Gesammelte Studien*, 4 vols. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1962-65) BIHSI 20-23.

the soldiers left to defend the fort. After Loyola had been wounded and his death seemed imminent, the garrison surrendered. The victors provided the wounded man with medical treatment and ordered him carried home to Loyola. The Navarrese/French victory was shortlived: soon afterwards they were defeated by imperial forces at Noain near Pamplona. The two brothers fled into the mountains to lead a guerrilla war against the occupying forces.<sup>3</sup> Only in 1524 did they surrender and return home.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile at the castle, Francis received an education appropriate to his station and learned Latin from the castle's chaplains.<sup>5</sup> Because of his desire to enter holy orders, he received the tonsure and was thus barred from military service. War had impoverished the family so Francis hoped for a benefice if he became a canon. At the age of nineteen, he left to study in Paris. In September, he found lodging in the Collège de Ste Barbe, which, under the leadership of Dr. Diogo de Gouvea, was one of the most progressive colleges in the university.<sup>6</sup> Because of its excellent reputation, professors and students of every nation lived there. To pass the required entrance examination,<sup>7</sup> Xavier worked on Latin during his first year. On 1 October 1526, he began his study of philosophy under the direction of Master Juan de la Peña. Both master and disciple shared rooms with the Savoyard Pierre Favre.<sup>8</sup> Three years later, Ignatius Loyola moved into the same quarters to begin his studies under the Spanish master.<sup>9</sup> Initially Xavier was extremely reserved towards his new roommate perhaps because Ignatius had fought against his brothers several years earlier in Pamplona. But Ignatius had changed much since his close brush with death.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>3</sup> James Brodrick, S.J., *Saint Francis Xavier 1506-1552* (London: Burns and Oates, 1952) p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Schurhammer, "Franciscus Xaverius SI (1506-1552)," in *Gesammelte Studien*, III, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Schurhammer, "Die Königstaufen des Hl. Franz Xaver," in *Gesammelte Studien*, III, 306.

<sup>6</sup> Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 85. [Editor's note: Unless otherwise noted, I have adjusted Father Oswald's notes to correspond to English editions.]

<sup>7</sup> Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 103.

<sup>8</sup> Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 108, 110. Favre: \*13.iv.1506 Villaret; SJ one of the original companions; †1.viii.1546 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1369).

<sup>9</sup> MHSI, *Fontes narr.*, I, 32, 474.

<sup>10</sup> We know much about Ignatius's recuperation because of his autobiography. The original text can be found in MHSI, *Fontes narr.*, I, 323-507. An accessible English edition is Saint Ignatius of Loyola, *Personal Writings*, ed. Joseph A. Munitiz, S.J., and Philip Endean, S.J. (London: Penguin Books, 1996) pp. 3-64. See also Cándido de Dalmases, S.J., *Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Jesuits* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985); John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993); Gottfried Maron, *Ignatius von Loyola. Mystik-Theologie-Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001); Andre Ravier, S.J., *Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of*

Confined to a sick bed after his wounds at the battle of Pamplona, Ignatius was forced to read lives of the saints and the life of Christ because his preferred reading, tales of chivalry, was not available. As he read, he reflected on his life and decided to devote his future to the imitation of such saints as Francis and Dominic. At the end of February of 1522, he made a pilgrimage to Montserrat. There he made a general confession, placed his weapons before the Black Madonna, and donned a penitent's robe. He travelled to Manresa where he remained for nearly a year in prayer and penance. His prayer and experiences formed the core of his Spiritual Exercises. After a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he went to Barcelona in February of 1524 to return to school to learn the Latin required for higher studies. He went to Alcalá in 1526 to study philosophy. In addition to pursuing his studies, he gathered together some companions whom he encouraged in the spiritual life and to whom he gave his Exercises. Suspected of being an *alumbrado*, Ignatius was arrested by the Inquisition but later released on condition that he and his companions "were to dress like the other students, and that they were not to talk about matters regarding the Faith within the four years they still had to study, because they weren't learned."<sup>11</sup> As a result, they soon left for Salamanca to continue their studies. Though they changed their clothes and fulfilled all the requirements placed on them, they were still considered suspect by the Dominicans. The interrogators paid particular attention to Ignatius's notes regarding the Exercises. Since they could not prove that he held any false doctrines, Ignatius was released after three weeks on the condition that he and his companions "so long as they did not adjudicate 'this is a mortal sin' or 'this is a venial sin' before four years had passed during which they had done further study."<sup>12</sup> Ignatius realised that this judgement so restricted his ministry that "he decided to go to Paris to study."<sup>13</sup>

Ignatius arrived in the French capital on 2 February 1528 and found lodging with a fellow Spaniard in a private home. He attended the Collège de Montaigu to refresh his knowledge of Latin and to prepare for the entrance examination. Because his roommate squandered money entrusted to him for sakekeeping by Ignatius, both were evicted from their quarters. Ignatius found shelter in the almshouse of Saint Jacques and begged for his livelihood. As this hindered his studies, a Spanish monk advised him "to go off to Flanders each year, and lose two months, or even less, in order to bring back the wherewithal to study

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*the Society of Jesus* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1987); and Ignacio Tellechea Idígoras, *Ignatius of Loyola: The Pilgrim Saint* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1994).

<sup>11</sup> Ignatius of Loyola, *Personal Writings*, p. 43.

<sup>12</sup> Ignatius of Loyola, *Personal Writings*, p. 47.

<sup>13</sup> Ignatius of Loyola, *Personal Writings*, p. 48.

the whole year."<sup>14</sup> Ignatius followed the advice and in Lent of 1529 travelled to Antwerp and Bruges where he received enough money from Spanish merchants to eke out a living.

In addition to his Latin studies, Ignatius engaged students in spiritual conversations and directed them through the Exercises. Consequently many university officials held him responsible for some incidents of excessive religious zeal. For a time he was forbidden to enter the Collège de Ste Barbe and was denounced to the ecclesiastical authorities. When Ignatius learned of this, he immediately went to the inquisitor to ask that the inquiry be completed before the start of the new school year so that he could begin his studies in a timely manner. The inquisitor confirmed that an accusation had been lodged against Ignatius but that he was content to let the matter rest. In the mean time, Diogo de Gouvea's anger subsided so he allowed Ignatius to move into the rooms occupied by Master Peña and his students Favre and Xavier.

On 1 October 1529, Peña initiated a course of lectures on Aristotelian philosophy and assigned Favre the task of reviewing the material with his new roommate. During these review sessions, they moved from philosophical matters to religious questions then troubling Favre. Ignatius helped him overcome his scruples and later directed him through the Exercises. Favre became Ignatius's first companion in Paris.<sup>15</sup>

Winning Xavier's trust was a harder task: he had little sympathy for a Basque nobleman who supported himself by begging and who had been summoned before the Inquisition.<sup>16</sup> In addition, Ignatius's piety did not sit well with Xavier who had a congenial and lighthearted nature.<sup>17</sup> In contrast to Favre, Xavier had fairly concrete plans for his future and anticipated ecclesiastical benefices in Pamplona. Schurhammer succinctly summarised Xavier's prospects: "If he returned home from the University of Paris as a doctor, he could be sure of a brilliant career."<sup>18</sup>

On 15 March 1530 Xavier and Favre obtained their licentiate degrees. In the same month, Xavier spent a large sum of money to obtain his master's degree.

<sup>14</sup> Ignatius of Loyola, *Personal Writings*, p. 50.

<sup>15</sup> Favre's "Memoriale," MHSI, *Faber*, pp. 493-95. [Editor's note: An English translation of the "Memoriale," can be found in *The Spiritual Writings of Pierre Favre*, trans. and ed. Edmond C. Murphy, S.J., John W. Padberg, S.J., and Martin E. Palmer, S.J. (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996) pp. 64-67.]

<sup>16</sup> Brodrick, *Saint Francis Xavier*, p. 39.

<sup>17</sup> Tellechea Idigoras, *Ignatius of Loyola*, pp. 313-15.

<sup>18</sup> Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 156.

Xavier moved to the Collège de Dormans-Beauvais and began to lecture on Aristotelian philosophy on 1 October. In order to live in a manner appropriate to his station, Xavier engaged a poor Navarrese student as a servant. In order to secure his plans for the future, he instructed a notary on 13 February 1531 "to draw up an authorization so that he could have his title of nobility officially confirmed by the Royal Council and the Supreme Court of Navarre."<sup>19</sup>

The acquisition of his costly new academic titles and the expenses incurred to maintain his status plunged Xavier into debt. His financial situation was made worse by the fact that what little money he received from home came at irregular intervals as the cost of living rose steadily. Ignatius sought to alleviate Xavier's financial distress by searching for prospective students and directing them to Xavier. With great discretion he observed Xavier's circle of friends and warned him if the orthodoxy of any was not above reproach. Francis rebelled against Ignatius's constant efforts to recruit him and he even mocked his followers. However, in the end Loyola was victorious. The decisive event seems to have occurred in early June of 1533 as Pierre Favre was paying an extended visit to his elderly father.<sup>20</sup> Juan de Polanco<sup>21</sup> later claimed that he had "heard Ignatius, our great mold of men, say that when he began his enterprise, the hardest dough that he ever had to knead was young Francis Xavier."<sup>22</sup>

### Friends in the Lord

Teaching responsibilities originally prevented Xavier from making the Spiritual Exercises. Nonetheless, he came under Ignatius's spiritual direction and was clearly one of Ignatius's "friends in the Lord." They decided to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. There, with Christ and his Apostles as their model, they would dedicate their lives to service under the banner of their heavenly king while, at the same time, renouncing all earthly goods and titles. They decided to postpone their departure from Paris until the Feast of the Conversion of Paul, 25 January 1537. In the meantime they finished their theological studies and prepared for ordination. A constitution of Pope Clement V promulgated at the Council of Vienne (1311-12) required anyone undertaking a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to obtain papal permission. Before their departure for Rome to obtain the required permission, the companions vowed to remain faithful to these ideals. On 15 August 1534 in a chapel on Montmatre, they

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<sup>19</sup> Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 156. See also 146-58.

<sup>20</sup> Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 185-88.

<sup>21</sup> \*24.xii.1517 Burgos; SJ 1541 Rome; †20.xii.1576 Rome (*DHCJ*, IV, 3168).

<sup>22</sup> Polanco is speaking in a dialogue written by the French Jesuit Edmund Auger, MHSI, *Fontes narr.* III, 282. [Editor's note: I use the translation cited in Tellechea Idigoras, *Ignatius of Loyola*, pp. 314-15.]

vowed to live a life of poverty and chastity, and to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. After they had returned from the Holy Land or, if their pilgrimage was delayed for more than a year, they resolved to place themselves at the disposition of the pope.

In September of 1534, Xavier finally made the Spiritual Exercises under Ignatius's direction. Xavier's relations with Ignatius had changed dramatically. On 25 March 1535, Xavier provided Ignatius with a letter of recommendation to his brother Juan de Azpilcueta in Obanos. Besides asking for some financial assistance, Xavier sang the praises of Ignatius. He owed Ignatius much for assisting him in his financial need and for protecting him from students who flirted with heresy. For these reasons he asked his brother to receive Ignatius as though he himself were coming "since through his good services he has placed me so greatly in his debt. Your Grace may well believe that if he were such as he has been said to be, he would not be going to your Grace's home to entrust himself to your hands, for no evildoer surrenders himself to one whom he has offended. From this alone your Grace may clearly perceive that everything you have been told about Lord Ignatius is false." In fact, Xavier exhorted his brother "to converse freely with Lord Ignatius and to believe what he tells you. His advice and conversation can be of great advantage to you, since he is a great man of God and of a very good life."<sup>23</sup>

Ignatius left Paris a few days later to return home, at the recommendation of his doctor, to recover his health. During his absence, Pierre Favre directed the group of friends as they continued their theological studies and attracted new members. According to their schedule, they would meet Ignatius in Venice in the spring of 1537 to begin their pilgrimage. The renewal of conflict between King Francis I of France and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V forced them to leave Paris earlier than they had anticipated. Departing on 15 November 1536, they travelled through Lorraine, Germany and Switzerland before reaching Italy.<sup>24</sup> They found Ignatius already in Venice on their arrival in early January of 1537. Because there was no transport to the Holy Land until the summer, the companions worked among the sick and travelled to Rome to obtain the required papal permission for the pilgrimage. With the exception of Ignatius, who feared that his presence in Rome would so infuriate certain opponents that they would block the companions' request, the companions left Venice for Rome in March. Pope Paul III received them gracefully and granted them

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<sup>23</sup> Xavier to Juan de Azpilcueta, Paris 25 March 1535, MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 9-10. [Editor's note: I have used the translation of M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., from his edition *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992) pp. 4-5.]

<sup>24</sup> Schurhammer, "Die Reise des Hl. Franz Xaver durch die Schweiz," in *Gesammelte Studien*, III, 455-66.

permission to make the pilgrimage. He also permitted them to be ordained priest by any bishop outside of Rome. To those already in holy orders, the pope granted the authority to hear confessions and to grant absolution "from all episcopal reservation."<sup>25</sup>

The companions returned to Venice where Ignatius and Xavier, as well as five of their friends, were ordained priest by Bishop Vincenzo Nigusanti on 24 June 1537. War with the Turks now made a trip to the Holy Land impossible. They therefore resolved to prepare themselves for three months to celebrate their first Masses, and afterwards to do pastoral work in the university towns of northern and central Italy in order to recruit new members for their group from the students. At the end of September, perhaps the 30th, Xavier celebrated his first Mass in Vicenza at the monastery church of San Pietro in Vivaro. <sup>26</sup> He then travelled with Nicolás Bobadilla to Bologna.<sup>27</sup>

The expectation that the war against the Turks would continue for some time meant that they should fulfill the second part of their vow and place themselves at the disposition of the pope. They did so in Rome in November of 1538. Paul III directed them to different pastoral works in Rome. So successful were they that they won over many former opponents and further requests for their assistance were received by the pope.<sup>28</sup> As requests flowed into Rome, these priests of the "Company of Jesus," as they described themselves because they had no superior other than Jesus Christ,<sup>29</sup> were once again forced to ponder their future. As they concerned different possibilities, Diogo de Gouvea recommended India as a field desperately in need of missionaries. To this suggestion, Favre replied:

All of us who have bound ourselves together in this Society have pledged ourselves to the supreme pontiff, since he is the master of Christ's whole harvest. When we made this offering of ourselves to him, we indicated that we were prepared for anything that he might decide in Christ for us. Accordingly, if he will send us there where you are calling us, we shall gladly go. The reason why we subjected ourselves to his will and judgment in this

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<sup>25</sup> Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 337.

<sup>26</sup> Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 367.

<sup>27</sup> \* c. 1509 Bobadilla; S] one of the first companions; †23.ix.1590 Loreto (*DHC*), I, 463).

<sup>28</sup> An interesting account of their activities can be found in Ignatius's letter to Isabel Roser, Rome 19 December 1538, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 137-47. [Editor's note: An English translation can be found in Hugo Rahner, S.J., ed., *Saint Ignatius Loyola: Letters to Women* (Freiburg/Edinburgh/London: Herder/Nelson, 1960) pp. 269-74.]

<sup>29</sup> See Polanco's explanation of the name in MHSI, *Fontes narr.*, I, 204.

manner was that we knew that he has a greater knowledge of what is expedient for Christianity as a whole.<sup>30</sup>

What was "expedient for Christianity as a whole" required the companions to travel throughout Italy for specific periods of time. They soon realised that this continual availability posed a danger to the continuation of the fellowship. In the spring of 1539, the companions began their deliberations regarding their future. They reached unanimous agreement on the first question very quickly: "since the most clement and loving Lord has deigned to bring us together and unite us with one another, weak as we are and born as we were in different countries and with different customs, we should not dissolve this union and congregation that has been brought about by God but rather continually strengthen and confirm it by uniting ourselves into a single body, so that each of us has a regard and understanding for the others . . ." <sup>31</sup> They unanimously affirmed the second question: each pledged himself to enter the new society as soon as they had received papal confirmation and would pronounce a vow of obedience to one of their number. At the request of the others, Ignatius summarised the fruits of their deliberations, the so-called "Five Chapters," <sup>32</sup> which, accompanied by an official request for approbation, was sent to Pope Paul III by means of Ignatius's benefactor Gasparo, Cardinal Contarini. The pope granted official recognition to the new Society of Jesus on 27 September 1540 with the bull "Regimini militantis Ecclesiae."

As the first companions sought papal approval, Diogo de Gouvea forwarded Favre's letter to King John III of Portugal. He, in turn, wrote to his ambassador in Rome, Pedro Mascarenhas with instructions to find out more about the priests who "were at the papal court on November 23, and that, as the letter indicates, the pope reserved to himself the right to issue the orders as to how they should serve him. According to their letter, it is their intention to convert the heathen; and say that if it pleases our Holy Father, to whom they have surrendered themselves, and without whose command they are unwilling to do anything, they would go to India. Therefore it seems to be that since they are men of such character and intent, they would be of very great service to our Lord there and would produce great fruit for the faith by strengthening and supporting those who have already accepted it, and bringing others to it as

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<sup>30</sup> Rome 23 November 1538, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 132-34; Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 440-42. [Editor's note: I use the translation in Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 441.]

<sup>31</sup> "Deliberation of the First Fathers," MHSI, *Constitutiones I*, 3. See also Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 454-62 and Javier Osuna, S.J., *Friends in the Lord*, trans. Nicholas King, S.J. (London: The Way, 1973).

<sup>32</sup> MHSI, *Constitutiones I*, 14-21. [Editor's note: English translation can be found in Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 462-65.]



well."<sup>33</sup> Paul III told Mascarenhas to discuss the matter with Ignatius. If he was willing to provide missionaries, the pope would order them to make the journey. Ignatius offered two and the ambassador requested Simão Rodrigues,<sup>34</sup> who was Portuguese, and Bobadilla, whom the ambassador knew because of his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans. The ambassador sent a courier to Naples to fetch Bobadilla. However, he arrived in Rome in such a poor state that the doctor forbade him to continue the journey to Lisbon. The only available replacement was Francis Xavier. When Ignatius approached him about the mission, his reported reply was: "Splendid! I am ready."<sup>35</sup> Upon his departure from Rome in March of 1540, he left three sealed documents: his approval of all constitutions and rules enacted by his companions; his vote for Ignatius as superior of the approved order; and a request that Diego Laínez<sup>36</sup> profess vows in his name to the elected superior.<sup>37</sup>

Rodrigues and Xavier spent nearly a year in Lisbon as they awaited ships bound for India. Their involvement in different pastoral works so delighted King John III that he wanted them to remain in Portugal. On 8 October, Rodrigues confided his fears to Ignatius. Despite audiences with the king, Rodrigues was unable to learn anything.<sup>38</sup> On 7 April 1541, Xavier embarked for India, but without Rodrigues who remained in Lisbon at the request of the king. Perhaps nothing shows more clearly the change in Xavier than this parallel. In Paris, Xavier had employed a servant. Now he answered Antonio de Ataíde, Count of Castanheira, who, by order of the king, had offered Xavier a manservant: "Sir Count, the attempt to procure esteem and authority through the means suggested by Your Lordship has brought the Church of God and its ministers to the state in which they are now. The way for a man to gain esteem and authority for himself is to wash his own clothes and to take care of his own cooking without thinking about getting help from anyone else, and at the same time to labor for the salvation of his neighbor."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Printed in Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 543.

<sup>34</sup> \*1510 Vouzela; SJ one of the first companions; †15.vii.1579 Lisbon (DHCJ, IV, 3390).

<sup>35</sup> MHSI, *Fontes narr.*, II, 381; Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 547-55.

<sup>36</sup> \*1512 Almazán; SJ one of the original companions; elected Father General 2.vii.1558; †19.i.1565 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1601-602).

<sup>37</sup> Editor's note: English translations of the three documents can be found in Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 554-55.

<sup>38</sup> Rodrigues to Ignatius and Pietro Codacio, Lisbon 8 October 1540, MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 63 [Costelloe, *Letters and Instructions*, p. 27.]

<sup>39</sup> Manuel Teixeira's "Vida del Bienaventurado Padre Francisco Xavier," MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 837. [Editor's note: I have used the translation in Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, I, 708.]

### A Lifelong Friendship

Despite vast distances and extremely poor travel routes Francis Xavier maintained friendly relations with other members of the Society of Jesus. Ignatius considered the regular exchange of letters an important means for building up and maintaining unity among brothers dispersed throughout the world.<sup>40</sup> In a sense, Xavier exemplified this principle. He established contact with Rome as soon as he had arrived in India and sent Ignatius precise reports of everything happening in that part of the world.<sup>41</sup> The extensive correspondence documents Xavier's missionary successes in Asia, and reveals the deep friendship that bound him to Ignatius. They trusted each other and worked together closely.<sup>42</sup> As the first Jesuit to work outside Europe, Xavier received considerable support and attention. Ignatius knew how much Xavier depended on European financial assistance and he exhorted Rodrigues to be generous with his aid.<sup>43</sup> In 1549 Ignatius separated India from the province of Portugal and established it as an independent province within the Society of Jesus. He nominated Xavier provincial and invested him with the broadest possible powers.<sup>44</sup> Ignatius made every effort to persuade the Holy See to grant Xavier's requests for various privileges and dispensations<sup>45</sup> and he rebuked Rodrigues for not forwarding papal documents to India quickly enough.<sup>46</sup> At Xavier's request, Ignatius directed that a Jesuit celebrate a monthly Mass in the Church of San Pietro de Montorio for the success of the mission in India.<sup>47</sup> Ignatius authorised the wider circulation of many of Xavier's letters for the edification of Jesuits and their benefactors. In so doing, Ignatius unleashed a

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<sup>40</sup> On the importance of correspondence see Julius Oswald, S.J., "Erbauungsschrift oder Leistungsbericht? Zum historischen Quellenwert der *Litterae Annuae*," in Julius Oswald, S.J., and Rita Haub, eds., *Jesuitica. Forschungen zur frühen Geschichte des Jesuitenordens in Bayern bis zur Aufhebung 1773* (Munich: C. H. Beck 2001) p. 457.

<sup>41</sup> Anton Huonder, "Ignatius von Loyola und Franz von Xaver, ein Freundschaftsbund zweier Heiligen," *Die katholischen Missionen* 50 (1921/1922) 188.

<sup>42</sup> See, e.g. Ignatius to Xavier, Rome 17 December 1545, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 350-51; same to same, Rome 10 October 1549, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, II, 557-58. [Editor's note: English translation of the second can be found in Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, IV, 336.]

<sup>43</sup> Ignatius to Rodrigues, Rome 11 October 1549, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, II, 568.

<sup>44</sup> Ignatius to Xavier, Rome 10 October 1549, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, II, 557-58. See also Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, IV, 336-39.

<sup>45</sup> See MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, I, 815-17.

<sup>46</sup> Ignatius to Rodrigues, Rome October 1546, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, I, 431-33.

<sup>47</sup> Xavier to Ignatius, Cochin 12 January 1549, MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, I, 481; Ignatius to Xavier, Rome 11 October 1549, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, II, 570.

wave of euphoria and enthusiasm for Xavier and his missionary activities throughout Asia.

Francis Xavier's letters reveal his reverence for Ignatius as his spiritual father, and his respect for him as superior.<sup>48</sup> Even before his departure, Xavier sought Ignatius's advice on the correct methods he should employ in his missionary activities.<sup>49</sup> Tears filled Xavier's eyes as he read Ignatius's letters. Out of reverence, he wrote his replies on his knees.<sup>51</sup> Xavier yearned to see his spiritual father and to discuss with him all manner of topics. When Ignatius appointed Xavier provincial, he added "Entirely yours, without my being able to forget you at any time, Ignatius." Xavier replied: "Your Holy Charity has written to me that you have a great desire to see me before you leave this life. God our Lord knows what an impression these words of great love made upon my soul, and how many tears they have cost me whenever I recall them; and it seems to me that I shall have this consolation, since nothing is impossible to holy obedience."<sup>52</sup> Several months later Xavier returned to the same theme and closed a letter to Ignatius with the wish: "May our Lord join us together in the glory of paradise, and also, if it will be to his service, in this present life. This could easily be accomplished if I were so ordered by obedience."<sup>53</sup>

The wish was nearly granted. Ignatius considered recalling the experienced missionary to Rome. On the basis of a misunderstood remark by Jerónimo Nadal,<sup>54</sup> some scholars suspected that Ignatius intended to recall Xavier in order to appoint him his successor.<sup>55</sup> Because of their deep friendship, one can not exclude that motive entirely. However, Ignatius did not mention that in his letter. There he explained that Xavier should reply to Europe by the quickest

<sup>48</sup> See the relevant sections in his letter to his brother, Paris 25 March 1535, MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 9-10. [Costelloe, *Letters and Instructions*, pp. 4-5.]

<sup>49</sup> See, e.g. Xavier to Ignatius and Codacio, Lisbon 26 July 1540, MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 49 [Costelloe, *Letters and Instructions*, p. 22.]; Xavier to Ignatius and Jean Codure, Lisbon 18 March 1541, MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 239 [Costelloe, *Letters and Instructions*, p. 34].

<sup>50</sup> Xavier to Ignatius, Cochin 29 January 1552, MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 286-87 [Costelloe, *Letters and Instructions*, p. 344].

<sup>51</sup> Xavier to Ignatius, Cochin 14 January 1549, MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 27 [Costelloe, *Letters and Instructions*, p. 227].

<sup>52</sup> Xavier to Ignatius, Cochin 29 January 1552, MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 287-88 [Costelloe, *Letters and Instructions*, p. 345].

<sup>53</sup> Xavier to Ignatius, Goa 9 April 1552, MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 376 [Costelloe, *Letters and Instructions*, 387].

<sup>54</sup> \*1.viii.1507 Palma de Mallorca; SJ 29.xi.1545 Rome; †3.iv.1580 Rome (DHC), III, 2793).

<sup>55</sup> See MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, V, 266 n. 3.

route because Rome needed reliable information on the situation in India, and because of the restructuring of the mission to the Portuguese colonies. Moreover, Xavier could inspire the Portuguese king to support the missionary enterprise and could supervise the selection of qualified Jesuits for the mission.<sup>56</sup> His personal experience made Francis Xavier the person best qualified to undertake the difficult assignment. But it was too late: Xavier had died on 3 December 1552.

### Campaign for Canonisation

As early as 28 March 1556, King John III initiated investigations into the virtues and life of Xavier. He instructed his viceroy, Pedro Mascarenhas, to question trustworthy witnesses and to send two copies of each reply to Portugal.<sup>57</sup> Accordingly witnesses were summoned and questioned in Goa, Cochin, Bassein, and Malacca in late 1556 and 1557. Their statements were officially confirmed and sent to Europe.<sup>58</sup> On the basis of the reports, the king requested papal permission to celebrate a feastday in Xavier's honour even before his official canonisation.<sup>59</sup> The king's death in 1557 halted the proceedings. Nonetheless, the statements contained information sufficient for a biography.

Pedro de Ribadeneira, S.J.,<sup>60</sup> published the first life of Ignatius Loyola, *Vita Ignatii Loiolae* (Naples, 1572) for members of the Society only. The author mentioned a brief biography of Xavier compiled from the reports sent for inclusion in a Portuguese history of the missions by Manuel da Acosta, S.J.<sup>61</sup> The biography stressed the miracles performed by Xavier.<sup>62</sup> Giovanni Pietro Maffei, S.J.,<sup>63</sup> later translated the account into Latin, *Rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum*. . . (Dillingen, 1571). The popularity of the Latin edition prompted Cardinal Henry of Portugal to ask Maffei to write a comprehensive biography. He began to collect material but he never completed the work.

<sup>56</sup> Rome 28 June 1553, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, V, 148-51 [*Personal Writings*, pp. 261-63].

<sup>57</sup> John III to Pedro Mascarenhas, Lisbon 28 March 1556, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 486-71.

<sup>58</sup> Josef Wicki, S.J., "Das neu entdeckte Xaveriusleben des P. Francisco Perez, S.J. (1579)," *AHSI* 34 (1965) 36. The testimonies can be found in MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 223-447.

<sup>59</sup> Schurhammer, *Gesammelte Studien* 3, p.61f.

<sup>60</sup> \*1.xi.1526 Toledo; SJ 1.ix.1540 Rome; †22.ix.1611 Madrid (*DHCJ*, IV, 3345).

<sup>61</sup> \*c. 1525 Ponta Delgada; SJ 18.v.1551 Coimbra; dis. ii.1573 (*DHCJ*, I, 978).

<sup>62</sup> Schurhammer, "Xaveriusforschung im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Gesammelte Studien*, III, 65.

<sup>63</sup> \*1538 Bergamo; SJ 26.viii.1565 Rome; †19.x.1603 Tivoli (*DHCJ*, III, 2466).

At the repeated request of his superiors in Rome, Manuel Teixeira<sup>64</sup> had written a full biography which he sent from India to Rome with a request that it be corrected and supplemented. Although this was the only biography written by someone who knew Xavier personally, the manuscript lay in Rome unpublished until 1912 when it appeared in the *Monumenta Xaveriana*.<sup>65</sup> Thus it was Ribadeneira's life which he expanded in subsequent editions of his life of Loyola that shaped the public imagination.

However, Jesuits who worked in mission territories and were familiar with local conditions, criticised Ribadeneira's account. Manuel Teixeira, for example, complained to Alessandro Valignano<sup>66</sup> that Ribadeneira had misunderstood many things and had reported incidents it would have been better to have omitted. Valignano agreed and wrote to Father General:

As Your Paternity can see from the first part of the "Indian History" that I sent last year, the author does not mention incidents about Francis Xavier that are found in the *Vita Ignatii Loiolae*. Although I have searched diligently, I can find nothing more about the life and miracles of Xavier than that which I wrote in the above mentioned history. Anyone who provides more information, merely repeats information obtained from uncritical observers who, because of their affection or credulity, exaggerate whatever they heard in the marketplace. What is written in the above mentioned history is true. No one can write anything more than is certain or even probable. What is written therein is not only the certain truth but suffices to glorify our Lord in the life of his saint without the necessity of adding apocryphal or uncertain elements.<sup>67</sup>

Upon their arrival in Rome in March of 1585, the Japanese ambassadors asked Claudio Acquaviva<sup>68</sup> in the name of the Duke of Bungo, Ōtomo Yoshishige, that the Jesuit from whom he had first heard the Gospel, be canonised.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>64</sup> \*c. 1536 Mirando do Douro; SJ 1.ii.1551 Lisbon; †19.iii.1590 Goa (DHCJ, IV, 3717).

<sup>65</sup> *Mon. Xavier* II, 815-918. See also Schurhammer, "Xaveriusforschung," 73.

<sup>66</sup> \*7.ii.1539 Chieti; SJ 29.v.1566 Rome; †20.i.1606 Macau (DHCJ, IV, 3877).

<sup>67</sup> Schurhammer, "Xaveriusforschung," 80. Valignano's "Historia del principio y progreso de la Compania de Jesus en la Indias orientales dividida en dos partes" was sent to Rome in 1583 but remained unpublished until 1900 when it appeared in MHSL, *Mon. Xavier*, I, 2-199. See especially pp. 2, 198-99.

<sup>68</sup> \*14.ix.1543 Atri; SJ 22.vii.1567 Rome; elected Father General 19.ii.1581; †31.i.1615 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1614-615).

<sup>69</sup> Schurhammer, "Die erste japanische Gesandtschaftsreise nach Europa (1582-1590)," in *Gesammelte Studien*, II, 734.

Valignano had encouraged the noble to lodge this request. Moreover, he had commissioned two portraits of Xavier in Goa, one of which he sent to Rome with the embassy. To Acquaviva's query about Valignano's position on Xavier's canonisation, he replied:

Though it is well deserved for him to be holy and blessed in heaven, one must take care to ensure that whatever one does in such an important matter, is founded on solid information that will admit of no doubt. As I already wrote to Father General Everard Mercurian,<sup>70</sup> of blessed memory, the information that was collected here at the behest of King John III is in many points doubtful and uncertain. Since the people were so edified by Francis Xavier, they easily believed whatever was said and as tends to happen in such cases, miracles were seen where none took place and those who gave evidence easily reported as fact what they simply heard related by others. According to the inquiries I undertook at this time, the information gathered by the officials of the aforementioned king is not very trustworthy.<sup>71</sup>

Georg Schurhammer, S.J.,<sup>72</sup> came to a similar conclusion when centuries later, he examined critically the legends about and the miracles attributed to Francis Xavier.<sup>73</sup> Such criticism had no influence on Ribadeneira's biography of Ignatius.

Although Ribadeneira treated Xavier and other founding members of the Society of Jesus in his biography of Ignatius, the canonisation of the order's founder was the author's primary concern. Ribadeneira was personally convinced of Ignatius's sanctity. In his biography and with portraits which he had commissioned from important artists, he promoted Ignatius's veneration with the hope of his canonisation. On the basis of careful research into visual and literary representations, Dr. König-Nordhoff concluded that miracles attributed to Ignatius and reported by Ribadeneira, were doubted not only by Maffei but even by Father General Acquaviva. Her argument was similar to the one advanced by earlier Jesuit missionaries in their criticism of his portrayal of Xavier: Ribadeneira uncritically accepted the testimonies collected by King John III and, indeed, appears to have invented miracles in order to achieve the canonisation of the two Jesuits. Dr. König-Nordhoff points out Ribadeneira's motive. In the introduction to the lives of Jesuits in his *Flor Sanctorum* (Madrid,

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<sup>70</sup> \*1514 Marcourt; SJ 8.ix.1548 Paris; elected Father General 23.iv.1573; †1.viii.1580 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1611-621).

<sup>71</sup> Schurhammer, "Xaveriusforschung," 82.

<sup>72</sup> \*25.ix.1882 Glottental; SJ 30.ix.1903 Feldkirch; †2.xi.1971 Rome (DHCJ, IV, 3535).

<sup>73</sup> Schurhammer, "Xaveriuslegenden und Wunder Kritisch Untersucht" and "Das Krebswunder Xavers—Eine Buddhistische Legende?" in *Gesammelte Studien*, III, 249-70, 537-62.

1599), Ribadeneira reminded the pope that God had canonised many saints long before his vicar on earth had initiated the process. According to Dr. König-Nordhoff's interpretation, this comment was not simply a criticism of the slow-moving, curial decision-making process, but also the expression of his conviction of the sanctity of Ignatius. He knew that Ignatius was a saint and he wanted to make this clear to everyone. He could, therefore, report miracles, whether provable or not, because they were consistent with his own knowledge of Ignatius's sanctity. Manipulation? Not according to Dr. König-Nordhoff: "Only if one could prove that Ribadeneira did not really believe in Ignatius's sanctity or that he invented miracles maliciously could one call Ribadeneira's campaign 'manipulation' in the worst sense of the word. For the outsider it remains an odd combination of rationality and belief."<sup>74</sup>

On 1 July 1593 Ribadeneira asked Claudio Acquaviva and the Fifth General Congregation to entreat Pope Clement VIII to approve the canonisation of Ignatius.<sup>75</sup> Ribadeneira did not mention Xavier. Nonetheless, the general congregation instructed Acquaviva to petition the Apostolic See for the canonisation of Ignatius and Francis "at an opportune time" if "solid grounds exist for it in the judgment of experts."<sup>76</sup>

Conditions were not yet right. Controversy and internal tension plagued the Society in the 1590s. Pope Clement VIII intervened in the Society's internal affairs to prevent a schism. As different Jesuits clashed with the Inquisition and the Fifth General Congregation recommended deference to the Inquisition and the repudiation of specific privileges,<sup>77</sup> the promotion of a founder who had himself come up against the Inquisition and had established a religious order that differed significantly and controversially from other orders, was not expedient. Moreover, one could not ignore totally Protestant criticism of the veneration of saints, in the promotion of the canonisation of someone best known in Germany as the leader of the Counter Reformation.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> *Ignatius von Loyola*, p. 54.

<sup>75</sup> Ribadeneira to Acquaviva and the fathers at the general congregation, Madrid 1 July 1593, MHSI, *Ribadeneira*, II, 168-73.

<sup>76</sup> John W. Padberg, S.J., Martin D. O'Keefe, S.J., and John L. McCarthy, S.J., eds., *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1994) p. 212, decree 71.

<sup>77</sup> Padberg et al., *For Matters of Greater Moment*, p. 192, decree 21.

<sup>78</sup> David J. Collins, S.J., "Bursfelders, Humanists, and the Rhetoric of Sainthood: The Late Medieval *vitae* of Saint Benno," *Revue Benedictine* 11 (2001) 508-56. See also Fidel Rädle, "Münchens Stadtpatron auf der Jesuitenbühne: *Benno Comedius* (München 1598)," Oswald and Haub, *Jesuitica*, pp. 512-16.

Hopes were raised for the canonisation of Ignatius in 1599 when two cardinals, Caesar Baronius, a member of the Congregation of Rites and the Jesuit Robert Bellarmine,<sup>79</sup> placed a portrait of Ignatius in the Jesuit church of the Gesù on the anniversary of his death. On the following 2 December, a picture of Francis Xavier was also hung in the Gesù.<sup>80</sup> However the hope that a canonisation was imminent, proved false. Cardinal Bellarmine seems to have advised the Jesuit curia to postpone the canonisation of Ignatius and, instead, request his beatification. Pope Paul V granted this request on 27 July 1609 and so allowed Ignatius to be venerated within the Society of Jesus. Jesuit celebrations were so elaborate that they aroused disapproval in certain Roman circles. Jesuit critics accused the Society of spending more money on this small concession than others had paid for the canonisation of their saints!<sup>81</sup>

The canonisation of their founder remained the dearest wish of the Jesuits particularly since founders of other orders such as Benedict, Dominic and Francis of Assisi were numbered among the saints. The concentration on Ignatius led to a delay in the beatification of Francis Xavier which took place under Paul V on 25 October 1619 in a secret consistory and without any external celebrations.<sup>82</sup> Three years later, Pope Gregory XV canonised the two friends and founding members of the Society of Jesus. They had worked closely together since their days as students and had made a significant contribution to the reform of the Catholic Church and to the spread of the Christian faith. The two Jesuits went through life together, were depicted together on the canonisation banner and, ever since, have greeted visitors to Jesuit churches.

### Sumario

Desde cuando eran estudiantes Francisco Javier e Ignacio de Loyola recorrieron los mismos caminos que los condujeron el 12 de marzo de 1622 a ser canonizados por el Papa Gregorio XV. Una muestra de ello es el pendón que se preparó para esa fiesta que representa a Ignacio al lado izquierdo y a Francisco Javier a la derecha. En él se inspiró la iconografía posterior de los dos Padres de la Compañía de Jesús, que saludan juntos a los visitantes en muchas iglesias de los jesuitas. Esta amistad de por vida de los dos vascos es sorprendente porque al principio Javier era extremadamente reservado frente a su coterráneo que había combatido contra sus propios hermanos en Pamplona y cuya devoción no le gustaba. Fue la servicialidad de Ignacio y sus Ejercicios los

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<sup>79</sup> \*4.x.1542 Montepulciano; SJ 20.ix.1560 Rome; †17.ix.1621 Rome (*DHCJ*, I, 387).

<sup>80</sup> König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, p. 40.

<sup>81</sup> König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, p. 32.

<sup>82</sup> Schurhammer, "Die Heiligsprechung Franz Xavers," in *Gesammelte Studien*, IV, 468.



que después de todo se convirtieron en la ocasión para que Javier entrara en la Compañía de Jesús y los que le dieron la fuerza para proclamar el evangelio como primer misionero jesuita en el Asia. Sus narraciones y sus cartas acerca de las misiones en la India y en el Japón suscitaron tanto entusiasmo en Europa que, después de su muerte en las costas frente a la China, movieron al rey de Portugal a pedirle al Papa su canonización. El proceso de exaltación de Ignacio a los altares fue mucho más difícil pues ya como estudiante había tenido qué ver frecuentemente con la Inquisición y su nueva orden religiosa había sido rechazada por algunos de los Cardenales. Él mismo era visto, especialmente en Alemania, como un contrareformador. Con una intensa campaña de información, Pedro Ribadeneira logró superar los obstáculos y alcanzar la canonización simultánea de estos Padres Fundadores de la orden de los Jesuitas.

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I

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THE FOOTSTEPS OF FRANCIS XAVIER

During his apostolic travels in India and Southeast Asia, Xavier gathered some rudimentary knowledge about the closed country of China. On his return from Japan in 1551, he stopped on the island of Shangchuan where he read a letter of a Portuguese merchant imprisoned in China. The merchant appealed to his fellow merchants to send an embassy from the king of Portugal to the emperor of China in order to gain the liberation of the prisoners. By accompanying such an embassy Xavier saw a way to enter China and get permission to preach there. To fulfill his "China plan" Xavier returned to India, made arrangements for the embassy and left for Malacca. There a disgruntled Portuguese official stopped the embassy. Xavier's only choice was to proceed alone to Shangchuan. He hoped to get a Chinese merchant to help him enter Canton. The merchant never came and Xavier died on Shangchuan in December, 1552.

Xavier's pioneering efforts led other Jesuits such as Melchior Nunes Barreto, Francisco Pêres and Manuel Teixeira to follow his path. By 1557 the Chinese allowed the Portuguese merchants to live in Macau which became the principal site of trade with the Chinese. The documents in the *Monumenta Sinica* describe the accumulation of knowledge about China based on reports of missionaries traveling to Japan via Macau and from Portuguese prisoners in China. On short trips to Canton, Jesuits helped ransom some prisoners and so learned more about Chinese customs. But the proper procedures for the establishment of a permanent mission to China remained so unclear that an embassy to the emperor in Beijing was still under discussion in Macau in 1562.

# LA VIDA Y MISIÓN DE FRANCISCO JAVIER A LA LUZ DE LA ESPIRITUALIDAD IGNACIANA

Jesús López-Gay, S.J.\*

La grandeza del misionero no se mide sólo por los kilómetros recorridos, ni por las dificultades superadas. Hay que buscarla en una fuerza más profunda de su mismo ser, en algo que ha recibido. Ciertamente la fuente última está en Dios, y en la actual economía, en su Hijo Jesucristo, pero el canal de esa fuerza sobrenatural son esos intermediarios que Dios ha colocado junto a los santos. En el caso de Javier encontramos a San Ignacio, inspirador y modelador de su espiritualidad misionera.

Quizás encontremos la raíz última en los Ejercicios Espirituales que Javier hizo bajo la dirección de Ignacio, París 1534. San Ignacio confesaba que Javier fue conquistado para la Compañía por medio de los Ejercicios.<sup>1</sup> De estos Ejercicios Javier nunca se olvidará. El libro de los Ejercicios fue para Javier el libro de su vida. Encontramos un eco constante en sus cartas, como veremos. A la hora de tomar sus decisiones espirituales y misioneras, siempre seguía las líneas maestras de los Ejercicios, tanto las que ofrecen los modos de elección como las de las reglas de discernimiento de espíritus.

Encontramos otra fuente de la espiritualidad javeriana en el contacto personal con el santo fundador. Javier vivió muchos años decisivos junto a Ignacio y permaneció en Roma un tiempo como secretario de la Compañía naciente (1539-40), donde el influjo de Ignacio fue claro. Escribiendo a los jesuitas de Europa, 22 de junio 1549, asegura que "casi siempre llevo delante de mis ojos y entendimiento, lo que muchas veces oí decir a nuestro bienaventurado padre Ignacio, que los que habían de ser de nuestra Compañía,

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<sup>1</sup> "Acta Patris Ignatii scripta a P. Lud. González de Cámara," MHSI, *Fontes narr.*, I, 476.

habían de trabajar mucho para vencerse y desarraizar de sí todos los temores.”<sup>2</sup> Se trata de una experiencia del trato personal con Ignacio, a quien recuerda constantemente en sus cartas. Y esta experiencia de cercanía la transmite a los demás. Según Javier, a los superiores “sino obedecerle en todo, como si el padre Ignacio os mandase,”<sup>3</sup> “esto es lo que os mando y encomiendo mucho, así de parte de Dios, como de parte de nuestro padre Ignacio. . . .”<sup>4</sup>

No podemos olvidar como otra fuente de inspiración espiritual, las cartas de Ignacio a Javier, cuando ya trabajaba en las misiones: le llenaban de consolación espiritual, le renovaban espiritualmente, y le encendían en fervor misionero. Finalmente, cuando muere Javier (1552), joven, enseguida algunos compañeros suyos de la India escriben a Ignacio de Loyola cartas llenas admiración por el santo misionero, donde es fácil encontrar un reflejo del espíritu heredado de Ignacio.

La compenetración entre ambos santos fue grande, íntima. Por una parte, Javier escribe a Ignacio, 22 enero 1548, (el texto que se conserva está en latín) “Dios me es testigo, Padre carísimo, de cuán intensamente le pido veros aún en esta vida, para hablar con vos de muchas cosas que requieren vuestra ayuda y remedio, pues ninguna distancia se opone a la obediencia.”<sup>5</sup> Desea ser llamado por Ignacio. Se deduce que en sus planes misioneros, Javier busca y necesita la ayuda de San Ignacio. En una carta escrita un año más tarde, Javier llama a Ignacio, “padre mío único,” “padre mío,” de mí alma y le dice que le escribe “de rodillas.”<sup>6</sup>

San Ignacio por su parte escribió al Juan III, rey de Portugal, a finales de 1548, pidiendo que volvieran a Roma los primeros jesuitas para deliberar sobre el estado de la Compañía, ganar juntos el Jubileo del 1550, y para tener noticias directas de las misiones.<sup>7</sup> Años más tarde, directamente Ignacio escribe a Javier el 28 de junio del 1553 ordenándole la vuelta a Europa, pero ignoraba Ignacio

<sup>2</sup> Malaca 22 de junio 1549, *Cartas y escritos de San Francisco Javier*, ed. Félix Zubillaga, S.J., tercera edición (Madrid: BAC, 1979) doc. 85, núm. 13, p. 337. El editor sigue la enumeración de la edición crítica de MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 150. Esta misma enumeración siguen las principales ediciones y traducciones modernas.

<sup>3</sup> “Instrucción para el novicio Juan Bravo,” Malaca 23 de junio 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, Doc. 89, núm. 8, p. 347; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 165.

<sup>4</sup> “Instrucción cuarta al padre Barzeo sobre la manera de conducirse,” Goa entre 6 y 14 de abril 1552, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 117, núm. 14, p. 472; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 420.

<sup>5</sup> Cochín 20 de enero 1548, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 60, núm. 1, pp. 227-28; MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 397.

<sup>6</sup> Cochín 12 de enero 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 70, los textos citados en los números, 2, 6, 15, 16, pp. 266, 268, 273-74; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 6, 8-9, 15-16.

<sup>7</sup> Al Simão Rodrigues, Roma 1 de mayo 1549, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, II, 390-91.

que medio año antes de escribir esta carta, Javier había fallecido. Ignacio expone los fines de la venida de Javier a Roma, casi todos ellos misioneros: "Hemos entendido la puerta, que Dios Nuestro Señor ha abierto a la predicación de su evangelio y conversión de las gentes en Japón y la China por vuestro ministerio. . . que mirando el mayor servicio de Dios N.S. y ayuda de las ánimas en esas regiones . . . me he determinado a mandaros en virtud de santa obediencia, que entre tantos caminos toméis este de Portugal con la primera oportunidad en buen pasaje y os lo mando en nombre de Cristo N.S., aunque sea para tornar presto a la India," y entre los motivos que Ignacio enumera, el primero es: mover al rey de Portugal en la empresa de la conversión de Guinea y Brasil, segundo, importando tanto que la Sede Apostólica tenga información cierta y entera "de las cosas de las Indias, y de persona que tenga crédito para con ella . . . vos para esto seríades más a propósito de otro de los que allá están por la noticias que tenéis y por la que se tiene de vuestra persona." El último motivo misionero de la venida de Javier a Europa sería para "mover y escoger las personas más idóneas" para las misiones.<sup>8</sup> Quizás nos puede extrañar ese motivo de informar a la Santa Sede sobre las misiones, pero hay que recordar que entonces no existía ningún dicastero propiamente misionero.

Cuando vuelve del Japón, Javier encuentra en Malaca el correo romano de tres años y entre las cartas leyó una de Ignacio, que terminaba con esta frase, "Todo vuestro, sin poderme olvidar en tiempo alguno, Ignacio," y comenta Javier, "así como con lágrimas leí, con lágrimas las escribo, acordándome del tiempo pasado, del mucho amor que siempre me tuvo y tiene, y también considerando cómo de los muchos trabajos y peligros del Japón, me libró Dios Nuestro Señor por la intercesión de las santas oraciones de vuestra caridad."<sup>9</sup> Comenta a sus hermanos, que para no perder la memoria de ellos llevaba siempre consigo la fórmula de la profesión y el nombre de ellos recortados de sus cartas. Cuando Javier muere en el relicario que solía llevar al cuello, sobre su corazón, encontraron la firma de San Ignacio, la fórmula de su profesión y una reliquia de Santo Tomás.<sup>10</sup>

### Los Ejercicios Espirituales en la vida y misión de Javier

Ya recordamos cómo Ignacio reconocía que Javier había sido ganado para Cristo y para la Compañía por medio de los Ejercicios. El ideal de vida que

<sup>8</sup> Roma 28 de junio 1553, MHSI, *Epp. Ign.*, V, 148-51.

<sup>9</sup> Cochín 29 de enero 1552, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 97, núm. 1, pp. 404-05; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 287. La carta de San Ignacio con el texto copiado por Javier no se ha conservado.

<sup>10</sup> A sus compañeros de Europa, Amboina 10 de mayo 1546, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 55, núm. 10, pp. 193-94; MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 330. Sobre el detalle del relicario encontrado sobre su corazón, ver MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 575-80.

presenta Ignacio en los Ejercicios, se realiza en la vida misionera de Javier. Es imposible conocer a Javier sin conocer los Ejercicios. El texto de los Ejercicios estaba aún manuscrito en los primeros años misioneros de Javier, se imprimieron en 1548, pero desde el comienzo, Javier llevaba algunas copias consigo, los cita constantemente y sobre todo los vive. Las ideas de los Ejercicios le son tan familiares, que muchas veces son transcritas con las mismas palabras ignacianas.<sup>11</sup>

Como en el caso de los "Tres modos de orar" (*Ejerc.*, n. 238ss<sup>12</sup>), "que podemos leer en una instrucción javeriana,<sup>13</sup> o en el de las reglas 11 y 13 para sentir con la Iglesia" (*Ejerc.*, nn. 363, 365).<sup>14</sup>

Javier escribe desde Lisboa donde espera la nave para ir al oriente, vamos a dar Ejercicios.<sup>15</sup> Ya en la India, Goa, manda que los que desean entrar en la Compañía, "después de acabados los Ejercicios," se ejerciten en obras de caridad.<sup>16</sup> En Malaca escribió una instrucción<sup>17</sup> para el novicio Juan Bravo<sup>18</sup> sobre la forma de meditar los Ejercicios, siguiendo el método y el vocabulario

<sup>11</sup> Una bibliografía, sólo indicativa, sobre Javier y los Ejercicios, en Ignacio Iparraguirre, S.J. "Los Ejercicios espirituales ignacianos, el método misional de San Francisco Javier y la misión jesuítica de India en el siglo XVI," *Studia Missionaria* 5 (1950) 4-43. León Lopetegui, S.J., "San Francisco Javier y los Ejercicios Espirituales," *El Siglo de las Misiones* 39 (1952) número extraordinario, que contiene además de la Introducción (I), un breve estudio de Iparraguirre (II), y unas indicaciones "El Eco de los Ejercicios en las cartas y escritos de Javier" (III) 38-51.

<sup>12</sup> Uso las *Obras Completas de San Ignacio de Loyola*, ed. Cándido de Dalmases, S.J., segunda edición (Madrid: BAC, 1963). Los números se refieren a los párrafos numerados estandarizados en todas las ediciones.

<sup>13</sup> "Modo de rezar y salvar el alma," Goa entre junio y agosto de 1548, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 66; MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 447-60.

<sup>14</sup> "Declaración del símbolo de la fe," Temate agosto a septiembre de 1546, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 58, núm. 9, p. 212; MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 366-67. Javier coloca esta obligación de obedecer "en todo lo que creen los que rigen y gobiernan la Iglesia universal de Jesucristo, pues por el Espíritu Santo son inspirados y regidos," y en concreto recuerda los "santos cánones y concilios, que son ordenados por la Iglesia, hechos por el papa y cardenales, patriarcas, arzobispos, obispos y preladados de la Iglesia."

<sup>15</sup> Lisboa 22 de octubre 1540, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 9, núm. 2, p. 68; MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 67 en la misma carta recuerda que el rey de Portugal pidió los Ejercicios "con deseo de verlos."

<sup>16</sup> "Instrucción para el padre Barzeo, que había de ir a Ormuz," Goa principios de abril 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 80, núm. 27, pp. 309-10; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 94.

<sup>17</sup> "Instrucción para el novicio Juan Bravo," Malaca 23 de junio 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 89, pp. 345-47; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 163-65 explicando cómo debe hacer los Ejercicios.

<sup>18</sup> †1575 Goa (Josephus Fejér, S.J., *Defuncti primi saeculi Societatis Iesu 1540-1640*, 2 vols. [Rome: Institutum Historicum S.J., 1976] II, 31).

proprio de los Ejercicios ignacianos. El mismo dio los Ejercicios a los tres japoneses que se habían bautizado en Goa, “hicieron todos tres los Ejercicios espirituales; cada uno de ellos estuvo un mes en los Ejercicios, y cada uno de ellos se aprovechó mucho.”<sup>19</sup> Es el primer contacto de los japoneses con los Ejercicios ignacianos, y se realizó por medio de Javier. Todas estas noticias son una señal de la difusión de los Ejercicios en las misiones del oriente, aunque no hubieran llegado aún las copias impresas. Y el mediador de esta difusión es Javier.

Los Ejercicios no eran para convertir infieles, sino para santificar a los cristianos como hemos visto en estos últimos ejemplos. En Javier, como veremos, los Ejercicios dejaron una huella indeleble, y a la hora del trabajo misionero, como la elección de lugares donde trabajar o de métodos misionales que usar, los Ejercicios ignacianos ofrecieron a Javier reglas llenas de luz como las contenidas en los métodos de elección y discernimiento de espíritus.

El título de los Ejercicios: “Ejercicios espirituales para vencer a sí mismo y ordenar su vida, sin determinarse por *affección* alguna que desordenada sea” (*Ejerc.*, n. 21), se puede compendiar en aquella frase de Javier, en la que recuerda que las virtudes son un don de Dios, “pero comúnmente a los que se esfuerzan, venciendo a sí mismos.”<sup>20</sup> Reprocha a los universitarios que por sus *afecciones* desordenadas no pueden hacer buena elección en su vida.<sup>21</sup> El texto de los Ejercicios se abre con unas “Anotaciones para tomar alguna inteligencia en los Ejercicios espirituales” (*Ejerc.*, n. 1). No podemos recordar todas. Indicaremos algunas para ver cómo se reflejan en los escritos javerianos; el centro de la anotación primera es el verbo “disponer,” por Ejercicios se entienden “todo modo de preparar y disponer el ánima para hallar la voluntad divina en la disposición de su vida.” Javier más de una vez habla de esta disposición a la que él mismo aspira para que se realice la voluntad de Dios aún a precio de su sangre, “para disponerse a determinar de perder la vida por Dios,

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<sup>19</sup> A los padres Juan de Beira y compañeros, Malaca 20 de junio 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 82, núm. 2, p. 318; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 111. Ese mismo día escribió al rey de Portugal recordando cómo os tres japoneses, “hicieron los Ejercicios Espirituales con mucho recogimiento, en los cuales vinieron en mucho conocimiento de Dios,” Malaca 20 de junio 1549, doc. 83, núm. 2, p. 322; *Xavier*, II, 117.

<sup>20</sup> A la Compañía de Jesús, Europa, Malaca 22 de junio 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 85, núm. 13, p. 337; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 150. Esta conclusión de Javier cierra el recuerdo personal de Ignacio, citado en la nota 2.

<sup>21</sup> A sus compañeros residentes en Roma, Cochin 15 de enero 1544, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 20, núm. 8, pp. 110-12; MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 166-69. Es el mismo vocabulario que Ignacio usa en el preámbulo para hacer Elección dentro de los Ejercicios.

para hallarla en él.”<sup>22</sup> La Anotación 7a (*Ejerc.*, n. 7), recuerda al que da los Ejercicios que si el que los recibe “está desolado y tentado, no se haya con él duro ni desabrido, mas blando y suave, dándole ánimo y para adelante; y descubriéndole las astucias del enemigo de natura humana, y haciéndole preparar y disponer para la consolación ventura.” Y casi las mismas palabras en una instrucción de Javier a un padre espiritual, “trabajad por ayudar a los que se ejercitan en espíritu, para que os descubran sus tentaciones, porque está es un gran remedio para que los imperfectos vengan a perfección; y si os ven riguroso en dar mortificaciones, no os descubrirán las tentaciones, e irán creciendo en ellas hasta tanto, que los des inquieten del todo. . . .”<sup>23</sup>

El fruto del “Principio y Fundamento,” puerta de los Ejercicios (*Ejerc.*, n. 23), es convencernos que hemos sido creados para servir y alabar a Dios, haciéndonos “indiferentes a las cosas criadas,” “solamente deseando y eligiendo lo que más conduce para el fin que somos criados.” Palabras claves que caracterizan la espiritualidad javeriana, “la indiferencia” ante las creaturas, de la que nace la disponibilidad, y ese aspirar a lo que “más conduce al servicio y gloria de Dios.”<sup>24</sup> El vocabulario ignaciano propio de los Ejercicios, lo encontramos en algunos textos javerianos, como en la instrucción al P. Barceo<sup>25</sup> sobre el contenido y forma de su predicación,<sup>26</sup> cómo proponer la meditación de los “pecados” (*Ejerc.*, n. 45ss.), otras meditaciones ignacianas se repiten en las cartas de Javier,<sup>27</sup> como las meditaciones de las “dos banderas” (*Ejerc.*, n. 146), o de las “tres maneras de humildad” (*Ejerc.*, n. 167), que presentan el ideal de la perfección ignaciana señalando la pobreza, la humildad y el deseo de “oprobios” para seguir a Cristo más de cerca, encuentran, como era de esperar, en las cartas

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<sup>22</sup> A sus compañeros de Europa, Amboina 10 de mayo 1546, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 55, núm. 4, pp. 190-91; MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 325-26.

<sup>23</sup> “Instrucción para el padre Barceo, que había de ir a Ormuz,” Goa principios de abril 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 80, núm. 28, p. 310; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 94-95.

<sup>24</sup> A sus compañeros residentes en Goa, Kagoshima 5 de noviembre 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 90, núm. 25, p. 359; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 193-94; A la Compañía de Jesús, Europa, Malaca 22 de junio 1549, doc. 85, núm. 13, pp. 337-38; *Xavier*, II, 150; A sus compañeros de Europa, Amboina 10 de mayo 1546, doc. 55, núm. 4, pp. 190-91; *Xavier*, I, 325-26.

<sup>25</sup> Jasper Berse (Barzaeus): \*1515 Goes; SJ 20.iv.1546 · Coimbra; †18.x.1553 Goa (Willem Audenaert, *Prosopographia Iesuitica Belgica Antiqua (PIBA). A Biographical Dictionary of the Jesuits in the Low Countries 1542-1773*, 4 vols. [Leuven-Heverlee: Filosofisch en Theologisch College S.J., 2000] I, 76-77).

<sup>26</sup> “Instrucción para el padre Barceo, que había de ir a Ormuz,” Goa principios de abril 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 80, núm. 9, pp. 305-06; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 88-89.

<sup>27</sup> “Declaración del símbolo de la fe,” Ternate agosto a septiembre de 1546, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 58, núms. 2, 3, 9, pp. 204-06, 212; MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 356-58, 366-67.



de Javier un reflejo exacto, “trabajad por venceros a vos mismo en todo, negando siempre al propio apetito o a lo que él se inclina, y sufriendo y abrazando lo que más aborrece y huye. Y en todas las cosas pretended ser abatido y humillado; porque sin la verdadera humildad ni vos podéis crecer en espíritu, ni aprovechar en él a los prójimos.”<sup>28</sup>

Unos de los puntos centrales dentro de los Ejercicios es la doctrina de las “elecciones” (*Ejerc.*, n. 169ss), elección no sólo del estado de vida, sino de la forma de vivir más evangélicamente, elección de los campos de trabajo donde servir al Señor de la mies. La materia de los modos de elección se complementa con las llamadas “Reglas de discernimiento” de Espíritu (*Ejerc.*, n. 313ss).

En la vida misionera de Javier encontramos al santo ante la elección de las rutas que debe seguir, de los modos de proceder misionariamente, de los compañeros que le acompañen. En estos momentos le guiarán los modos y reglas indicadas. Escojamos el caso de la misión del Japón. Ante todo, Ignacio propone para hacer una buena elección, “considerar racionando” los provechos y peligros de la futura decisión (*Ejerc.*, n. 181), y Javier nos recuerda que “mucho tiempo estuve, después de tener información de Japón, si iría o no allá, para determinarme.”<sup>29</sup> Son los momentos previos a tomar la decisión en los que brotan muchas dudas. “Aun no he resuelto definitivamente si yo mismo iré a Japón con uno o dos de la Compañía después de año y medio, o enviaré por delante a dos de los nuestros.”<sup>30</sup> Javier duda si ir solo al Japón o enviar primero a otros jesuitas. La elección definitiva aún no está tomada. Antes de hacer una buena elección, propone San Ignacio la “oración” (*Ejerc.*, n. 180); y antes de decidirse, Javier ora y hace orar. Después del texto citado añade, “Pido a Dios que me inspire con toda claridad lo que sea más de su agrado.” Una vez decidido ir al Japón, en el viaje le descubren sus amigos las dificultades que encontrará en esta nueva misión, y se las cuenta a sus hermanos “porque estéis

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<sup>28</sup> “Instrucción para el novicio Juan Bravo,” Malaca 23 de junio 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 89, núm. 7, pp. 346-47; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 165.

<sup>29</sup> A la Compañía de Jesús, Europa, Malaca 22 de junio 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 85, núm. 8, p. 336; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 148.

<sup>30</sup> Cochín 20 de enero 1548, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 60, núm. 4, p. 229; MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 399. Lo mismo se podría decir de su viaje a Malaca y a las islas Molucas, ver A sus compañeros de Europa, Amboina 10 de mayo 1546, doc. 55, núm. 5, pp. 191-92; *Xavier*, I, 327-27. Muy interesante el discernimiento espiritual de Javier sobre un posible viaje a China, ver sus cartas escritas en Japón: a sus compañeros residentes en Goa, Kagoshima 5 de noviembre 1549, doc. 90, núms. 5, 6; *Xavier*, II, 180-82; al padre Pablo, Kagoshima 5 de noviembre 1549, doc. 92, núm. 1; *Xavier*, II, 217; y sobre todo, a sus compañeros de Europa, Cochín 29 de enero 1552, doc. 96, núm. 51; *Xavier*, II, 277: “creo que este año de 52 iré allá . . . porque es tierra donde se puede mucho acrecentar la ley de nuestro Señor Jesucristo, y si ahí la recibiesen sería grande ayuda, para que en Japón desconfiaran de las sectas en que creen.”

al cabo de cuánta necesidad tenemos los que vamos a Japón, de ser favorecidos y ayudados con las devotas oraciones y santos sacrificios de todos los hermanos de la bendita Compañía del nombre de Jesús.”<sup>31</sup> Ya en el Japón, experimenta las nuevas dificultades, externas y morales, dentro del ambiente budista, y se imponen nuevas elecciones para seguir la voluntad de Dios, y de nuevo se vuelve a sus hermanos: “Casi nos es forzado haceros saber de una merced que nos va pareciendo que Dios Nuestro Señor nos ha de hacer, para que con vuestros sacrificios y oraciones nos ayudéis a que no la desmerezcamos,”<sup>32</sup> y un poco más adelante en la misma carta pide a sus hermanos que sean “sus intercesores en la tierra, para que por su intercesión seamos presentados a la santa madre Iglesia universal, esposa de Cristo nuestro Señor y Redentor nuestro.”<sup>33</sup>

Dios da a conocer los caminos que se han de seguir y las elecciones que se han de hacer por medio de “sentimientos y experiencias de consolaciones” (*Ejerc.*, nn. 176, 177). Son modos más pasivos, pues Dios ocupa el papel de protagonista tomando la iniciativa. Leamos dos textos de una carta de Javier: “Mucho tiempo estuve, después de tener información de Japón, si iría o no allá . . . [y Javier se determina] después que Dios nuestro Señor quiso darme a sentir, dentro en mi alma, ser él servido que fuera a Japón. Grande es la consolación que llevamos en ver que Dios nuestro Señor ve las intenciones y fines porque vamos a Japón.”<sup>34</sup> En otra ocasión, recuerda Javier el fruto de la “desolación,” que es la desconfianza, y cómo “Dios permite al demonio desconsolar y vejar aquellas creaturas que de pusilánimes dejan de confiar en su Criador, no tomando fuerzas esperando en él.”<sup>35</sup>

Ignacio y Javier dos almas misioneras, unidas por una mutua estima y un sincero amor. La primera, Ignacio, tuvo la experiencia de la universalidad de la salvación, oyendo la llamada del rey eterno delante de todo el mundo, “mi voluntad es de conquistar toda la tierra de infieles” (*Ejerc.*, n. 93), entendió la

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<sup>31</sup> A la Compañía de Jesús, Europa, Malaca 22 de junio 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 85, núm. 15, p. 338; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 151.

<sup>32</sup> A sus compañeros residentes en Goa, Kagoshima 5 de noviembre 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 90, núm. 46, p. 366; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 203-04.

<sup>33</sup> A sus compañeros residentes en Goa, Kagoshima 5 de noviembre 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 90, núm. 51, p. 368; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 206.

<sup>34</sup> A la Compañía de Jesús, Europa, Malaca 22 de junio 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 85, núms. 8, 11, pp. 336, 337; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 148, 149.

<sup>35</sup> A sus compañeros residentes en Goa, Kagoshima 5 de noviembre 1549, *Cartas y escritos*, doc. 90, núm. 8, pp. 351-52; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 183. 8. La explicación de Javier dentro de este contexto se inspira, aun verbalmente en las reglas 5 y 12 de discernimiento de espíritus, propias de la primera semana (*Ejerc.*, nn. 318, 325).

necesidad de la cooperación humana para que la salvación llegase al mundo, "quien quisiere venir conmigo" (*Ejerc.*, n. 93), e intuyó el valor de la función de la dependencia del Papa para no errar en la obra misionera, imponiendo un voto nuevo sobre las misiones entre fieles e infieles, a las que el Papa quisiera enviar. Javier, la segunda alma misionera, vive y pone en práctica estos ideales descubiertos por Ignacio. Son dos temperamentos diferentes, pero: unidos dentro de una misma espiritualidad, servir a Dios y predicar el evangelio a los infieles. Antes de querer formar una orden religiosa, todos los compañeros unidos a Ignacio tuvieron un ideal, unirse para llevar el evangelio a los infieles. Ignacio y Javier, como hemos visto, son dos almas inseparables, y cada una tiene su función especial, propia. En Javier se nota una sicología más juvenil, emprendedora. Abre nuevas rutas pero sin olvidar la figura y las enseñanzas de su padre y maestro Ignacio. Ignacio como estratega planifica el envío de misioneros, los despide, les escribe, les anima y mantiene siempre un contacto con ellos. Javier, como uno de éstos, se siente unido y sostenido por Ignacio, y con esta ayuda lleva adelante su actividad misionera.

### Summary

Ignatius Loyola inspired and moderated the spirituality of Francis Xavier. In Europe, it was through personal contact. After his departure for the Far East, correspondence was the means. In his letters, Xavier recalled the person and doctrine of his spiritual master; Ignatius, on his part, did not fail to recommend courses that his disciple should follow. For Xavier, Ignatius was "my father, my unique father." The principal means whereby Loyola influenced Xavier was the Spiritual Exercises which Xavier made under Loyola's direction in Paris in 1534. Echoes of these Exercises, especially concerning election, can be heard throughout Xavier's letters.



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## *DICCIONARIO HISTÓRICO DE LA COMPAÑÍA DE JESÚS BIOGRÁFICO-TEMÁTICO*

En el año 1977, los entonces miembros del Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús decidieron la comenzar la tarea de realizar un diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. En 1979 el P. Pedro Arrupe aprobó dicho proyecto. En la pasada fiesta de San Francisco Javier finalmente esta obra ha visto la luz. Se trata de unas 4110 páginas, distribuidas en cuatro tomos, en las que se presentan unas 5.637 biografías, 138 artículos globales de naciones en las que la Compañía ha actuado y se desarrollan, además, 158 temas específicos sobre diversas actividades de la Orden y sobre su Instituto. Han colaborado unos 700 autores y un grupo de traductores y revisores. Esta enciclopedia ha sido editada conjuntamente por la Pontificia Universidad de Comillas (Madrid) y por el Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús. El precio de la obra es de Euro 300 (más gastos de envío). Los pedidos pueden ser dirigidos a

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# THE ICONOGRAPHY AND CULT OF FRANCIS XAVIER, 1552-1640

Maria Cristina Osswald\*

This essay intends to demonstrate the close connection between the most important iconographic portrayals of Francis Xavier and his cult veneration. Fixed chronological points define the research: Xavier's death in 1552 is the *terminus a quo* and the commemoration of the centenary of the Jesuit order in 1640 with the publication of the *Imago primi saeculi*, the *terminus ad quem*.<sup>1</sup> This publication brought to a close a period of visual experimentation with the creation of new types of image, and gave final shape to the iconography. Even iconographic episodes in the saint's *vita*, e.g. Xavier's death on Sancian off China, which after this date—especially towards the end of the seventeenth century—were turned into individual narrative scenes, were already present in the cycle. The most important stages in the process will first be presented, starting with a review of the period immediately before his canonisation to demonstrate how early Jesuit art defined a character appropriate or suited to a saint. An overall classification follows.

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<sup>1</sup> Jean Bolland, *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu* (Antwerp: Ex-Officina Plantiniana Balthasari Moretto, 1640).

### The Movement Towards Canonisation

Certain news of Xavier's death first reached Europe in 1555. Immediately Juan de Polanco<sup>2</sup> noted that Rome wanted to initiate an investigation of Xavier's miraculous deeds, both during his life and after his death, with a view towards canonisation.<sup>3</sup> King John III of Portugal (1502-1557), at whose court Xavier had stayed before his departure for India, officially initiated the process for beatification. The king had been deeply impressed by a great interest throughout Portugal about Xavier's virtues and deeds. Via the fleet sailing from Lisbon to India in 1556, he wrote to his Viceroy Dom Pedro de Mascarenhas that Xavier's life had been so exemplary and edifying that he was instructing his officials to track down credible witnesses in all parts of India to Xavier's works, virtues and miracles and send their sworn statements to him with official confirmation, by three routes.<sup>4</sup>

Unbeknownst to King John, Pedro de Mascarenhas had died, but his successor Francisco Barreto implemented the royal order. In 1556 and 1557, authorities questioned sixty-three witnesses in Goa, Cochin, Bassein and Malacca. With the exception of one native Indian, all were Portuguese: officers, merchants, officials, former colleagues, generally individuals who had known Xavier personally and remembered him fondly. King John forwarded the testimonies to Rome as soon as he had received them to start the process and to obtain the required permission to celebrate the date of death liturgically even before canonisation.<sup>5</sup> Another supporter of Xavier's canonisation was the Japanese nobleman Ōtomo Yoshishige of Bungo.<sup>6</sup> In 1582 he sent an embassy of four young Japanese nobles with accompanying letters to Pope Gregory XIII and the Spanish King Philip II. Both were eager to foster the process of Xavier's beatification so that, in the words of Ōtomo Yoshishige, "we can build churches and altars to him, set up images of him, celebrate his Mass, and pray daily for his intercession."<sup>7</sup>

The first official hints of Jesuit efforts towards the canonisation of Xavier can be seen in 1575. The provincial congregation of Goa forwarded a

<sup>2</sup> \*24.xii.1517 Burgos; SJ 1541 Rome; †20.xii.1576 Rome (DHCJ, III, 3168-3169).

<sup>3</sup> Polanco to Miguel Torres, Rome 21 November 1555, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 303-04.

<sup>4</sup> John III to Pedro de Mascarenhas, Lisbon 28 March 1556, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 470-71.

<sup>5</sup> MHSI, *Chronicon*, VI, 835.

<sup>6</sup> Ōtomo Yoshishige was baptised as Dom Francisco to honour Francis Xavier (Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Franciscus Xaverius SJ (1506-1552)," in *Gesammelte Studien*, ed. Georg Schurhammer, S.J., 4 vols. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1962-1965) BIHSI 20-23; III, 24.

<sup>7</sup> Schurhammer, "Franciscus Xaverius," 22.

postulatum to Father General Everard Mercurian<sup>8</sup> on the subject. He replied with a request that ecclesiastical authorities continue to take testimonies from witnesses.<sup>9</sup> The Fifth General Congregation (1593) instructed Father General Claudio Acquaviva<sup>10</sup> to petition the Apostolic See to canonise Francis Xavier and Ignatius Loyola "if solid grounds exist for it in the name of experts."<sup>11</sup> Beyond the Society of Jesus, the fifth provincial council of Goa in 1606 supported the petition as did the Portuguese Council of State, King Philip III of Spain (and Portugal).<sup>12</sup>

Pope Paul V accepted the petition and began proceedings. He ordered the re-examination and authentication of the testimonies gathered in 1556-57, and authorised further investigations *in specie* at Cebú (Philippines) in 1608 and 1613. In 1610 he instructed that more testimonies be gathered in Rome. Three years later, over forty people had been questioned. Further enquiries were held in Pamplona (1614-15), Lisbon (1615-16), Goa (1615 and 1616), Daman (1615), and in 1616 in Cochín, Travancore, and Quilon. Xavier was ultimately beatified on 21 October 1619 and canonised with Ignatius, Philip Neri, Theresa of Avila and Isidore of Madrid on 12 March 1622. The brief of beatification permitted Jesuits to celebrate Masses in Xavier's honour in the churches of the Indies and in the castle of his birth. In the case of Goa, however, this merely legitimised an already existing practice because Xavier had been honoured as a saint since 1615.<sup>13</sup>

Important cultural stimuli had preceded the official process of canonisation. For decades, the Society had utilised Xavier's life as a model not simply for Jesuits but for the whole evangelizing Church. Manuel Acosta, professor of Jurisprudence at the University of Coimbra, prefaced his *Rerum a Societate Jesu in Oriente gestarum* (Dillingen, 1581) with a short biography of Francis Xavier. Acosta first explained Xavier's mission mandate from King John III, the Jesuit's

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<sup>8</sup> \*1514 Marcourt; SJ 8.ix.1548 Paris; elected Father General 23.iv.1573; †1.viii.1580 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1611-612).

<sup>9</sup> "Answer of the General Everard Mercurian to the First Congregation of the Province of India, Rome, 31 January 1577," MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, X, 358.

<sup>10</sup> \* 4.ix.1543 Atri; SJ 22.vii.1567 Rome; elected Father General 19.ii.1581; †31.i.1615 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1614-615).

<sup>11</sup> Decree 71 in John W. Padberg, S.J., Martin D. O'Keefe, S.J., and John L. McCarthy, S.J., eds., *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations* (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources 1994) p. 212.

<sup>12</sup> Fernão Guerreiro, S. J., *Relação Anual das coisas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas missões*, 3 vols. (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1931) II, 352.

<sup>13</sup> "Litterae annuae" (1615), MHSI, *Mon. Xavier.*, II, 773.

journey to Goa, and his ministry at Cape Comorin among the pearl fishers who had already been converted by the Apostle Thomas. He reprinted the royal letter that ordered the gathering of testimonies in India in 1556, and briefly summarised the principal points made in the first hearings of the proceedings: the life of a saint, his miracles, his activities in the Moluccas and in Japan, and his death in the night between 2 and 3 December.<sup>14</sup>

Because of repeated requests from Rome, Manuel Teixeira,<sup>15</sup> a Jesuit friend of Xavier and a missionary in Goa, was entrusted with the task in 1580. Although Teixeira's account remained unpublished until 1912,<sup>16</sup> it was well-known within the Society and influenced all subsequent biographies of Xavier. The author had unique access to important sources such as eyewitnesses of Xavier's final days and his death. The Chinese Antonio de Santa Fé provided Teixeira with a first-hand account of Xavier's final days. The *Itinerario* by the Jesuit Brother Juan Fernández,<sup>17</sup> Xavier's companion in Japan, was an eyewitness report of his activities there. Teixeira received assistance from other personal acquaintances and friends, and had access to Xavier's correspondence and the documents of the canonisation processes.

After the Fifth General Congregation (1593), the first full biographies appeared. Orazio Torsellino<sup>18</sup> published *De Vita Francisci Xaverii* (Rome, 1594) and João de Lucena,<sup>19</sup> *História da Vida do Padre Francisco Xavier* (Lisbon, 1600). Torsellino's work, proclaimed the first biography of Xavier, was based on Teixeira's account but with additional material from Xavier's companions especially in Japan. Lucena's work, which was translated into Spanish and Italian in 1613, set Xavier's missionary activities more clearly within a historical context. Although Pedro de Ribadeneira<sup>20</sup> did not write a life of Francis Xavier, he influenced the subsequent historiography because of a chapter in his *Vita Ignatii di Loyola* (Naples, 1572).<sup>21</sup> Ribadeneira concentrated on Xavier's miraculous deeds, with an eye to promoting the process of his canonisation.

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<sup>14</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S. J., "Xaveriusforschung im 16. Jahrhundert, Zum 300. Gedenktag der Heiligsprechung (1622-1922) des Hl. Franziskus Xaverius," in *Gesammelte Studien*, III, 65.

<sup>15</sup> \*c. 1536 Miranda do Douro; SJ 1.ii.1551 Lisbon; †19.iii.1590 Goa (DHCJ, IV, 3717).

<sup>16</sup> Manuel Teixeira, "Vida de S. Francisco Xavier," MHSI, *Mon. Xaverii*, II, 815-918.

<sup>17</sup> \*1526 Córdoba; SJ 19.v.1547 Coimbra; †26.vi.1567 Hirado (MHSI, *Mon. Iap.*, III, 52).

<sup>18</sup> \*xi.1544 Rome; SJ 15.viii.1562 Rome; †6.iv.1599 Rome (DHCJ, IV, 3827).

<sup>19</sup> \*27.xii.1549 Trancoso; SJ 14.iii.1565 Coimbra; †2.x.1600 Lisbon (DHCJ, III, 2435).

<sup>20</sup> \*1.xi.1526 Toledo; SJ 1.ix.1540 Rome; †22.ix.1611 Madrid (DHCJ, IV, 3345).

<sup>21</sup> I shall cite a more recent Spanish edition: *Vida de Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1967).



According to him, Xavier had thrice raised persons from the dead in India and once in Japan.<sup>22</sup>

Histories of Jesuit missions in Asia, e.g. Luís de Guzmán,<sup>23</sup> *Historia de las misiones que han hecho los Religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús, para predicar el sancto Evangelio en la India Oriental y en los Reynos de la China y Japón* (Alcalá, 1601); Sebastião Gonçalves,<sup>24</sup> “Primeira parte da História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus . . . nos Reynos e Províncias da Índia Oriental” (1614)<sup>25</sup> and Pierre du Jarrie’s<sup>26</sup> popular *Histoire des Choses plus mémorables advenues dans les Indes Orientales* (Bordeaux, 1608, 1610, 1614); Daniello Bartoli,<sup>27</sup> *Dell’Istoria della Compagnia di Giesu, L’Asia: L’India, Il Giappone, and La Cina* (Rome, 1653-1663), who used documents from the proceedings no longer extant, as well as Niccolò Orlandini,<sup>28</sup> *Historiae Societatis Iesu prima pars* (Rome, 1614), added new details. Further contributions came accounts from other seventeenth-century Iberian authors such as João de Barros and Diogo de Couto’s classic *Décadas*<sup>29</sup> and Fernão Mendes Pinto’s *Peregrinação* (Lisbon, 1614) ensured wide dissemination of reports about Xavier and his missionary activities.

### Formation of a Worldwide Cult of Xavier’s Relics

The cult of Xavier was not only promoted through writings. Veneration for his relics contributed significantly to his promotion. Xavier’s body was preserved in Goa after 1554; his lower right arm was at the Gesù in Rome after 1614. The upper right arm divided among the Jesuit colleges of Malacca, Macao and Cochín in 1619. At the request of the Father General Muzio Vitelleschi,<sup>30</sup> all internal organs were removed from the corpse and distributed to Jesuit settlements worldwide. Smaller portions of the arm were sent to Mechlin and

<sup>22</sup> *Vita Ignatii di Loyola*, p. 657.

<sup>23</sup> \*1544 Osorno; SJ 3.v.1543 Alcalá de Henares; †10.i.1605 Madrid (DHCJ, II, 1859).

<sup>24</sup> \*c. 1556 Ponte do Lima; SJ 31.i.1574 Évora; †23.iii.1619 Goa (DHCJ, II, 1778).

<sup>25</sup> This manuscript remained unpublished until this century. See Josef Wicki, S.J.’s edition, *Primeira parte da História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus*, 3 vols. (Coimbra: Atlântida, 1957-62).

<sup>26</sup> \*1566 Toulouse; SJ 8.xii.1582; †2.iii.1617 or 28.ii.1618 Saintes (*Sommervogel*, IV, 750).

<sup>27</sup> \*12.ii.1608 Ferrara; SJ 10.xii.1623 Novellara; †13.i.1685 Rome (DHCJ, I, 360).

<sup>28</sup> \*10.iv.1553 Florence; SJ 7.xi.1572 Rome; †17.v.1606 Rome (DHCJ, III, 2924).

<sup>29</sup> The complete edition appeared only in the late 18th century: João de Barros und Diogo do Couto, *Da Ásia de João de Barros e de Diogo do Couto: dos feitos que os portugueses fizeram no descobrimento dos mares e terras do Oriente*, 24 vols. (Lisbon, 1777-1788).

<sup>30</sup> \*2.xii.1563 Rome; SJ 15.viii.1583 Rome; elected Father General 15.xi.1615; †9.ii.1645 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1621).

Cologne; an ear went to Lisbon, half a toe, to his birthplace, pieces of breastbone, to Tokyo, and a tooth to Oporto.<sup>31</sup> Xavier's personal effects were also distributed throughout the Jesuit world. His *pileolus* (skull cap), worn at ceremonies as an insignia of his dignity as apostolic nuncio, can be found in Michaelskirche in Munich; his rosaries, in Cologne, Vienna and Stara Wieś in Poland, and his crucifixes, in Madrid, Lisbon, Dublin and Venice.<sup>32</sup>

As relics and objects associated with Xavier spread throughout the Jesuit world, his body remained uncorrupt. In the previously cited letter to Miguel Torres,<sup>33</sup> Polanco explained that many believed that the incorrupt body was a sign of a life untainted by corruption.<sup>34</sup> Reports consistently repeated that Xavier's body remained intact despite having been buried in fresh lime to hasten decay and having been moved from Sancian to Goa. His face retained a pink colour and the body emitted a pleasant odour. His clothing had not disintegrated. In fact, he even bled sixteen months after his death when a woman bit off his toe.<sup>35</sup> These comments highlight an important aspect of the canonisation process: an incorrupt body whose ability to work miracles is transferred to relics.

The veneration of the deceased at the grave constitutes an important step towards canonisation. In 1554 Xavier's body was transferred from Sancian to Goa, probably because the city was the Eastern centre of the Portuguese empire. Ecclesiastical and civil authorities received the transferred body with great reverence and splendour. Initially the body was interred in Old St. Paul's, but concern that Xavier merited a more noteworthy site prompted the first provincial congregation (1575) to address a postulatam to Mercurian on the subject.<sup>36</sup> Father General replied on 3 January 1577 that a more worthy grave site should be found.<sup>37</sup> In 1582, Jesuit authorities, moved Xavier's body to the novitiate, arguing that novices would draw inspiration by having such an

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<sup>31</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Die Xaveriusreliquien und ihre Geschichte," in *Gesammelte Studien*, IV, 345-48.

<sup>32</sup> Schurhammer, "Xaveriusreliquien," 354-58.

<sup>33</sup> \*23.viii.1509 Alagón; SJ ix.1546 Rome; †24.x.1593 Toledo (*DHCJ*, IV, 3824).

<sup>34</sup> Polanco to Torres, Rome 21 November 1555, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 303-04.

<sup>35</sup> "Report of Sebastião Gonçalves on the martyrs of Salsete, Goa December 1609," MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, XII, 994.

<sup>36</sup> List of questions raised at the First Provincial Congregation of Goa, 28 December 1575, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, X, 314.

<sup>37</sup> Answer of the General Everard Mercurian to the First Congregation of India, Rome 3 January 1577, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, X, 359.

exemplary model of Jesuit life always before their eyes.<sup>38</sup> In 1605 Xavier's body was laid in the Gospel side of the main chapel of *Bom Jesus* with a painting, most likely a portrait, close by.<sup>39</sup> In 1624, during celebrations surrounding the canonisation, his body was transferred from the chapel into the the *Bom Jesus* church proper; in 1637, the body was interred in the handsome silver shrine [fig. 1]. There it remains.<sup>40</sup>

Persistent efforts by Jesuits in Rome to bring relics to the Eternal City demonstrate the importance of Xavier for the still young order. In 1607, some pestered Father General Acquaviva to authorise the transfer of Xavier's head to Rome. Repeated requests resulted in the separation of the right arm. That, apparently, satisfied them.<sup>41</sup> In 1614 Xavier's arm was placed in a side altar of the *Gesù*, directly opposite an altar dedicated to Loyola. Almost immediately the arm was exposed for public veneration.<sup>42</sup>

At the proceedings in Pamplona in 1614, the Bishop of Jaca, Dom Fermin Gruzat y Sabalda, testified to the popular respect for the room in which Xavier was allegedly born, and the font, where he had been baptised.<sup>43</sup> At the second series of hearing held in Lisbon in 1616, a witness, Father Francisco da Costa, explained the devotion in Goa for Xavier's grave, clothing and other objects. His signature was especially revered and Christians treated a tree allegedly planted by Xavier himself in Old St. Paul's with great respect.<sup>44</sup>

Portuguese monarchs, even after the Spanish Habsburgs ascended the throne, retained a particular veneration for Xavier. In the early eighteenth-century, the Portuguese Jesuit historian Francisco de Sousa<sup>45</sup> recounted that Queen Margaret of Austria, the wife of King Philip III of Spain and Portugal, had offered up public prayers before Xavier's biretta after the birth of Philip (IV), heir to the Spanish and Portuguese thrones in 1605. Later, at her request,

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<sup>38</sup> "Litterae annuae," (1582), MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, X, 613.

<sup>39</sup> "Report of Sebastião Gonçalves on the martyrs of Salsete, Goa December 1609," MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, XII, 994.

<sup>40</sup> Schurhammer, "Franciscus Xaverius," 22.

<sup>41</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S. J., "Auszüge aus den Briefen der Jesuitengeneräle an die Obern in Indien (1549-163)," *AHSI* 22 (1953) 161.

<sup>42</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S. J., "Die Taufen des hl. Franz Xaver," in *Gesammelte Studien*, III, 272.

<sup>43</sup> MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 663.

<sup>44</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S. J., "Die Lissabonner Heiligsprechungsprozesse Franz Xavers," in *Gesammelte Studien*, IV, 427.

<sup>45</sup> \*1649 *Isla de Itaparica*; SJ 17.i.1665 Lisbon; †17.vi.1712 Goa (*DHCJ*, IV, 3616).

she exchanged the surplice and chasuble in which Xavier had been buried, for new garments which she sent from Portugal.<sup>46</sup>

A cult of Xavier flourished in churches, chapels and congregations dedicated to him. In 1603, long before his beatification, Father General Claudio Acquaviva decided to build the first church dedicated to Xavier in Kôttar, Cape Comorin. Its miracle-working image of Xavier soon made this an important place of pilgrimage.<sup>47</sup> By 1624 there were many confraternities devoted to Xavier: in Nagasaki alone there were over 2,000 members.<sup>48</sup> Macao and Xavier's home province of Navarre were the first of many towns, regions and countries who selected Xavier as their patron and cultivated his veneration.

### Characteristics of the Iconography

Portraits of Xavier proliferating throughout Europe, underlined his popularity. The material ranged from the cheapest available to ivory, silver and porcelain. There were paintings, engravings and statues.<sup>49</sup> Besides gifted and talented lay brothers, some of the most famous contemporary artists, e.g. Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) in Italy and Flanders, and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1608?-1682) in Spain, contributed to the output.<sup>50</sup> The works of art show Xavier alone or depict scenes from his life together with members of the Society of Jesus. Other portraits are more allegorical. They stress Marian apparitions and Xavier enjoying the company of other saints.

We know that Loyola's contemporaries pressed him to have his portrait done. But because of his resistance, the first painting in 1556 was modelled on his death mask. The first official request for a portrait of Xavier came thirty years after his death. Most likely at Rome's request, Alessandro Valignano<sup>51</sup> commissioned two authentic portraits in Goa in 1583. One remained in Goa; the second, accompanied by a letter, was sent to Rome. According to the letter, acquaintances and friends regarded the portrait as accurate and true to life. Xavier was depicted in the type of clothes he wore in India, holding his robe to

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<sup>46</sup> Francisco Sousa, S. J., *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Goa* (Lisbon, 1710; reprinted Porto: Lello & Irmãos, 1978) p. 568.

<sup>47</sup> Schurhammer, "Die Lissabonner Heiligsprechungsprozesse," 468.

<sup>48</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S. J., "Festas de Goa no ano 1624," in *Gesammelte Studien*, IV, 493.

<sup>49</sup> Georg Schurhammer possessed a collection of photographs of more than 3000 engravings, paintings, and images (Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "S. Francisco Xavier e a sua época," in *Gesammelte Studien*, III, 123). This collection can be found in the Fondo Schurhammer, ARSI.

<sup>50</sup> Diego Angulo Iniguez, *Murillo, Su Vida. Su Arte. Su Obra*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1981) III, 254 pict. 345-47.

<sup>51</sup> \*7.ii.1539 Chieti; SJ 29.v.1566 Rome; †20.1.1606 Macao (DHCJ, IV, 3877).

his breast with his hands and with his eyes directed heavenwards [fig. 11].<sup>52</sup> Unfortunately, both paintings have disappeared, but the Roman one was at least copied and used as the basis for the *vera effigie*. The Flemish Theodor Galle used it for his engraving of Xavier for Torsellino's biography of Xavier [fig. 2]. Later iconography is based on this portrait. Xavier's physiognomy, attitude, gestures and clothing, follow contemporary descriptions of the saint and are rooted in the portrait. Teixeira offered a particularly detailed description:

He was on the tall side in height. His countenance was well formed, white and of a fresh colour, cheerful and extremely winning. The eyes were dark brown or black; the forehead broad; the beard and head hair black. He wore a poor but clean sleeveless, unbelted tunic and only the gown, without coat or any other garment, for the poor secular priests in India were customarily so clad. When walking, he held it up a little with both hands. He almost always walked with his eyes directed to heaven. Looking heavenwards always brought him, it was said, particular comfort and joy, since there was the homeland to which he was on pilgrimage. Thus his face was so cheerful and glowing with love that everyone who laid eyes on him was full of joy.<sup>53</sup>

Manuel de Morais,<sup>54</sup> Baltasar Nunes<sup>55</sup> and the Provincial Melchior Nunes Barreto<sup>56</sup> confirm Xavier's medium-tall stature and his walking with a joyful, calm face, often with moist, upward-gazing eyes.<sup>57</sup> Provincial Nunes Barreto further admired the way Xavier withdrew into himself.<sup>58</sup> Another witness, named Andrade, later told the biographer João de Lucena that everything about Xavier made a profound impression:

the cheerfulness of his countenance, his eyes directed towards heaven, the modesty of his bearing, his outer composure, his authority in religious observances, his style of speaking, and his prayerfulness during sacred ceremonies.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Das wahre Bild des Hl. Franz Xavier," in *Gesammelte Studien*, IV, 214.

<sup>53</sup> "Vida de S. Francisco Xavier," MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 882.

<sup>54</sup> \* ?; SJ 5.xi.1543 Coimbra; dis. 1552 (MHSI, *Mon. Iup.*, II, 39\*).

<sup>55</sup> †11.v.1569 Goa (Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Francis Xavier His Life, His Times*, 4 vols. Trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J. [Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1973-1982] IV, 536).

<sup>56</sup> \*1519-21 Oporto; SJ 11.iii.1543 Coimbra; †10.viii.1571 Goa (*DHCJ*, I, 353).

<sup>57</sup> Manuel de Morais to his companions in Coimbra, Goa 3 October 1549, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 461-62.

<sup>58</sup> Melchior Nunes Barreto to his companions in Coimbra, Travancore 18 November 1548, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 317-18.

<sup>59</sup> Cited in Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Zwei kostbare Funde," in *Gesammelte Studien*, IV, 412.

Fausto Rodrigues, who had spent six months with Xavier on Amboina in 1546, described him as "slender and tall" ("de buena estatura, de pocas carnes").<sup>60</sup>

One iconographic type was favoured: Xavier with tonsure, clipped hair and smooth beard, opening his soutane with both hands. The meaning of his pulling the garment from his breast is established by the important motto: "Satis est, Domine, satis est" ("It is enough, O Lord, it is enough") often appended [fig. 16]. This motto is a direct allusion to Xavier's moments of ecstasy and meditation, when he thought he was alone and no one could see or hear him. These moments seem to have occurred primarily at Goa between February and mid-April in 1552. António Quadros<sup>61</sup> relayed an eye-witness report from a lay brother that Xavier during the night at Old St. Paul's would raise his eyes to heaven and thank God loudly that he had received enough consolation.<sup>62</sup> Pope Urban VIII's bull of canonisation repeated this story.<sup>63</sup> It was given artistic expression in the miraculous *Vitae* (illustrated *Vitae* describing the miraculous deeds of a person), in the decoration of the façade of the Gesù for the canonisation,<sup>64</sup> and in the canonisation pictures sold as a kind of souvenir by the Society.

In other illustrations, Xavier is portrayed in black soutane with a white surplice and stole, most often without chasuble. In accordance with an extensive pictorial tradition particularly popular in Antwerp, he has his arms crossed over his chest.<sup>65</sup> This was his customary style for prayer—with a cross in his hands.<sup>66</sup>

In the oldest portrayals and those immediately after his canonisation, Xavier usually appears with a lily stalk or a lily crucifix in his hand [fig. 16]. Lilies, a symbol of purity, occur frequently in the iconography of Mary, Francis of Assisi and Dominic. "God kept him [Xavier] in his virginity, and without stain," wrote

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<sup>60</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Das Krebswunder Xavers—Eine budhistische Legende?," in *Gesammelte Studien*, IV, 540.

<sup>61</sup> \*1529 Santarém; SJ 1.iv.1544 Coimbra; †21.xi.1572 Goa (*DHCJ*, IV, 3265).

<sup>62</sup> António Quadros to Tiago Mirón, Goa 8 December 1555, MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 949.

<sup>63</sup> MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 707-08.

<sup>64</sup> Pietro Tacchi Venturi, S.J., "La canonizzazione e la processione dei cinque santi negli scritti e nei disegni dei due contemporanei: Giovanni Bricci: Paolo Guidotti Borgesi," in *La canonizzazione dei santi Ignazio di Loyola fondatore della Compagnia di Gesù e Francesco Saverio apostolo dell'Oriente* (Rome: Comitato Romano-Ispano per le centenarie romane, 1922) p. 70.

<sup>65</sup> Ursula König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola, Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann 1982) p. 184 n. 664.

<sup>66</sup> "Testimony of Fausto Rodrigues, Cebu 1608" (cited in Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Die Kruzifixe des Heiligen Franz Xaver," in *Gesammelte Studien*, IV, 406).

Ribadeneira.<sup>67</sup> During the first series of proceedings, witnesses were specifically questioned about Xavier's virginity. Louis de Richeome, S.J.,<sup>68</sup> described the late sixteenth-century frescoes devoted to Xavier in the infirmary of the novitiate at Sant'Andrea al Quirinal: "En un autre angle Vous voyez une plante de lys, & en l'autre la rose, fleurs significatifs de rare chasteté, & chairité du saint home; vertues entre plusieurs, remarquables en luy."<sup>69</sup> ["In one corner, you can see a lily and in another, a rose, flowers signifying the rare chastity and charity of this saintly man; several virtues were remarkable in him."] A painting by the Flemish painter Van Dyck (1599-1641) in the Vatican collection shows Francis Xavier with a halo, sign of divine election, with angels crowning him with a garland of roses and bringing him a lily.<sup>70</sup> Xavier's virginity was mentioned in the bull of canonisation.<sup>71</sup> Within the developing Jesuit iconographic tradition, the lily would play such a prominent role in the iconography of Aloysius Gonzaga that it would disappear from Xavier's.<sup>72</sup>

### Aspects of Xavier's Holiness and their Artistic Expression

Miracles are a prerequisite for canonisation. Since Xavier's stay in Tuticorin in late 1543, he had a reputation as a miracle worker.<sup>73</sup> New miracles were consistently reported so that there were many investigated during the process of canonisation.

Understandably miracle-working figured significantly in the iconography. Along with the lily and the crucifix, the crab is a recurring motif in Xavier's iconography [fig. 3]. Crabs are not featured commonly in iconography and its role in Xavier's iconography seems to be unique within the European tradition. Its appearance resulted from the "miracle of the crab," whereby in the Moluccas in 1546, a crab brought to Xavier a crucifix that had disappeared during a storm at sea.<sup>74</sup> Fausto Rodrigues recounted the story in all its detail at the hearings of

<sup>67</sup> *Vida Ignatii Loyola*, Bk 4., Ch 7, p. 651.

<sup>68</sup> \*1544 Digne; SJ 25.vii.1565 Paris; †16.ix.1625 Bordeaux (*DHCJ*, IV, 3356-357).

<sup>69</sup> Louis de Richeome, S.J., *Trois discours pour la religion catholique, les miracles, les saints, les images* (Paris: S. Gramoisy, 1628) p. 427.

<sup>70</sup> König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, pict. 175.

<sup>71</sup> MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 704-05.

<sup>72</sup> \*9.iii.1568 Castiglione delle Stiviere; SJ 25.xi.1585 Rome; † 21.v.1591 Rome (*DHCJ*, II, 1779).

<sup>73</sup> "First Process of Goa (1556)," MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 173.

<sup>74</sup> In "Das Krebswunder Xavers—Eine buddhistische Legende?," Georg Schurhammer, S.J., defended the thesis that this miracle and its iconography were based on a Buddhist legend. The article can be found in *Gesammelte Studien*, IV, 537-51.

witnesses from Cebú in 1608 and 1613. It was later mentioned during the second process in Lisbon (1616)<sup>75</sup> and in the bull of canonisation.<sup>76</sup> Such importance was attached to the “crab miracle” that the story was depicted on the altar at the canonisation ceremony and selected as one of the four miracles represented on the banner decorating St. Peter’s on the same occasion [fig. 6].<sup>77</sup>

Another important image was the sailing ship. In engravings produced in Rome after the 1590s and in an engraving etched by the copperplate engraver Jacques Callot of Lorraine in 1639 for the *Breviarium Romanum*, a sailing ship is associated with various episodes of his life.<sup>78</sup> Several times Xavier’s prayers calmed storms at sea, preserved them from attacks of pirates, and generally steered the ship safely into port. Subsequent petitions for his intercession resulted in miraculous salvation from different emergencies at sea. Intercession to him also brought miraculous salvation from emergencies at sea.<sup>79</sup>

The ship can be specifically linked with two more miracles ascribed to him. In the so-called “Achin miracle” (1547), one of the four depicted on the banner at St. Peter’s, Xavier had a vision in Malacca in which he foresaw the Portuguese victory over the Achinese fleet in the Parles River, some 90 miles north of Malacca.<sup>80</sup> In the second, Xavier converted sea water into fresh water during a voyage in 1552. Sixteen persons, including two eyewitnesses, attested to this miracle during the hearings of 1614-1616. The eye witnesses explained that they had been travelling with Xavier on the vessel “Santa Cruz” from Malacca to China, and been present at the miracle.<sup>81</sup> The three auditors dealing with the canonisation process in Rome, placed this miracle at the top of the list in their *Relatio super Sanctitate et Miraculis Patris Francisci Xaverii* presented to Pope Paul V in 1619.<sup>82</sup> This miracle was also represented on the banner in St. Peter’s and beside the altar at the Gesù [fig. 6].

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<sup>75</sup> Schurhammer, “Lissaboner Heligsprechungsprozesse,” 426-28.

<sup>76</sup> MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 713.

<sup>77</sup> Tacchi Venturi, “Canonizzazione de la processione dei cinque santi,” pp. 70, 77.

<sup>78</sup> Jacques Callot, *Les images de tous les saints et saintes de l’anne suivant le martyrologe romain* (Paris: Israel Henri, 1636) p. 109.

<sup>79</sup> MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 707.

<sup>80</sup> Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier*, III, 224-41.

<sup>81</sup> “Processes of Cochín (1616),” MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 451, 453.

<sup>82</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S.J., “Xaveriuslegende und Wunder kritisch untersucht,” in *Gesammelte Studien*, III, 255.



The subtitle of a copperplate engraving by Philipp de Mallery (\*1598 Antwerp), showing Ignatius and Xavier kneeling in a landscape, states that Ignatius was famed for over 200 miracles and Xavier for reviving from the dead more than 25 persons.<sup>83</sup> The paintings "The Miracles of Ignatius of Loyola" and "The Miracles of Francis Xavier," done as early as 1619 by Peter Paul Rubens for the Jesuit church in Antwerp and today conserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, offer a visual compendium of some of these miracles. In both, Ignatius or Xavier bless the crowd comprised primarily of the sick and those raised from the dead.<sup>84</sup> On the left in the painting of Xavier, on two different levels are two men rising, called back to life by the Jesuit at the moment of their burial.<sup>85</sup>

To the left of the lower man, a woman holds a dying, or already dead, child, from whose mouth water is spraying. This image most likely symbolises the "miracle of the well," also known as the "miracle of Kombuturê." According to early hagiography, Xavier raised his first person from the dead at the "miracle of the well." It, too, was included on the banner at St. Peter's. According to two Paravas who testified at the first hearings (1556-7) and subsequent witnesses at the same proceedings, thirty-three more witnesses at the remissory processes of 1610-1616, and the bull of canonisation, in 1543 at Kombuturê in southern India, Xavier brought back to life a child who had fallen into a well and drowned.

At the bottom left of the painting by Rubens are three figures, symbolic of his three miraculous cures. A man with closed eyes and outstretched arms represents the miracle of healing a man blind from birth. In the presence of several convinced Buddhists, Xavier had cured a blind man in Japan in 1549.<sup>86</sup> A second man, leaning on a walking stick, was a lame man whom Xavier had restored to health in Japan in the same year.<sup>87</sup> As evident from his facial features, the third man represents a demonic out of whom Xavier had cast a demon in Malacca sometime between 1549 and 1551.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>83</sup> König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, p. 221, and pict. 247.

<sup>84</sup> The setting of the saint standing on a raised plane before a heathen temple, surrounded by a crowd, became a preferred image of Xavier as miracle-worker and patron saint of countries as well as for portraits of Xavier baptising or distributing the Eucharist.

<sup>85</sup> MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 716 f.

<sup>86</sup> MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 711.

<sup>87</sup> João de Lucena, S.J., *Vita del P. Francesco della Compagnia di Gesù* (Rome: Bartolomeo Zanetti, 1613) pp. 21-22.

<sup>88</sup> Bolland, *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 357.

A copperplate engraving by the French craftsman Jérôme David from c. 1630 shows Ignatius and Francis Xavier as patron saints of the plague-stricken. Another engraving dated 1636 by Jan Sadeler, one of the principal engravers of Antwerp, similarly shows the two saints as plague patrons of the city of Passau.<sup>89</sup> Both engravings demonstrate a popular belief that their invocation could avert the pestilence.

The frescoes in Sant'Andrea al Quirinale,<sup>90</sup> Johann Bussemacher's engraving of Xavier's life as a miracle-worker, his "Wundervita" (1600)<sup>91</sup> and the decoration of the outside left façade of the Gesù (1622) highlight the bodily insensibility of Xavier, which, from the beginning of his cult, was an important sign of his sanctity.<sup>92</sup> Ribadeneira and Torsellino recount his barefoot march through the winter snows of the Japanese mountains in 1552. As Xavier travelled from Yamaguchi to the imperial city of Myako, his feet often froze but he felt no pain for all his thoughts were directed towards God.<sup>93</sup>

According to several of his own writings, Xavier was often engaged in an interior struggle with evil spirits or demons, a struggle which became a theme in the iconographic tradition. The infirmary at Sant' Andrea al Quirinale in Rome depicted the most famous episodes of this battle.<sup>94</sup> Probably on a commission from the Jesuits in Antwerp, the Flemish painter Gerard Seghers depicted the same subject around 1620. A drawing by Schelte van Bolswert (c. 1586-1659) of Xavier's vision of Mary as demons assailed him, circulated widely.<sup>95</sup> According to Teixeira, a servant in St. Thomas's at Meliapor, witnessed the demon's attack.<sup>96</sup> In 1616, Tomé de Gamboa testified that Francis Xavier spent the night before a statue of Mary, which, at that time, was in the chapel of St. Thomas. During his vigil, devils assailed him.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, pict. 198.

<sup>90</sup> Richeome, *Trois discours pour la religion catholique*, p. 401.

<sup>91</sup> Bernardette Schöller, "Eine wiederentdeckte "Wundervita" des Hl. Franz Xaver," *AHSI* 62 (1993) 313-21.

<sup>92</sup> Tacchi Venturi, "Canonizzazione e la processione dei cinque santi," p. 70.

<sup>93</sup> Torsellino, *De Vita Francisci Xaveri*, Book III, Chapter. VI, p. 161; Ribadeneira, *Vida de Ignatius de Loyola*, pp. 647-48.

<sup>94</sup> Richeome, *Trois discours pour la religion catholique*, p. 427.

<sup>95</sup> Dorothea Bieneck, *Gerard Seghers, 1591-1651: Leben und Werk des Antwerpener Historienmalers* (Lingen: Luca, 1992) pp. 176-77.

<sup>96</sup> "Vida de S. Francisco Xavier," *MHSI, Mon. Xavier.*, II, 917.

<sup>97</sup> "Testimony of Tomé Gamboa at the processes from Cochin (1616)," *MHSI, Mon. Xavier.*, II, 488.

In Rome in 1537, Francis Xavier had a vision of the cross, interpreted as a symbolic prophecy of his future work and eventual death in the missions. The cross, the fundamental symbol of Christianity, was also one of the most important symbols of his missionary activity. As he preached or baptised, Xavier is frequently depicted as holding a cross in his hand.

The *Imago primi saeculi* established a second image of his missionary activity: Xavier carrying an Indian, or at least a non-European, on his back [fig. 4]. João de Lucena claimed that Xavier had a recurring dream on his way to Rome in 1537.<sup>98</sup> Allegedly Diego Laínez<sup>99</sup> told Ribadeneira that Xavier had awakened him during the night to relate the dream to him. Xavier had stated that in the dream he had an Indian or Ethiopian on his back, who had been so heavy that he was able to carry him only with great effort. The Spaniard (Juan) Jerónimo Doménech<sup>100</sup> also reported that Xavier, during a sojourn in Bologna (October of 1537 until April of 1538) had delighted in talking of India and had a strong desire to go there to convert non-Christians.<sup>101</sup> Ironically Xavier was sent to India only because Nicolás Bobadilla<sup>102</sup> had fallen ill.<sup>103</sup>

Xavier and his companions were the first Jesuits to leave Europe for missions overseas. Their departure marked not only the beginning of Xavier's missionary activity but also the start of the new Society's involvement in proclaiming the Gospel beyond the frontiers of Europe. In a sense, his departure came to symbolise the fourth vow by which every Jesuit was ready to be sent on a mission anywhere at the pope's request. From the perspective of art history, we see the repetition of this theme of mission in the post-1590 illustrated *vitae* of Ignatius.

In mission lands, the sacrament of baptism whereby non-Christians were freed from the domination of sin and became members of the Church was, obviously, extremely important. Xavier's activity as a baptiser began in Mozambique on his way to India. In time, more and more conversions were attributed to him. A painting inside the Gesù during the canonisation illustrated the baptism

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<sup>98</sup> *Vita del P. Francesco della Compagnia di Gesù*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>99</sup> \*1512 Almazán; SJ one of the first companions; 2.vii.1558 elected Father General; †19.i.1565 Rome (*DHCJ*, II, 1601-602).

<sup>100</sup> \*1516 Valencia; SJ 24.ix.1539 Parma; †20.x.1592 Valencia (*DHCJ*, II, 1135).

<sup>101</sup> MHSI, *Fontes narr.*, II, 381-82.

<sup>102</sup> \*c. 1509 Bobadilla del Camino; SJ one of the first companions; †23.ix.1590 Loreto (*DHCJ*, I, 463).

<sup>103</sup> Teixeira, "Vida de S. Francisco Xavier," MHSI, *Mon. Xavier*, II, 831.

of three kings and a host of "heathens."<sup>104</sup> But Xavier himself was the first to ensure his reputation as a missionary to countless heathens. In the year of his arrival in the Orient, he informed his Jesuit colleagues that he sometimes received a whole village into the Church in one day.<sup>105</sup> In January of 1544 he reported that the number of new converts was so large that his arms often failed him as he baptised.<sup>106</sup> In the letter that reached Lisbon with the Indies fleet in summer of 1545, he expressed his joy that between November and December of 1544 he had in less than a month conferred baptism on over 10,000 people on the Travancore coast.<sup>107</sup>

### Iconographic Signs of Xavier's Membership in the Society of Jesus

At the Gesù in 1599, Cesare, Cardinal Baronio (1538-1607) officially established the cult of Ignatius Loyola by placing his image on his tomb. Later that year Cardinal Baronio performed the same symbolic act by placing an image of Xavier on the altar directly opposite.<sup>108</sup> In 1622 the two altars were dedicated to Loyola and Xavier. Henceforth Jesuit churches had altars dedicated to the first two saints of the Society. In life as in death, in iconography as in devotion, Loyola and Xavier would be forever linked. Various portraits highlight Xavier's place in Jesuit history. He figures prominently in "historical" scenes even those in which he had actually played no part. For example, Xavier can be identified in paintings of Pope Paul III's approval of the Society on 27 September 1540 even though he had left Rome the previous March. Xavier is also prominent in "symbolic" scenes, such as the Society's relations with the Virgin Mary. Regarding the latter, Jesuits visually stressed their close relations with Mary (the *Imago primi saeculi* calls Mary "Nutrix patrona; imo altera velut auctor societatis" ["Mary, foster mother and patron, indeed, founder of the Society"])<sup>109</sup> through copperplate engravings showing her surrounded by Ignatius, Xavier and other well-known Jesuits.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Tacchi Venturi, "Canonizzazione e la processione dei cinque santi," p. 70.

<sup>105</sup> Francis Xavier to Ignatius Loyola, Tuticorin 28 October 1542, MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 419.

<sup>106</sup> Xavier to his companions in Rome, Cochín 12 January 1544, MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 168.

<sup>107</sup> Xavier to his companions in Rome, Cochín 27 January 1545, MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 273.

<sup>108</sup> Klaus Schwager, "Anlässlich eines unbekannten Stiches des Römischen Gesù von Valerianus Regnartius," in *Festschrift Lorenz Dittmann*, eds. Hans Caspar Graf von Bothmer, Klaus Gütlein, and Rudolf Kuhn (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994) p. 300.

<sup>109</sup> *Imago primi saeculi*, p. 71.

<sup>110</sup> König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, pict. 99.

In the late sixteenth-century, Aloysius Gonzaga and Stanislaus Kostka,<sup>111</sup> two other Jesuit candidates for canonisation, were added to many engravings of Loyola and Xavier. The four were hierarchically arranged. Ignatius and Francis, the two priests, were at the top: Loyola on the left and Xavier on the right. Beneath them were the scholastic and the novice: Gonzaga on the bottom left with Kostka on the right. The novice was vested in the simple soutane; the scholastic in a surplice. Interestingly Xavier wore a surplice and stole, the proper liturgical attire for preaching and baptising whereas Ignatius wore the chasuble, the vestment for celebrating Mass.<sup>112</sup>

In 1593 the Society of Jesus officially requested the canonisation of Ignatius and Xavier. Ignatius was beatified in 1609; Francis in 1619. The two were canonised together in 1622. Their joint canonisation had repercussions in the iconography. Henceforth, many paintings and engravings, especially those from Antwerp and Flanders, emphasised their equal status as saints by vesting them both in chasubles.<sup>113</sup>

### Conclusion

In the mid-seventeenth century, reliefs of Xavier, Ignatius and St. Jerome, along with the coat-of-arms of Portugal, decorated the fort in the Indian town of Damão.<sup>114</sup> This decoration offered contemporary observers an important visual exemplar of the close relations between the political and religious authorities, especially between the Portuguese royal house and the Society of Jesus during the *padroado Português*, which were decisive for the cult veneration of Xavier. The Portuguese king initiated proceedings for Xavier's canonisation immediately after his death. Thus Portugal deserves some credit for Xavier's rapid canonisation. The testimonies collected at the royal command demonstrated that Xavier had fulfilled the post-Tridentine requirements during his lifetime: capacity for miracles (raisings from the dead, cures, prophecies, visions), bodily incorruption, a combination of a contemplative life (ecstasy) with the leading of a virtuous or stainless life (virginity, dedication to the needy like the sick, prisoners and the poor).

Xavier came to embody the missionary ideal. As a founder of non-European Jesuit missions, his example inspired many to emulate him. We know from the *litterae indipetarum* in the ARSI that at least 15,000 Jesuits volunteered for

<sup>111</sup> \*28.x.1550 Rostków; SJ 27.x.1567 Rome; †15.viii.1568 Rome (DHCJ, III, 2219).

<sup>112</sup> König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, pp. 217-18.

<sup>113</sup> König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, p. 233.

<sup>114</sup> António Bocarro, *O livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental 1594-1642* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda, 1992) p. 90.

missions to India and China in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in order to devote their lives *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* in imitation of Xavier.<sup>115</sup> Unlike many early Jesuits, he was not singled out for the crown of martyrdom. Yet, by the early seventeenth century, paintings and illustrations in Europe and the New World portray him as patron of the Jesuit martyrs.<sup>116</sup>

The Society of Jesus skilfully employed various genres of artistic expression in its campaign for the canonisation of Francis Xavier. After Loyola, Xavier is the Jesuit most frequently depicted in art. With Loyola he has a fixed place of honour on several church facades and Jesuit altars. Today historians and scholars may be more interested in his efforts to learn foreign languages, his adoption of indigenous dress, and his debates with learned Japanese than his miracles and incorrupt body. And this shift will influence the iconography. But Xavier continues to fascinate. He went boldly where few had travelled. Official works of art portrayed him with the attributes of a blessed or a saint years before his beatification or canonisation. Public cult outran official measures and, indeed, evoked them. Now 450 years after his death, Muslims, Hindus and Christians still esteem him as "Santo Padre."

### Sumario

El presente trabajo se ocupa de los orígenes de las diferentes imágenes iconográficas de Francisco Javier, en el entramado de orden figurativo y culto. Se considera el espacio de tiempo que transcurre desde su muerte hasta la conmemoración del centenario de la fundación de la Compañía de Jesús, desde 1552 a 1640, o sea, el período en el que principalmente se formaron tanto el culto como los principales cánones iconográficos. A este fin, nos proponemos delimitar en primer lugar el papel de todos aquellos que buscaron ante todo introducir y luego acelerar la canonización de Francisco Javier, o sea, además de la Compañía de Jesús, la casa real portuguesa, y el shogun japonés, Otomo de Bungo, al que el mismo Javier había convertido al cristianismo. Por lo que se refiere a las medidas tomadas por la Compañía de Jesús, consideramos en esta ocasión la difusión de sus reliquias y el encargo de biografías y retratos u otras representaciones artísticas del "Apóstol del Oriente." En segundo lugar precisa individuar el prototipo iconográfico (fisionomía, posturas, vestidos), que refleja en gran parte las diversas virtudes y actividades que él desarrolló, que se atribuyen a él, y que acabarán por determinar su canonización. En este sentido referimos, entre otros, el gesto de abrirse la sotana a la altura del pecho con

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<sup>115</sup> Schurhammer, "S. Francisco Xavier e a sua época," 127.

<sup>116</sup> An image (probably from the end of the sixteenth century) in the Gesù shows the Japanese martyrs with Francis Xavier among them. The inscription reads: "S. Franciscus Xaverius, Iaponiae Apostolus."

ambas manos (en momentos de éxtasis y meditación vividos en Goa, en 1552); el lirio (símbolo común de la virginidad de las personas santas), el cangrejo (su actividad de taumaturgo); el episodio de su insensibilidad física (Francisco Javier habría caminado descalzo sobre la nieve, y sin haber sentido en absoluto ningún dolor durante un viaje por el Japón, en 1552); su lucha contra los demonios durante su estancia junto a la tumba de Santo Tomás Apóstol, en *S. Tomás de Meliapor*; la cruz y el sueño del indio que lleva sobre la espalda (Los dos, símbolos de su actividad misionera). La tercera y última sección, que es una síntesis de las dos partes precedentes, reafirma que las iconografías encargadas por la Compañía de Jesús en el período tomado en cuenta, reflejan y al mismo tiempo contribuyen decisivamente, al culto de Francisco Javier. Justo en esta segunda consideración, hay que recordar que Javier es el jesuita más representado en la iconografía de la orden, y que se le representa con los atributos de beato o santo aun antes de haberlo sido oficialmente declarado. Todo esto anticipó e incluso incentivó su culto. Para concluir, insinuamos también el papel de intermediario de la figura de Javier entre el “Viejo Mundo” y el “Nuevo Mundo” en lo que se refiere a las ciencias, las culturas y las religiones, papel que se revela de hecho determinante para comprender la veneración de la que sigue siendo objeto, bajo el apelativo de “Padre Santo,” ya sea por los cristianos, como por los hindúes y musulmanes, todavía hoy, 450 años después de su muerte.



Thomas M. McCoog, S.J.

## *A GUIDE TO JESUIT ARCHIVES*

*A Guide to Jesuit Archives* opens up and enhances research opportunities around the world for historians, linguists, theologians, anthropologists, philosophers, specialists in the natural and physical sciences, to make but a few areas in which this book will be of assistance.

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# ICONOGRAFIA DE SAN FRANCISCO JAVIER EN ORIENTE

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## Introducción

La llegada de San Francisco Javier a Oriente marcó el comienzo del arte cristiano en aquellas regiones. Se sabe que él llevaba estampas de temas cristianos, que produjeron una impresión profunda en los que las vieron.<sup>1</sup> Antes se habían dado manifestaciones esporádicas de temas cristianos, sobre todo en India, pero fue con la llegada de los europeos cuando se hizo más frecuente la aparición de obras de arte cristiano. Es natural que a los comienzos se pidieran más objetos artísticos a Europa, para que sirvieran a los misioneros como medios de evangelización. Por esto, las primeras manifestaciones de arte cristiano en Oriente son copias de las obras que tenían los artistas recibidas desde Europa. Un ejemplo significativo de esta influencia del arte europeo en Oriente, lo tenemos en la obra del P. Jerónimo Nadal<sup>2</sup> *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, (Amberes, 1593) que causaron una profunda impresión en los artistas orientales.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cfr. Miki Tamon, "The Influence of Western Culture on Japanese Art," *Monumenta Nipponica* 19/3-4 (1964) 146.

<sup>2</sup> \*1.viii.1507 Palma de Mallorca; SJ 29.xi.1545 Roma; †3.iv.1580 Roma (DHCJ, III, 2793).

<sup>3</sup> Cfr. Fernando G. Gutiérrez, S.J., *Los Grabadores Flamencos de los siglos XVI y XVII y la Compañía de Jesús* (Sevilla: Real Academia de Bellas Artes de Santa Isabel de Hungría, 2002) Temas de Estética y Arte XVI. Con especial referencia a la influencia de las *Imágenes* del P. Jerónimo Nadal, S.J. en el Arte Oriental.

Sin embargo, muy pronto comenzaron a producirse obras de arte cristiano en las que aparecían datos inspirados en la propia cultura: eran las primeras manifestaciones de la asimilación de los temas cristianos en las obras realizadas por artistas orientales bajo la inspiración del cristianismo. Lo primero fue la pintura, que es el medio artístico más sensible en asimilar influencias de fuera; después vino la arquitectura, en la construcción de las iglesias, y, finalmente, la escultura. Ya puede decirse que existe un arte cristiano propio en las grandes culturas de Oriente. Los artistas son capaces de reproducir los temas cristianos en su propia inspiración autóctona.

Es natural que entre los temas cristianos, apareciera muy pronto la imagen de San Francisco Javier, que había sido el primero en llevar hasta el Oriente la fe cristiana y, con ella, la cultura y el arte de Occidente. En gran parte esto se debió a la influencia de los Colegios de la Compañía de Jesús, en que se enseñaba el arte occidental a los alumnos orientales. La figura de Javier tuvo que aparecer ante ellos como una de las más significativas, y de ahí vino su interés por representarla.<sup>4</sup>

Sería interesante tener alguna obra que representara a San Francisco Javier, que hubiera sido hecha por algún artista que lo hubiera conocido personalmente. No existen esas obras, aunque parece que alguna de las que se conservan es una copia de un cuadro realizado en Goa, pero de esto hablaremos más adelante. Ante todo, nos interesa saber cómo describen a Javier los que lo conocieron personalmente, porque esa figura sería la fuente directa de inspiración de los artistas que lo reprodujeron después en sus obras.

Un tal Fausto Rodrigues, en cierto proceso de Filipinas de 1608, atestigua haber visto a Javier en Amboino en 1546:

Era por entonces el Padre Maestro Francisco de unos cuarenta y cinco años, más o menos, y tenía algunos cabellos canos, la frente despejada y con entradas, y la barba negra. Era flaco y de buena estatura.<sup>5</sup>

En 1548 lo describe el H<sup>o</sup> Baltasar Nunes, jesuita,<sup>6</sup> escribiendo desde Travancor a sus compañeros de Coimbra:

<sup>4</sup> Para un estudio detallado de la influencia en el campo del arte de la Compañía de Jesús en los países donde evangelizaba, Cfr. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America (1542-1773)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

<sup>5</sup> Citado por Juan de Xavier en "El verdadero retrato de San Francisco Javier," *Siglo de las Misiones* 39/443-444 (1952) 36.

<sup>6</sup> †11.v.1569 Goa (Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Francisco Javier: Su vida y su tiempo*, 4 vols. Trad. Félix de Areitio Arzunabarreta, S.J., Jesús Iturrioz, S.J., Francisco Zurbano, S.J. [Bilbao: Ed. Mensajero, 1992] IV, 688).

Es un hombre ni muy bajo ni muy alto . . . Su andar de buena manera, de suerte que no se le siente; su rostro sereno, los ojos siempre levantados y llenos de agua, y la boca llena de risa, las palabras pocas y que mueven a llorar . . .<sup>7</sup>

Otro joven jesuita, Manuel de Morais,<sup>8</sup> en 1549 escribe en carta desde Goa:

Parece que su vista mueve a devoción. Es hombre de mediana estatura; trae siempre el rostro alto y los ojos llorosos, y su cara muy alegre, sus palabras son pocas e incitativas a devoción . . .<sup>9</sup>

Otro jesuita, el P. Melchior Nunes Barreto,<sup>10</sup> lo conoció en Goa cuando volvió de Japón para preparar su viaje a China en 1552, y escribía de él:

A principios de febrero quísonos Dios nuestro Señor traer del Japón, inesperadamente, al P. Maestro Francisco . . . ¡Oh, qué afabilidad la que tiene, siempre riendo con rostro alegre y sereno! Siempre ríe y nunca ríe; siempre ríe, porque tiene siempre una alegría espiritual, con que la candad y júbilo del espíritu se manifiesta por el rostro . . . y, sin embargo, nunca ríe, porque, siempre recogido en sí, nunca se disipa con las criaturas.<sup>11</sup>

Quizás la descripción más completa de sus contemporáneos sea la escrita por el P. Manuel Teixeira,<sup>12</sup> cuando llegó a Goa y, siendo todavía novicio, lo conoció personalmente en 1552. Más tarde, al escribir la "Vida de Javier," lo describe detalladamente:

Era el P. Mestro Francisco de estatura antes grande que pequeña. El rostro bien proporcionado, blanco y colorado, alegre y de buena gracia. Los ojos entre castaños y negros, la frente larga, el cabello y la barba negros. Traía el vestido pobre y limpio, y cuando andaba lo levantaba un poco con entrambas manos. Llevaba una sotana sin cinturón ni mangas, como acostumbraban los sacerdotes pobres en la India. Iba casi siempre con los ojos puestos en el cielo, con cuya vista dicen que hallaba particular consuelo y alegría, y así andaba su rostro tan alegre e inflamado, que causaba mucha alegría a todos los que le veían. Y aconteció algunas veces algunos Hermanos hallarse tristes, y tomar por medio para alegrarse el irle a ver, y se sentían inflamados con su

<sup>7</sup> Travancore, 18 noviembre 1548, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 317.

<sup>8</sup> \* ?; SJ 5.xi.1543 Coimbra; dis. 1552 (MHSI, *Mon. Iap.*, II, 39\*).

<sup>9</sup> Goa 3 January 1549, MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 461.

<sup>10</sup> \*1519-21 Oporto; SJ 11.iii.1543 Coimbra; †10.viii.1571 Goa (*DHCJ*, I, 353).

<sup>11</sup> Citado por Juan de Xavier, "El verdadero retrato," 36.

<sup>12</sup> \*c. 1536 Miranda do Douro; SJ 1.ii.1551 Lisbon; †19.iii.1590 Goa (*DHCJ*, IV, 3717).

presencia. Era muy amable y recibía a los de fuera con mucha amabilidad. Era alegre y familiar con los de casa, especialmente con aquellos que entendía ser humildes y sencillos y de sí tenían poca opinión y estima. Mas por el contrario se mostraba severo, grave y algunas veces riguroso para con los altivos y que de sí tenían gran concepto y opinión, para que se conociesen y humillasen. Y así lo aconsejaba a los superiores que lo hiciesen. Era muy moderado en el comer y beber; pero por evitar la singularidad, estando con otros, comía de todo lo que ponían. Tenía muy particular cuidado de los enfermos . . . En esta su llegada a Goa fue visitado de mucha gente de aquella ciudad, por la mucha devoción y amor que todos le tenían, los cuales él recibía con mucha afabilidad y comedimiento, yéndolos (luego que le llamaban) a recibir y hablar; de manera que algunas veces dejó seis o siete veces de rezar una de las Horas del breviario que había comenzado, por ir a recibir y hablar a los que le venían a buscar, y otras tantas veces la tornó a comenzar, con tanta devoción, como si hasta entonces hubiera estado en oración.<sup>13</sup>

Esta descripción detallada del P. Maestro Francisco, hecha por uno de los que más lo conocieron, tuvo que marcar las primeras líneas de la iconografía de Javier hecha por los artistas orientales. De hecho, muchos de los datos físicos y psicológicos que aparecen en la descripción de Teixeira, también están patentes en la iconografía.

A pesar de todas estas descripciones de San Francisco Javier, escritas por personas que lo conocieron en Goa antes de su partida para China y de su muerte en Sancian, no queda ningún retrato pintado con certeza por ninguno de sus contemporáneos. Sin embargo, entre las cartas del P. Alessandro Valignano,<sup>14</sup> Visitador de la Compañía de Jesús para Oriente, se conserva una al P. General Claudio Acquaviva,<sup>15</sup> fechada el 31 de diciembre de 1583, en la que le comunica que ha hecho pintar en Goa un retrato del P. Francisco Javier, que los que lo conocieron en vida declaran que es muy fiel. Valignano enviaba una copia del retrato a Roma junto con la carta, para que los que conocieron a Javier pudieran mejorarlo. El original se conservaba en Goa, pero no se sabe actualmente dónde está. En ese retrato se había pintado al Maestro Francisco Javier con la sotana que usaba ordinariamente en la India, y con los ojos dirigidos al cielo. Entre las opiniones que el P. Valignano da y que aseguran la identidad del cuadro con la figura retratada, aduce la del P. Manuel Teixeira, que

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<sup>13</sup> Schurhammer, *Francisco Javier*, I, 17-21.

<sup>14</sup> \*7.ii.1539 Chieti; S] 29.v.1566 Rome; †20.1.1606 Macao (DHCJ, IV, 3877).

<sup>15</sup> \* 4.ix.1543 Atri; S] 22.vii.1567 Rome; elected Father General 19.ii.1581; †31.i.1615 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1614-615).

conoció a Javier en Goa en 1552, en el Colegio de San Pablo, como ya hemos visto.<sup>16</sup>

Existe un cuadro que representa a San Francisco Javier, que se conserva en la Catedral de Tuy (España) [fig. 11]. Se da la posibilidad de que éste sea el cuadro enviado a Roma por el P. Valignano, según puede deducirse de un documento que se conserva en los Archivos de esa Catedral. Este cuadro formaba parte de un lote de siete cuadros que regaló el Capellán Mayor de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Sigüenza, el vigués Dr. Lope Vázquez de Figueroa, en 1618, aunque en el libro de Ricardo Rodríguez Blanco, "Apuntes Históricos de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Tuy" (Santiago de Compostela, 1879), lo fecha en 1617.

En el tomo 4º (270), folio 237, del Archivo de la Catedral de Tuy, se hace constar que el 5 de marzo de 1618 fueron donados a la Catedral estos siete cuadros: "siete cuadros muy ricos que son de santos conocidos, y naturales de este obispado. Lo cual todo lo traxo de Roma." No aparece la razón por la que unió éste de San Francisco Javier a los otros seis cuadros de santos naturales del obispado de Tuy. Teniendo en cuenta que D. Lope Vázquez de Figueroa los regaló en marzo de 1618 y que los trajo de Roma, debe fijarse la fecha de su ejecución como mínimo en 1617 o aún antes. Si esto es así, estaríamos ante uno de los cuadros más antiguos de San Francisco Javier. Como fue beatificado en 1619, y en la parte baja de este cuadro pone sólo "Padre Francisco Javier de la Compañía de Jesús, Apóstol de las islas orientales. Navarro. Murió en la China," este cuadro fue pintado antes de la beatificación. Queda sin explicar la razón por la que D. Lope Vázquez de Figueroa añadió este cuadro a los seis traídos desde Roma, ya que los demás eran de santos relacionados con la Iglesia de Tuy.<sup>17</sup>

Parece que está influenciado por este cuadro de Roma el pequeño cobre (19 X 15 cms.), encontrado en Barasoain (Navarra), de donde era oriundo el Doctor Navarro tan cercano a Javier, en que aparece la vara de azucena, que está en el cuadro de Roma, y que era un signo iconográfico de San Francisco Javier hasta que pasó a serlo de San Luis Gonzaga.<sup>18</sup> También parecen provenir de la pintura enviada a Roma los datos iconográficos que hay en el grabado de Hieronimus Wierix, que se encuentra en una de las capillas del Gesù, de Roma.

<sup>16</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Das wahre Bild des Hl. Franz Xavier," in *Gesammelte Studien*, ed. Georg Schurhammer, S.J., 4 vols. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesus, 1962-1965) BIHSI 20-23; IV, 214.

<sup>17</sup> Cfr. Francisco Xavier Añoveros Trías de Bes, "Presencia Iconográfica de San Francisco Javier en la Catedral y Museo Diocesano de Tuy," *Pórtico* 2/4 (1994) 7-10. Agradezco la sugerencia y los datos ofrecidos por el historiador jesuita José Martínez de la Escalera.

<sup>18</sup> \*9.iii.1568 Castiglione delle Stiviere; SJ 25.xi.1585 Rome; † 21.v.1591 Rome (*DHCJ*, II, 1779).

### Iconografía de San Francisco Javier en India

Tanto en la iconografía de San Francisco Javier en India, como en la producida en los otros países de Oriente, sólo nos fijaremos en aquellas obras realizadas por artistas nativos, y no en las otras llevadas allí desde Occidente.

El arte indio es, en general, eminentemente religioso. En la época clásica, las manifestaciones artísticas eran, casi en su totalidad, el fruto de la inspiración de las grandes religiones de India, sobre todo del Hinduismo. Al ir arraigando el cristianismo en aquella tierra, también fueron apareciendo, poco a poco, expresiones de los temas cristianos con inspiración autóctona. Es natural que también la figura de Javier, el gran apóstol de India, apareciera desde los tiempos de su evangelización en el arte. Muchas veces, como indica Mario Bussagli, las obras de arte emergen de una intuitiva visión interior de las realidades cristianas:

... se puede decir que el espacio figurativo de la India hinduista emerge de una concepción dinámico-psicológica, que reduce la inercia de la materia a una manifestación dinámica, en movimiento, muchas veces sólo sugerida por el artista. El gusto por superficies redondeadas y la falta de angularidad ... es una consecuencia de esta manera de mirar al espacio y del modo de visualizar la imagen.<sup>19</sup>

Esta característica del arte indio en general, puede aplicarse con exactitud a las obras de arte que representan a San Francisco Javier: las figuras no serán estáticas, sino en continua movilidad, en un gesto de auténtica vitalidad. Esto corresponde a una característica esencial del arte indio, a su manifestación de la vida en un sentido religioso. Mario Bussagli dice también:

El mundo indio se refiere continuamente al flujo, al movimiento de la vida entre los polos de creación y destrucción, conociendo la fragilidad de la vida individual, pero reconociendo más allá y sobre todo un principio inamovible que vivifica a la vida entera y que es la vida del universo.<sup>20</sup>

Estas características se aplican también a la representación de la imagen de San Francisco Javier, a pesar de parecer que la pintura o escultura de un individuo concreto sea más bien algo estático: su apariencia externa es un reflejo de la interioridad de esta figura representada, y en ella aparece la manifestación del más allá, con que Javier estaba siempre conectado. La iconografía india de Javier entra de lleno en este proceso de acercamiento a lo sobrenatural, que él procuraba predicar en su tarea evangelizadora.

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<sup>19</sup> Citado por Matthew Lederle, S.J., *Christian Painting in India through the centuries* (Amand: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1986) pp. 34-35.

<sup>20</sup> Citado por Lederle, *Christian Painting*, p. 35.

La iconografía de Javier en India, como todo el arranque del arte cristiano en aquel país, comienza dentro de la llamada Escuela Indo-Portuguesa. Inicialmente, la influencia de Europa tenía que dejarse sentir de un modo profundo, ya que los artistas que de aquí llegaban enseñaban a los artistas nativos su modo de realización de la obra de arte. No puede olvidarse que era el tiempo en que el estilo barroco predominaba en Europa, y éste fue el que influyó en los artistas indios hasta que fueron capaces de representar los temas de la nueva religión, predicada por Javier, de un modo propio basado en la tradición. De todos modos, sus creaciones no eran una mera imitación de los originales europeos que llegaban a sus manos: desde el comienzo fueron capaces de marcar su impronta en las obras que hacían. A esto se añadía, el que los jesuitas, en su afán de inculturación en las misiones, procuraban que los artistas del lugar, sobre todo en Goa que era el centro de la asimilación europea, fueran los que realizaran las obras de arte de temas cristianos:

La mayoría de los pintores, arquitectos y escultores buscados por los jesuitas y por los demás en Goa eran indios. Sin embargo, según consta en documentos existentes, muchos de ellos conservaban su fe hinduista, aun cuando producían obras de arte cristiano devocional. De hecho, Goa fue un centro floreciente de las artes; ateliers de una impresionante productividad hicieron obras de marfil y estatuas de madera, en un estilo que mezclaba la influencia de un Renacimiento tardío con los elementos hindúes de los templos del lugar.<sup>21</sup>

No es escasa la iconografía de San Francisco Javier realizada por artistas indios. Al estar en Goa la magnífica urna con sus restos, hay algunas representaciones del Santo relacionadas con la Iglesia del Bom Jesus. Antes de llegar a la Iglesia de Goa, los restos de Javier descansaron por algún tiempo en Malaca y Sancian, hasta que definitivamente fueron depositados en Goa, en la urna-monumento, realizado en plata, donado a la Iglesia del Bom Jesus por Cosme III, Gran Duque de Florencia, en 1698 [fig. 1]. Aunque esta urna está realizada en un estilo de grandes influencias italianas de aquel tiempo, sin duda fue hecha por artistas indios, que dejaron su impronta en ella. Hay detalles decorativos de pura influencia oriental, mezclados con los de influencia italiana que pondrían los artistas llegados de Europa. Hay en la India dos grandes monumentos funerarios: el Taj Mahal y la urna de San Francisco Javier.

En la urna de Goa hay una serie de ricas placas en relieve, que muestran escenas de la vida de San Francisco Javier. En una de ellas, por ejemplo, aparece un velero, en que iría el Santo hasta aquellas tierras, que describe el "velero de

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<sup>21</sup> Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul: Renaissance Art at the Imperial Court of India* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1998) Freer Gallery of Art Occasional Papers, New Series II, p. 15.

la suerte" que le llevó a Oriente. Aunque la nave que está detrás de la barquilla en que desembarcó Javier es la descripción del la gran "nao" portuguesa, el estilo del grabado en plata es enteramente indio. Los grabados en metal del siglo XVI fueron sin duda realizados por artistas indios. Esto hace que todo el conjunto de la urna de Javier sea de un estilo peculiar, en que se mezclan elementos del arte europeo de aquel tiempo, junto con los del arte autóctono de la India. La figura de Javier, acompañada de varios acompañantes, está descrita al modo hinduista de la época.

En la Catedral de Goa en Vieja Goa, hay una imagen de San Francisco Javier hecha en mármol, en la que aparece el Santo en un momento de éxtasis, acompañado de otra figura. El estilo de esta imagen es el propio del siglo XVII italiano, en que las imágenes en mármol fueron tan frecuentes. Pero no cabe duda que sería realizada por un artista indígena, siguiendo las indicaciones de maestros europeos.

Hay un cofre de plata que contiene reliquias de San Francisco Javier, que es una muestra de orfebrería que indica la unión del arte tradicional indio con el europeo. Se conserva en Goa, y es una obra del siglo XVII. En su forma recuerda los cofres portugueses de aquella época, e incluso en los motivos decorativos de la parte frontal, con diseños florales que aparecen en otras obras hechas de madera. Pero en las escenas de la parte opuesta y en los laterales, aparecen escenas grabadas con un estilo enteramente indio: en la del fondo se ve a San Francisco Javier adorando a un Crucifijo, junto con otra figura. En los laterales están descritos dos milagros realizados por el Santo durante su vida: la curación de un enfermo al que levanta del lecho cogiéndolo de la mano, y una escena en la que Javier ayuda a bien morir al P. Alonso Martins, Vicario de Malaca. La descripción de las escenas, con una viveza increíble en las figuras y en toda la acción por ellas representada, recuerda a los relieves hechos en piedra en los monumentos hinduistas y budistas de hace muchos siglos. Con razón, Kalpana Desai no duda en afirmar, al describir este cofre, que "El artista ha compuesto con un éxito increíble estas escenas, mezclando el estilo indio con el estilo portugués."<sup>22</sup>

Dos obras de la Escuela Indo-Portuguesa representan la Muerte de San Francisco Javier, una en escultura y otra en pintura. La obra escultórica es del siglo XVII, y representa al Santo en el momento de su muerte en madera tallada y policromada. Aparece el Santo en los últimos momentos de su vida, en la isla de Sancian, con el Crucifijo cogido entre sus manos, y junto a él están dos figuras que lo miran con gestos de veneración; representan al chino Antonio de

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<sup>22</sup> Kalpana Desai, "Christian Art in India," in *St. Francis Xavier-His Life and Times* (Tokyo: Office of International Relations, Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal, Japón, 2000) p. 44 (Texts).



Santa Fe y al indio Cristoban. La escena es altamente emotiva, y expresa en madera perfectamente tallada y policromada el momento cumbre del final de la vida de Javier. El mismo relieve de la obra escultórica da un realismo inigualable a esta escena. La obra pictórica también representa la muerte del Santo, que está tendido con el crucifijo en sus manos acercándolo al rostro como para besarlo; a su lado están las dos figuras del acompañante chino y el indio, que, con las manos juntas, miran al Santo con un gesto de indecible dolor. Al fondo se ve un rompiente de gloria, en que están representados Cristo, la Virgen y unos ángeles, como esperando para recibir el alma de Javier apenas termine su peregrinación en esta tierra. Es una obra del siglo XVIII.

También de la Escuela Indo-Portuguesa es la pintura de San Francisco Javier del siglo XVII, pintada al óleo sobre lienzo [fig. 12]. Aparece Javier con un sol en la mano derecha, como símbolo de la fe que él llevó a Oriente; la luz de Cristo, con la que iluminó a innumerables pueblos. Está vestido con el hábito propio de los monjes, profusamente decorado con motivos florales. Tanto el gesto de la figura, como los rasgos descriptivos, son enteramente indios. Pienso que esta obra es una de las que mejor manifiestan la adaptación del estilo europeo al oriental, en temas tan nuevos como eran las figuras cristianas en aquella época para los artistas indios.

Dentro de la Escuela Indo-Portuguesa de arte, hay tres pequeñas imágenes de San Francisco Javier hechas de marfil. Este material había sido trabajado por los artistas indios desde tiempos muy antiguos, y es natural que la imagen de Javier apareciera también en marfil. De estas imágenes, una es del siglo XVII, y las otras dos del siglo XVIII. En las tres aparece el Santo con la mirada inflamada en amor de Dios, vistiendo sotana y sobrepelliz, con estola, todo policromado. La estauita del siglo XVII está hecha de madera con partes de marfil, sobre todo el rostro, las manos y los pies; las otras dos son enteramente de marfil.

Hay una gran talla en piedra policromada de San Francisco Javier, que se encuentra en la Iglesia del Bom Jesus de Goa. Tiene la mano derecha extendida y en la izquierda sostiene el Crucifijo. Todo el movimiento de la figura y la expresión intensa de su rostro hace ver que se trata de una imagen del siglo XVIII, realizada en la Escuela Indo-Portuguesa bajo la influencia del Barroco europeo.

Finalmente, hay un altar portátil perteneciente a la Escuela Indo-Portuguesa, hecho de marfil en el siglo XVII, que es una expresión paralela a los relieves realizados en piedra en los períodos clásicos del arte indio. En uno de los cuadros del retablo aparece San Francisco Javier, con la azucena en la mano derecha y el Crucifijo en la izquierda, con la mirada levantada hacia el cielo. Este retablo está realizado en relieve, con la talla perfecta del marfil, como se hacía en los motivos decorativos de los templos hinduistas y budistas en los siglos

anteriores a Cristo. El arte del relieve, tan típico el arte indio, está aquí puesto al servicio de un tema enteramente cristiano, pero dentro de la tradición de India.

En el territorio de Goa existen muchas capillas-hornacinas, que se encuentran en las encrucijadas de los pueblos, y están frecuentemente dedicadas a la Virgen María. En Margao (Salsete) hay una dedicada a San Francisco Javier, que fue erigida en el siglo XVIII, y que sigue siendo objeto de la devoción popular.

Angelo da Fonseca (1910-1967) es uno de los pintores más influyentes de los tiempos modernos en India. Al principio estudió medicina y después se dedicó a la actividad artística, primero en la Escuela de Arte de Bombay y más tarde en la famosa de Shantiniketan, célebre universidad de arte fundada por Rabindranath Tagore. En ella aprendió la técnica de la pintura a la aguada. Los colores toman en sus manos unas tonalidades suaves, que sugieren paz y armonía. Las obras de Fonseca tienen un sentido profundo que lleva a la meditación. Fonseca fue un maestro de la pintura de líneas: sus trazos fuertes y claros llevan al centro de su pintura. Se puede descubrir en sus obras una influencia de la pintura anterior a Rafael. Con el paso de los años desarrolló un estilo enteramente personal, evitando las luces y las sombras: este dato es de influencia totalmente oriental, que toma de su tradición artística. Su temática era profundamente religiosa, basada muchas veces en la Biblia. Intentaba por todos los medios el enraizar su pintura en la tradición india. En cierta ocasión escribió:

Nuestros esfuerzos para crear una escuela de arte cristiano en India han sido bendecidos por el Señor. Nuestras expectativas más optimistas nunca pudieron soñar que íbamos a conseguir tanto.<sup>23</sup>

Entre sus obras hay dos pinturas dedicadas a San Francisco Javier: en una aparece el Santo predicando a dos hombres y una mujer, en unas rocas cerca del mar [fig. 13], y en la otra presenta el Santo el Crucifijo a una familia india; la primera fue pintada hacia 1935, y la segunda en 1962. En las dos aparecen todos los rasgos de la pintura de Fonseca, de una gran nitidez de líneas en la descripción de las figuras y del paisaje en que están situadas.

Los artistas indios siguen produciendo obras en marfil también en los tiempos modernos, como en los mejores tiempos de la historia del arte en aquel país. Hay una serie de pequeñas estatuillas de marfil en la colección del Castillo de Javier, traída desde India, y entre ellas una representa a San Francisco Javier. Es una obra de comienzos del siglo XX, hecha en la ciudad de Trivandrum, al sur de la India, y que representa al Santo con los ojos levantados hacia el cielo,

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<sup>23</sup> Para una descripción completa de este tema, Cfr. Fernando G<sup>a</sup> Gutiérrez, S.J., *La Arquitectura japonesa vista desde Occidente* (Sevilla: Ediciones Guadalquivir, 2001).

la cruz alzada en la mano derecha, y del pecho le salen unas llamas del fuego del amor a Cristo que era incapaz de contener en su interior. A sus pies se ve al cangrejo, que le devolvió el Crucifijo que había perdido en medio de una terrible tempestad en alta mar. A su espalda tiene una aureola, también hecha de marfil, al estilo de las que se ven detrás de las imágenes hinduistas y budistas de los períodos clásicos. Es una obra de alto estilo indio, en la que se representa como tema a la figura del apóstol que llevó a aquellas tierras la fe de Cristo. Un ejemplo de la asimilación hecha por los artistas indios, que ya son capaces de representar a la perfección los temas cristianos en su propio lenguaje artístico. Otra pequeña estauita de marfil (15 cms.), que representa también a "San Francisco Javier como peregrino," pertenece a la misma colección de marfiles del Castillo de Javier, traídos desde la ciudad india de Trivandrum en el siglo XX. Aparece el Santo con la Cruz en la mano derecha, y un bastón de caminante en la izquierda. Su traje es el de los peregrinos indios, y está todo perfectamente tallado en el marfil, con motivos decorativos en policromía. La mirada la tiene hacia abajo, como pensando en la enorme tarea apostólica que lleva entre manos. Es una preciosa miniatura de marfil, de idénticas calidades a las hechas en los siglos clásicos de India.

En una arqueta pintada en el siglo XIII, que se encuentra en el Museo Diocesano de Mylapur (Madrás), se encuentra una imagen de Santo Tomás, el primer apóstol de India, representado al modo de los monjes penitentes hindúes. De la misma forma ha realizado un artista contemporáneo una escultura de San Francisco Javier [fig. 14], hecha de mármol blanco, del que se encuentra tanta cantidad en las inmensas canteras de Ambaji, en el norte de Gujerat. El Santo va vestido de "sanyasi," de monje penitente hindú, sentado a la manera en que lo hacen estos monjes para la contemplación, con la cruz levantada en la mano derecha, y grandes inscripciones en la lengua nativa que lo identifican. Es un modelo de inculturación del arte cristiano en el nativo de la India, que dice tanto a los nativos de aquel lugar, y que muestra el grado de asimilación a que ha llegado el arte cristiano indio en nuestro tiempo.

### Iconografía de San Francisco Javier en Filipinas y China

José Manuel Casado Paramio, en su obra *Marfiles Hispano-Filipinos*, dice:

Si hubiéramos de buscar un símbolo de unión entre las culturas europea, americana y oriental, éste sería los marfiles hispano-filipinos: demanda e influencia española tamizada a través de América con artistas orientales; iconografía occidental y caracteres orientales; nexo de unión entre culturas.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> José Manuel Casado Paramio: *Marfiles Hispano-Filipinos* (Valladolid: Museo Oriental de Valladolid, 1997) p. 9.

En este campo de los marfiles orientales vamos a encontrar a la imagen de San Francisco Javier. Y lo haremos uniendo a China con Filipinas: nunca llegó Javier al continente chino, sino que murió en la isla de Sancian a la vista de sus costas, pero a través de Macao y por su unión con las islas Filipinas, se representó al Santo como al gran apóstol de Oriente.

En todas las culturas europeas, africanas y asiáticas se ha empleado el marfil para realizar imágenes religiosas. En China era el material reservado para la corte imperial, y se hacían objetos de marfil para los grandes regalos entre los cortesanos. En India se consideraba como el espíritu puro de Brahmán, mientras que en Occidente tradicionalmente ha poseído un simbolismo mariano. En la Edad Media se hacían arquetas para contener el Cuerpo de Cristo, como alusión a la Virgen.<sup>25</sup>

Se sabe que los principales artistas de los marfiles hispano-filipinos fueron los chinos. Un centro importante de producción de obras de marfil fue Cantón; se caracterizaban por el tono amarillento que tenían, y que se alcanzaba cociendo los objetos con hojas de té y tabaco, o exponiéndolos al humo del incienso. Los portugueses fueron los primeros que entablaron relaciones con los chinos en Cantón, y enviaban los objetos de marfil, junto con otros productos, a Europa desde Goa. También los artistas llevaron sus factorías a Cantón, para reproducir las imágenes cristianas que recibían del extranjero. Se sabe que a mediados del siglo XVI fueron talladas imágenes de temas cristianos en Macao y en Cantón.<sup>26</sup> En estos centros es donde se da una gran influencia occidental en la escultura figurativa de China en este tiempo. Más tarde se sabe que fueron los españoles, enviados a Fujian (China), quienes pedían imágenes en marfil para el culto cristiano. Los escultores chinos se servían de los grabados europeos que les mostraban para realizar las tallas en marfil, ya que los grabados religiosos habían llegado allí desde Europa en gran cantidad y de una calidad muy alta. Es increíble la perfección que llegaron a alcanzar los artistas de Cantón al producir imágenes de temas cristianos. En estos centros artísticos tenemos que situar a las imágenes de San Francisco Javier, muchas veces realizadas sobre los grabados en que aparecía la imagen del Santo. Desde Cantón fueron llevadas estas obras también a Manila, y desde allí pasaron a veces a Europa.

Una imagen de marfil del siglo XVII o comienzos del XVIII, de estilo hispano-filipino pero con marcados rasgos orientales, representa a San Francisco Javier con sotana y manteo, abriendo la parte alta de su sotana a la altura del pecho para dejar salir el fuego del amor a Dios y del celo por la salvación de las almas que le consumía. Su mirada está un poco elevada hacia

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<sup>25</sup> Casado Paramio, *Marfiles Hispano-Filipinos*, p. 27.

<sup>26</sup> A.A.VV., *Ivory, A History and Collector's Guide* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987) p. 240.

arriba, en un gesto contemplativo, clavando los ojos en Dios. Es un ejemplar típico de los marfiles hispano-filipinos, entre los que no es frecuente que se encuentre la representación de los Santos. Por eso tiene tanto interés esta imagen de San Francisco Javier.<sup>27</sup>

Una de las imágenes más bellas hechas en marfil de San Francisco Javier es la realizada a finales del siglo XVII o comienzos del siglo XVIII, de un tamaño un poco mayor de lo que suelen ser estas escultura (65'5 cms.), y que es un ejemplar perfecto de la Escuela Hispano-Filipina [fig. 15]. Esta obra es una prueba de la extraordinaria habilidad que los escultores chinos tenían para reproducir las imágenes que les llegaban de Europa. Así habla de ellos el obispo de Manila, el dominico Fray Domingo de Salazar, en una carta en que trata de la escasez de imágenes religiosas que tienen allí:

Los sangleyes—chinos residentes en Manila—tenían tal maestría que, en viendo alguna pieza hecha de oficial de España, la sacan muy al propio, y algunos Niños Jesús que yo e visto en marfil, me parece que no se pueden hacer más perfectos . . . Banse proveyendo las iglesias de las imágenes que éstos hacen de que antes abía mucha falta y según la abilidad que muestran al retratar las imágenes que bienen de España, entiendo que antes de mucho no nos harán falta las que se hacen en Flandes . . .<sup>28</sup>

Esta cita nos hace ver que la influencia principal de las obras de arte hispano-filipino llegaba de España y Flandes. La imagen de San Francisco Javier que estamos tratando es un buen ejemplo de ello. Con el pelo y la barba finamente tallados, sus altas cejas y la contextura de sus ojos acentúan su orientalismo. Su sotana está toda decorada con motivos decorativos en tonos dorados cobrizos. Su iconografía responde al modelo más difundido después de su canonización en 1622:

La escultura es una de las más finas de esta escuela, en la que pueden estudiarse los rasgos faciales que caracterizan sus piezas o un repertorio muy interesante de motivos decorativos, por la buena conservación de los que la decoran.<sup>29</sup>

En el Museo Oriental de Valladolid hay una “Cabeza de Santo,” también de la Escuela Hispano-Filipina, en marfil. Tiene la parte final del cuello en forma ovalada, para incrustar en un cuerpo de marfil. Aunque no presenta datos

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<sup>27</sup> Para un estudio detallado de los marfiles hispano-filipinos, Cfr. José Regalado Trota, *Images of Faith: Religious Ivory Carvings from the Philippines* (Pasadena: Pacific Asia Museum, 1990).

<sup>28</sup> Margarita Mercedes Estella Marcos, *Marfiles de las Provincias Ultramarinas Orientales de España y Portugal* (Monterrey, 1997) p. 21.

<sup>29</sup> Estella Marcos, *Marfiles de las Provincias*, p. 118.

suficientes para ser identificado, el especialista en arte filipino Blas Sierra piensa que corresponde a una imagen de San Francisco Javier: si se compara el rostro, pelo y barba con las otras imágenes hispano-filipinas del Santo, se nota una gran similitud iconográfica. Esta semejanza se ve, sobre todo, en la visión profundamente inspirada, que aparece en los demás rostros de Javier que hemos estudiado. Sobre la cronología de esta cabeza, dice el Catálogo (II) del Museo Oriental de Valladolid:

Pieza un tanto desconcertante, porque mantiene elementos del XVII como son los ojos tallados en el propio marfil, mosca de alas abiertas, fuerte patilla y simetría en muchos elementos de la barba. Pero sin embargo el color marrón oscuro y el aspecto general, así como la talla, nos da la sensación de ser pieza tardía, copiando el estereotipo del XVII. Lo más acertado es fecharlo en el siglo XIX.<sup>30</sup>

Hay una serie de retablos en iglesias de los jesuitas en Filipinas, datables a final del siglo XVII, en los que aparece la figura de San Francisco Javier entre las de otros santos. Así en tres retablos de Silang, Cavite. Todos ellos están descritos con todo detalle por Rene B. Jovellana, S.J.<sup>31</sup> En todos estos retablos aparece Javier con las manos a la altura del pecho, abriéndose la sotana para dejar salir el fuego del amor a Dios y a las almas que le consumía. Su mirada está siempre levantada hacia arriba, en busca de ese Dios al que predicaba por todos los pueblos a donde llegaba. Vestido de la negra sotana de la Compañía, su figura aparece en estos retablos llena de austeridad descriptiva.

La iconografía de San Francisco Javier en China es muy escasa. Sólo quedan algunas obras realizadas por artistas chinos, que se conservan actualmente en otros lugares del mundo. La extinción de la Compañía en el siglo XVIII, y la persecución maoísta (confiscaciones, cárceles, expulsiones) hicieron que se perdieran todas las iglesias, las magníficas bibliotecas en Pekín y Zibawei, como el taller de arte religioso en Shanghai. Así desaparecieron todas las obras de arte que representaban también a Javier. Desde 1952 no se pudieron recolectar las obras que existían en el continente chino. Vamos a procurar encontrar algunas obras de arte que representan a Javier, y que actualmente existen en otros sitios, pero que fueron realizadas por artistas chinos en siglos pasados.

Hay un grabado en que aparece San Francisco Javier, surgiendo de un promontorio a la orilla del mar, que simbólicamente parece presentar el Crucifijo, levantado en alto, ante un paisaje de tonalidades chinas. El Santo está vestido de sotana y sobrepelliz, sin estola. Parece tener este grabado un sentido

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<sup>30</sup> Casado Paramio, *Murales Hispano-Filipinos*, p. 292.

<sup>31</sup> Rene B. Jovellana, S.J., *Wood and Stone for God's Greater Glory. Jesuit Art and Architecture in the Philippines* (Manila: Manila Ateneo, 1991).

simbólico, al presentar el Santo el Crucifijo ante un paisaje al que nunca llegaría. Por su estilo, puede datarse este grabado en el siglo XVII.

Otra pintura de San Francisco Javier, también del siglo XVII, lo presenta en un paisaje de estilo puramente chino [fig. 16], con montañas lejanas dibujadas en la lejanía, y escenas más cercanas de la vida del Santo. La figura de Javier aparece con sotana, sobrepelliz y estola, con una gran azucena en la mano izquierda, a la vez que abre el sobrepelliz a la altura del pecho para dejar salir el fuego del amor a Dios y a las almas. Esta pintura fue realizada antes de 1622, fecha de la canonización de Javier, ya que al pie se ve "B. Franciscos Xaverius." Probablemente es una pintura hecha en Macao por algún artista chino, fuertemente influenciado por la iconografía primera de Javier que llegaba de Europa. Creo que es una de las obras más significativas de la iconografía de San Francisco Javier en China.

Una obra significativa dentro de la iconografía de San Francisco Javier en China es la pintura sobre tabla del siglo XVII, que se encuentra actualmente en México, "Muerte de San Francisco Javier" [fig. 17]. Aparece el Santo en los últimos momentos de su vida, tendido sobre un camastro hecho de madera, con el Crucifijo y el Rosario cogido entre sus manos. Es sin duda una obra pintada en Macao: esto aparece especialmente en los mismos rasgos orientales de la figura del Santo y, sobre todo, en la figura de Antonio de Santa Fe, el chino que lo acompañaba, que está arrodillado a su lado en una actitud orante. Al fondo se ve un paisaje marino, el que lo separa del continente, en donde aparecen unas naves de las que surcaban los mares desde Europa a Oriente, pasando por Nueva España. El ambiente de esta obra es de una gran emoción contenida, que refleja el momento supremo de la muerte del gran apóstol de Oriente. La riqueza del colorido es enorme, muy cercano al de las mejores obras de la tradición china. También el paisaje es propio de la tradición de China, pero influenciado por los paisajes marinos que llegaban de Europa. Aunque esta obra es anónima, debió ser pintada por un gran maestro chino del siglo XVII, formado en los estudios de arte en que trabajaban los artistas europeos y los chinos, en una mezcla admirable de culturas.

Existe un grabado que también representa la muerte de San Francisco Javier, seguramente del siglo XIX, que tiene datos tomados de la pintura anterior. En éste aparece, junto a la figura de Javier, la del chino Antonio de Santa Fe y la del indio Cristoban. La escena está descrita debajo de un sombrero hecho de troncos y ramas, y en el fondo se ve un poco de paisaje marino con la gran nave europea. En un rompiente de la parte alta está dibujada la Iglesia en que estuvo la tumba del Santo, en la isla de Sancian, con el plano al lado: fue edificada en el sitio en que murió el Santo, según aparece en la inscripción de la parte inferior (esa Iglesia no es la que existe actualmente, ya que fue reconstruida más tarde). La multitud de detalles de este grabado nos acerca también a la pintura

tradicional china de siglos anteriores, en que el poder descriptivo era muy significativo. No existe más que el negativo de este grabado.

Por último, hay dos pinturas, también hechas en Macao, pero de menor calidad artística: en una aparece San Francisco Javier poco antes de morir, con Antonio de Santa Fe y Cristoban arrodillados a sus pies, y en la otra aparece el Santo tendido en el suelo, al que sólo acompaña el chino Antonio de Santa Fe. En las dos se ve un paisaje marino al fondo, con los montes del continente y de las islas cercanas. El mayor valor artístico de estas dos obras, probablemente del siglo XIX, está en haber sabido pintar en ellas la soledad en que tuvo lugar la muerte de Javier, después de haber pasado la vida rodeado de multitudes a las que predicaba y bautizaba.

### Iconografía de San Francisco Javier en Japón

La iconografía de San Francisco Javier en Japón es limitada, si se compara con la que existe en Europa y América, pero altamente significativa. Durante mucho tiempo fueron muy pocos los artistas japoneses que se atrevieron a representarlo, ya que habían llegado a Japón pinturas y esculturas de Occidente, y éstas eran las que los cristianos japoneses veneraban. Sin embargo, dada la enorme importancia de la figura de Javier para la Iglesia de Japón, hay algunas obras en las que se le representa, de un modo más o menos original, más bien bajo la inspiración de las imágenes hechas por artistas occidentales. A esto hay que añadir que la Iglesia de Japón no tuvo más que unos años de vida pública: desde la llegada de Javier el 15 de agosto de 1549 hasta el edicto de persecución de todos los cristianos de 1614. A estos años siguió un tiempo largo de ocultamiento, en que los cristianos vivieron sin ser conocidos y terriblemente perseguidos, y en que la fe se transmitía de padres a hijos, sin muestras externas ningunas de prácticas religiosas. Así, hasta 1863 en que los misioneros católicos vuelven a Japón, aunque la libertad religiosa total en Japón no se concede hasta 1873. Los primeros jesuitas volvieron a Japón, después de la época de persecución, en 1908.

Todas estas difíciles circunstancias históricas hicieron que la producción de arte cristiano en Japón estuviera totalmente prohibida. Los "cristianos ocultos" tenían imágenes o pequeñas pinturas heredadas de sus antepasados, aunque también hicieron algunas entre ellos mismos para su uso, que veremos más tarde. Todo esto hace que la iconografía javeriana en Japón sea escasa, a pesar de que la figura de Javier ha sido siempre la más importante de toda la hagiografía religiosa en Japón: fue el primero que llevó la fe de Cristo y la cultura de Occidente a aquella islas. Vamos a fijarnos en dos obras en las que aparece San Francisco Javier, realizadas en el siglo XVII, seguramente antes de que arreciase la persecución religiosa en Japón.

Después de una primera época, en que los artistas japoneses no hacían más



que copiar las obras religiosas que les llegaban de Europa, aparecen algunas pinturas en las que imprimen ya un sello más definido de la propia inspiración. Entre éstas, hay tres que describen a la Virgen y los 15 Misterios del Rosario: una de ellas estaba en la Catedral de Urakami (Nagasaki), pero fue destruida en la última guerra mundial; otra se conserva en la Colección Azuma Fujitsugu, de Osaka, y la tercera en la Universidad de Kyoto. La de la Colección Azuma de Osaka se conserva en muy mal estado, y en líneas generales es muy parecida a la de la Universidad de Kyoto, que está en mejor estado de conservación. Vamos a fijarnos en esta última [fig. 18].

En la obra “La Virgen María con el Niño y los 15 Misterios del Rosario” todo es altamente interesante: la composición, el colorido y la técnica de la pintura tradicional japonesa aplicada ya más libremente a los temas cristianos. En esta obra anónima, el artista ha sabido unir la técnica tradicional de Japón con una cierta espiritualidad cristiana, produciendo un tipo nuevo de pintura religiosa en Japón. Es probable que estas obras tuvieran un fin didáctico, para enseñar el catecismo a los que querían hacerse cristianos, ya que presentan un resumen de la historia de la salvación. Es algo así como aparece en los retablos de las iglesias europeas, que presentan, en pintura o escultura, un resumen de la redención de Cristo representada en cuadros o grupos escultóricos, y en el centro hay siempre una figura principal. En esta obra que se conserva en la Universidad de Kyoto aparece una parte central, en la que está la Virgen con el Niño Jesús en su brazo derecho, mientras que en su mano izquierda tiene una flor. Alrededor de esta imagen hay una cortina, que sirve de dosel, y una frase: “Lowado seia o Sanctisso Sacramento” (Alabado sea el Santísimo Sacramento). En la parte inferior, dos imágenes de medio cuerpo de San Ignacio de Loyola y San Francisco Javier adoran en actitud reverente a un cáliz con una sagrada Hostia, de la que salen rayos de luz; más abajo, el JHS, símbolo de la Compañía de Jesús. Más atrás están las figuras de San Matías y Santa Lucía. Debajo de estas figuras aparecen los nombres: S.P. Ignatius, Societatis Iesus, S.P. Franciscus Xaverius, S. Matthias, S. Lucia. Alrededor de toda esta parte central del cuadro están pintados los 15 Misterios del Rosario: los Misterios Gozosos en la parte izquierda, los Misterios Doloros en la parte central, y los Misterios Gloriosos en la parte derecha. No cabe duda de que el pintor de esta obra estuvo formado en alguno de los colegios-seminarios de los jesuitas en Japón. Más concretamente, sería pintada esta obra por un alumno del Colegio de Nagasaki, donde enseñó el artista italiano Giovanni Niccolò (o Giovanni Cola o João Nicolao),<sup>32</sup> y muy bien podría ser una obra de alguno de sus discípulos japoneses. En cuanto a la fecha de este cuadro hay distintas teorías: el jesuita Diego Yuuki, especialista en la historia del llamado “Siglo Cristiano en Japón,”

<sup>32</sup> \*c. 1560 Nola?; SJ xii.1577 Roma; †16.iii.1626 Macao (DHC), I, 838).

piensa que debió ser pintado entre 1600 y 1614, ya que el poner en el cuadro "S. P. Franciscus" no significa que estuvieran ya canonizados S. Ignacio y San Francisco Javier, sino que era el modo común de llamarlos ("Sanctus Pater"); si hubieran estado canonizados, simplemente hubieran escrito "Sanctus Franciscus."<sup>33</sup> Sin embargo, la similitud entre este cuadro y el siguiente retrato de San Francisco Javier, que vamos a estudiar, presenta algunas dificultades sobre la fecha de su ejecución. Son tantas las semejanzas entre los dos cuadros, que parece seguro que el artista que las realizó fuera el mismo. Y en el retrato del Santo aparece ya claramente pintada la aureola de la santidad, dato iconográfico que nunca se emplea si no es sobre la cabeza de una persona canonizada. El hecho de que en 1622 ya estuviera desatada la persecución y, por tanto, no estuviera permitido pintar esta clase de cuadros de temas cristianos, no significa que no pudiera ser pintada esta obra en la clandestinidad o en la Escuela de Arte de Macao, en donde siguieron enseñando los jesuitas y a donde pasó a enseñar el P. Giovanni Niccolò.

En estas obras de arte cristiano, como "La Virgen María y los 15 Misterios del Rosario," los artistas japoneses se sienten suficientemente seguros en su inspiración como para emplear en ellas los materiales tradicionales aplicados a temas cristianos: estas pinturas están hechas sobre papel y con los pigmentos tradicionales aplicados a temas cristianos, no con óleo y sobre lienzo. La riqueza cromática es también la tradicional, y hay en ellas datos estéticos comparables a trozos de algunos "E-makimono" (rollos de pintura descriptiva) de la mejor época artística del arte japonés. A estos valores tradicionales se han unido otros que acababan de conocerse en Japón, como son el claroscuro y la perspectiva de sentido occidental. Las escenas de los Misterios del Rosario están pintados con un encanto especial: en ellas se unen el atractivo de los "Primitivos" europeos con la viveza de la pintura descriptiva del arte clásico de Japón. El simbolismo de las tonalidades en los colores, que se daba en la pintura de los "E-makimono," aparece también aquí: los misterios de gozo están pintados con una tonalidad media, si se comparan con los tonos más oscuros de los misterios de dolor, y con la claridad más luminosa de los misterios de gloria. Es una muestra del simbolismo expresado a través del color. El conjunto de la obra es de una originalidad increíble, y puede ser un modelo de la asimilación conseguida en tan poco tiempo por los artistas japoneses de la temática y técnica de Occidente.

El "Retrato de San Francisco Javier" es una obra que se encuentra en el Museo Municipal de Kobe [fig. 19]. Como la obra anterior, este retrato debió ser pintado por un artista japonés que estudió en el Colegio-seminario de la

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<sup>33</sup> Diego Yuuki (Pacheco), S.J., "La Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento y la Rebelión de Shimabara," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de Santa Isabel de Hungría*, 29 (2001).

Compañía de Jesús, basándose en un grabado: Okamoto Yoshitomo piensa que debió inspirarse en la primera página del libro de Orazio Torsellino,<sup>34</sup> *De Vita Francisci Xaverii* (Rome, 1594).<sup>35</sup> La figura de Javier, de medio cuerpo, aparece con las manos cruzadas sobre el pecho, mirando un Crucifijo que sale de ellas. La originalidad está en que la cruz sale de un corazón en llamas, que probablemente significará el de Javier, que ardía en amor de Cristo crucificado. De los labios de Javier emerge la frase latina: "Satis est, Domine, Satis est," como indicando que ya es bastante el raudal de consolación interior que siente el Santo ante la cruz de Cristo. Alrededor del Crucifijo se abre un rompiente de luz en el fondo oscuro del cuadro sobre el que se recorta la figura, en que hay varias cabezas de querubines que vuelan entre nubes. Estos rompientes son un dato procedente de la pintura tradicional japonesa de los biombos, en los que, en medio de un fondo neutro, aparecen esas aberturas de luz, especialmente en la Escuela de Kano de pintura. La expresión del rostro de Javier muestra un momento de intensa visión sobrenatural, de profundo éxtasis, ante la figura aparecida de Cristo crucificado que emerge de su corazón.

En la parte inferior del cuadro hay una inscripción latina: "S. Franciscus Xaverius Societatis," que más abajo aparece en una transcripción fonética en caracteres japoneses. Estos fueron escritos por un tal Gyofu Kanjin, del que no se sabe nada, pero cuyo nombre aparece en el sello. Sin embargo, en la pintura está el sello de la Escuela de Kano, y se sabe que de esa Escuela era un cristiano, Pedro Kano, que estuvo en Nagasaki. El sello de la Escuela de Kano tiene forma de "tsubo," y dentro de él cada autor pone su nombre. Aquí los caracteres son "Gyofu: Pescador = Pedro". Así se traducía en Japón la frase de los Papas "Sub sigillo Piscatoris": "Gyofu no ban." De este modo, podría saberse que este retrato de Javier fue pintado por un pintor de la Escuela de Kano, que era cristiano y se llamaba Pedro. Esta identificación ha sido estudiada por el jesuita Diego Yuuki, en la obra citada.<sup>36</sup>

Desde que en 1612 se promulgó el decreto de persecución de los cristianos, y especialmente desde 1614 en que ya se llevó a efecto de un modo radical, todo lo relacionado con el Cristianismo fue destruido por las autoridades del gobierno de los Tokugawa. Hubo innumerables mártires que prefirieron la muerte a renegar de su fe. Algunas familias cristianas ocultaron los objetos de devoción que tenían, y gracias a esto se conservan algunas de las obras de arte relacionadas con el Cristianismo. Sin embargo, un grupo de cristianos marcharon a ocultarse en las montañas o en islas remotas, y pudieron así

<sup>34</sup> \*xi.1544 Rome; SJ 15.viii.1562 Rome; †6.iv.1599 Rome (DHCJ, IV, 3827).

<sup>35</sup> Okamoto Yoshitomo, *The Namban Art of Japan*. (Tokyo: Weatherhill/Heibonsha, 1972) p. 148.

<sup>36</sup> Diego Yuuki (Pacheco), S.J., "La Hermandad del Santísimo Sacramento."

sobrevivir a la persecución. Estos son los llamados “Kakure-krishtan” (“cristianos ocultos”): conservaban secretamente su fe, y la practicaban sin ser vistos. Así, la fe cristiana se mantuvo en Japón durante más de 250 años, transmitiéndola esas familias a sus descendientes, y éstos a los suyos, de generación en generación. De este modo, aquellas células ocultas de fe cristiana hicieron que en Japón nunca faltaran algunos cristianos, a pesar de no tener entre ellos sacerdotes que les administraran los sacramentos. Esta transmisión puramente oral de la fe hizo que, con el tiempo, se desfigurase un poco, hasta el punto de mezclarse con elementos budistas o shintoístas. Las oraciones, mezcladas con palabras latinas y portuguesas, se fueron diciendo durante todos esos años, hasta llegar a desfigurarse también las plegarias. Más adelante, con influencias extrañas, los “cristianos ocultos” escribieron un libro titulado “Tenchihajimari-no-koto” (“El comienzo del cielo y de la tierra”), que tenían como una escritura sagrada.<sup>37</sup>

Estos “cristianos ocultos,” aunque guardaban secretamente los objetos cristianos que habían podido llevar consigo, también pintaron algunas obras en un estilo ingenuo, a veces hasta un poco grotesco, en las que representaban, sobre todo, a la Virgen María con el Niño en los brazos. Entre esas pinturas, hay algunas en que, debajo de la Virgen con el Niño, aparecen San Ignacio de Loyola y San Francisco Javier. Parece que las figuras representadas en las pinturas de “La Virgen con el Niño y los 15 Misterios del Rosario” debieron alcanzar cierta popularidad entre los cristianos. Esto hace que se repita el tema en algunas de las pinturas hechas por los “cristianos ocultos”, posiblemente a finales del siglo XVIII o comienzos del siglo XIX [fig. 21 y 22].

Después de la apertura de Japón a Occidente, y de la vuelta de los misioneros, las obras de arte vuelven a tomar como tema las figuras cristianas, y entre ellas aparece de nuevo San Francisco Javier. Esto ocurre en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX.

La “Llegada de San Francisco Javier con Juan Fernández a Shimonoseki” es una obra pintada sobre seda por Seiji Utsumi (1871-1939) hacia 1930, cuando la libertad religiosa era ya un hecho en Japón [fig. 20]. La obra es altamente interesante desde un punto de vista descriptivo: entre un grupo de japoneses que se acercan admirados a ver a aquellos dos extranejos que acaban de llegar a Shimonoseki, sobresalen las figuras de San Francisco Javier y del H<sup>o</sup> Juan Fernández, su compañero, que acaban de pisar tierra en la isla principal de Japón. Los tipos de japoneses de todas clases, con sus trajes típicos de la época, las barcas de pesca que se usaban entonces ancladas en la orilla y, al fondo las

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<sup>37</sup> Para un estudio completo de los “cristianos ocultos,” cfr. Tanigawa Kenichi, *Kakure Christian no Seiga (Sacred Paintings of Hidden Christians)* (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1999).

montañas que rodean Shimonoseki. Incluso pueden verse algunas casas típicas de Japón, y entre ellas el Castillo de Shimonoseki. El colorido es el típico de la pintura narrativa japonesa, que tiene su origen en el Período de Heian (794-1185), en la pintura de los "E-makimono." El contraste entre el negro de la sotana de los misioneros y el colorido del resto es enorme. Esto los hace ser el centro del cuadro. Los dos avanzan decididos, desde el mismo momento de su llegada, a adentrarse por aquellas tierras desconocidas, que tanta esperanza abrieron en el corazón de Javier.

Lucas Hasegawa (1887-1967) es uno de los pintores que supo integrar los temas cristianos al estilo tradicional de Japón. Coloca las figuras en sus obras prescindiendo de la perspectiva y aplicando los colores planos, como en las mejores obras de la tradición pictórica japonesa. El Año Santo de 1950, Hasegawa, presidente de la Asociación de artistas católicos japoneses, ofreció al Papa tres "e-makimono" (rollos de pintura narrativa), que ilustraban la historia del Cristianismo en Japón. Entre las muchas escenas pintadas en esta obra, está la escena de "San Francisco Javier en medio de una furiosa tempestad en su viaje de 53 días a Japón," "San Francisco Javier desembarca con sus compañeros en Kagoshima," "San Francisco Javier predicando ante un templo budista" [fig. 23] y "San Francisco Javier bautizando a un bonzo budista junto al pozo de Yamaguchi" [fig. 24]. La técnica de esta obra está dentro de la más pura tradición japonesa, y es una historia narrativa pintada sobre un "e-makimono," como tantas otras que cuentan pasajes históricos de Japón. Hasegawa fue uno de los artistas que mejor supieron integrar la temática y el espíritu cristianos con la tradición pictórica japonesa.

Una pintura colgante ("kakemono") representa a "San Francisco Javier ante Hirado," hecha sobre seda por Kobayakawa Yoshifuru. Este pintor, natural de Kyoto, pintó este paisaje de la ciudad de Hirado, en que Javier había ejercido su apostolado. Aparece la figura del Santo pensativo, con las manos cruzadas y un libro en la izquierda, con la mirada llena de aquellos sueños que llenaban su corazón de planes de evangelización. Lleva la sotana y esclavina, con un Crucifijo colgado al cuello. El paisaje marino detrás de la figura describe las costas de Hirado; a los pies de los montes, junto al mar, pueden verse los edificios de una factoría holandesa. El colorido es suave, y todo el conjunto da una gran sensación de quietud, como aparece en otras obras de paisaje en que se pinta el ambiente de paz para colocar en ellas a figuras que la transmiten en el semblante. Este es el caso de Javier, en medio de un paisaje típicamente japonés.

Otra pintura colgante ("kakemono") describe también la llegada de San Francisco Javier a Kagoshima. Es parecida a la que describe la llegada a Shimonoseki, pero más simplificada. Está hecha a la aguada sobre papel, y es de finales del siglo XIX.

“Javier predicando en el pozo de Yamaguchi” es una pintura del artista de Kyoto Pablo Tanizawa, del siglo XIX. En la ciudad de Yamaguchi se conserva el pozo, en el que es tradición que se sentaba Javier para predicar. El estilo de la obra es también el tradicional de la Escuela de “Yamato-e,” de un sentido altamente popular, y en que se emplean los pigmentos usados desde los comienzos de la pintura japonesa sobre papel o seda.

En el Castillo de Javier, de Navarra (España) se conserva un estandarte, en que está pintado San Francisco Javier escribiendo cartas: fue enviado allí por los católicos japoneses en el siglo XIX. La figura del Santo está arrodillado, con un papel en la mano izquierda y una pluma en la derecha, sin duda aludiendo a las cartas que escribía a Europa y que causaban tanta impresión. Después de obtener la libertad religiosa en Japón en el siglo XIX, los católicos japoneses enviaron este estandarte votivo al Castillo de Javier con la siguiente inscripción: “Los cristianos japoneses unidos en la plegaria para obtener el hermanamiento de la ofrenda al padre, el gran Santo.” Acabada la persecución religiosa en Japón, que duró más de dos siglos, llegaron a Japón los primeros misioneros católicos de las Misiones Extranjeras de París. Sin duda, movidos por ellos, los cristianos japoneses quisieron sentirse solidarios con los de Europa por medio del gran misionero Francisco Javier, al que enviaron este estandarte votivo.

Una gran pintura anónima, probablemente del siglo XIX, describe una escena de la predicación de San Francisco Javier ante una multitud de japoneses. Entre los que le escuchan se puede ver a toda clase de gente: “samurai” con sus espadas, damas de la nobleza, bonzos budistas, gente del pueblo, y al fondo algunos soldados portugueses. Hay un paisaje marino que cierra la escena, en el que se ve la nave en que llegaban los europeos a Japón para su comercio anual con Nagasaki. Esta obra tiene el interés de presentar todos los tipos japoneses de aquella época, que acudían a escuchar la predicación de Javier: éste levantaba el Crucifijo en su mano, como único signo de salvación. Es interesante el ver la actitud aparentemente indiferente de los oyentes, que contrasta con el ardor apostólico de Javier. Una escena propia de la época de Javier en Japón. Esta obra es de autor desconocido y no se sabe dónde se encuentra.

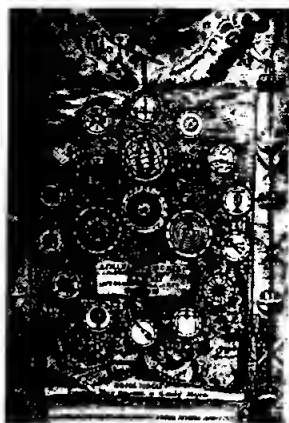
“Llegada de San Francisco Javier a Kagoshima”: Esta pintura está hecha de un grabado de madera (“mokuban”) realizado en 1972 por Azukawa Yugo. En este grabado aparece Javier bendiciendo a un niño que le han presentado, que sostiene en el brazo izquierdo, y al que bendice con un Crucifijo que tiene en la mano derecha. A su lado aparece un japonés, probablemente Anjiro, el compañero japonés que llevó consigo desde Goa a Japón. Delante de él, arrodillada, está una japonesa, seguramente la madre que ha entregado el niño al Santo. A su izquierda un poco más atrás, unos japoneses que observan la escena. Al fondo se divisa un volcán. Este tipo de pintura hecha en grabado, tan

típica de Japón, tiene toda la fuerza de la figura central de Javier, en cuyo rostro aparece el afán impaciente por llevar a Cristo a aquellos japoneses con los que acaba de encontrarse al llegar a Kagoshima.

La iconografía de San Francisco Javier en Oriente es, ante todo, altamente variada. No sólo en los distintos campos del arte aparece la representación del Santo desde finales del siglo XVI, sino también en los más diversos estilos y formas de representación. Es natural que así fuera debido a la influencia que tuvo Javier en la historia del Cristianismo en todo Oriente. Las características de esta representación se han mantenido generalmente a través de los siglos, aunque no cabe duda que adaptadas al cambio de las tendencias artísticas de cada lugar. Es importante reconocer que el primer retrato de Javier, pintado según las indicaciones de los que lo conocieron en vida, fue hecho en Goa en el último cuarto del siglo XVI. De éste envió una copia a Roma el P. Alessandro Valignano, y fue el origen de la mayor parte de la iconografía de Javier en Europa.

### Summary

Well aware that it is not possible to discuss all artistic representations of Francis Xavier in India, China, the Philippines and Japan, the author has selected important paintings, sculptures, and engravings from the sixteenth-century until the present from different artistic traditions. He draws especial attention to the anonymous work preserved in the Cathedral of Tuy (Spain) which may be the original painting sent from Goa to Father General Claudio Acquaviva in 1583.



Paul Begheyn, S.J.

*GIDS VOOR DE GESCHIEDENIS VAN DE  
JEZUÏETEN IN NEDERLAND 1850-2000/  
A GUIDE TO THE HISTORY OF THE JESUITS  
IN THE NETHERLANDS 1850-2000*

The Netherlands have been a Jesuit province since 1850. During the first hundred years of its history, Dutch Jesuits were involved in an ever widening spectrum of activities. Besides six colleges, they ran retreat houses and parishes, published a weekly newspaper, scientific journals, and the *Dutch Catechism*—and provided many missionaries to other parts of the world. More recently a radical decline in vocations has resulted in the withdrawal from and/or closure of many prominent ministries. This guide, in Dutch and English, provides important information essential for scholarly research of the Society in the Netherlands and the members of the province: a calendar of important dates; location of Jesuit residences; an overview of Jesuit government; a bibliography; a glossary of Jesuit terms; and an analysis of other important sources for research on the history, culture and spirituality of the Society of Jesus in the Netherlands.

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# THE CULT OF SAINT FRANCIS XAVIER IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

Paul Begheyn S.J.\*

1658 was not a special year either for the Society of Jesus or for the people of the Dutch Republic. Nevertheless, Adriaen Cools,<sup>1</sup> superior of the Dutch Jesuit mission, a man with great administrative talents, selected Francis Xavier<sup>2</sup> for the patron saint of this particular mission.<sup>3</sup> On several occasions, this saint had been a very effective helper in adversity and danger, and his election was an important incentive for the ninety Jesuits then working as missionaries in sixty-six stations throughout the country.

The Jesuit Norbert Aerts,<sup>4</sup> author of a manuscript history of the Dutch Jesuit mission from its foundation until 1670, provides interesting details regarding the way the city of Gouda celebrated the new patron saint: "They had a painting made after the example of the image in Potame which is famous for his

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<sup>1</sup> \*6.v.1596 Gouda; SJ 15.vii.1612 Mechlen; †17.xi.1662 Brussels. All biographical information on Jesuits in the Netherlands in this article is taken from Willem Audenaert, *Prosopographia Iesuitica Belgica Antiqua (PIBA). A Biographical Dictionary of the Jesuits in the Low Countries 1542-1773*, 4 vols. (Leuven-Heverlee: Filosofisch en Theologisch College S.J., 2000) [henceforth *PIBA*] I, 233.

<sup>2</sup> \*7.iv.1506 Javier; SJ one of the first companions; †3.xii.1552 Sanchian (*DHCJ*, III, 2140).

<sup>3</sup> Norbertus Aerts, S.J., "Acta Missionis Hollandicae Societatis Jesu 1614-1670," Brussels, Royal Library, MS. 4084, vol. VII, p. 156. Volume 1 of the original manuscript is kept in the archives of the Groot Seminarie (Ghent); volumes II-VIII in the Royal Library, Brussels. A nineteenth-century transcript can be found in the Archives of the Netherlands Province of the Society of Jesus (Nijmegen), Boek AF 9.

<sup>4</sup> \*23.vii.1639 Antwerp; SJ 24.ix.1657 Mechlen; †16.x.1707 Amsterdam (*PIBA*, I, 46).

miracles." This statue of Francis Xavier, patron saint of an Italian hamlet south of Cosenza in Calabria,<sup>5</sup> shows him wearing a cassock, surplice and stole, his right hand stretched out, his left hand holding a lily, symbol of purity. As a model, the Gouda painter possibly used an etching of this statue made by Frederik Bouttats, printed in *S. P. Francisci Xaverii Indiarum apostoli beneficia et miracula Potami* (Graz, 1656) by the Austrian Jesuit Leonhard Bachin.<sup>6</sup> Bachin's book was reprinted with additions in Antwerp in 1658.<sup>7</sup> Several engravings done by various seventeenth-century Flemish and German artists testify to the popularity of the Potame statue.<sup>8</sup> Maybe by choosing Saint Francis Xavier for patron of the Dutch Mission, Father Superior Adriaen Cools wanted to share in the sacred profits. If the Jesuit saint was willing to intercede for an insignificant foreign place like Potame, maybe he could do the same or even more for the suppressed Catholics in the Netherlands. According to the annual reports sent to Rome by the missionaries in Holland, Xavier's popularity soon exceeded Saint Ignatius Loyola's, thanks primarily to an exceptionally large number of prayers that had been answered.<sup>9</sup> Aerts also wrote about the celebration of the Feast of St. Francis Xavier in Amsterdam and in other places within the mission. He specifically mentioned Forty Hours, exposition of relics, distribution of holy cards, lighting of candles, recounting stories about miracles, and the common practice of novenas in the saint's honour. That there should be such widespread, quasi-public devotion in a Protestant country with limited tolerance of Catholicism is worth noting.

Relations between the Netherlands and the famous missionary date back to Xavier's life. In 1552, before his departure for China, he appointed his friend, the Dutchman Jasper Berse (or Barzaeus),<sup>10</sup> vice-provincial of India. After Xavier, he was the most important person in Portuguese India. Berse had been



<sup>5</sup> Beatrix Ackx ("Mechelse doeken over Franciscus Xaverius," *De zeventiende eeuw* 14 [1998] 95) mistakenly identifies this place with Potenza (in Basilicata).

<sup>6</sup> \*6.xi.1602 Graz; SJ 16.x.1618 Leoben; †12.iv.1665 Graz (MHSI, *Cat. Pror. Austr.*, II, 541).

<sup>7</sup> *S. P. Francisci Xaverii Indiarum apostoli beneficia et miracula Potami, Neapoli et alibi facta annis 1652, 1656, 1658* (Antwerp: apud Iacobum Meursium, 1658). The copy at The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 3006 H 32, was given by the Flemish Provincial Jan van Renterghem (\*23.vi.1606 Antwerp; SJ 5.x.1623 Mechlen; 6.xi.1681 Antwerp [PIBA, II, 246]) to the instructor of the tertianship: "*Domus Jue Probat. Sociis Jesu Cubic. P. Direct. Dono R.P. Pror. Jois Renterghem.*"

<sup>8</sup> Ursula König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola. Studien zur Entwicklung einer neuen Heiligen-Ikonographie im Rahmen einer Kanonisationskampagne um 1600* (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1982) pp. 231-33; illustrations 261-64, 266.

<sup>9</sup> Frans van Hoeck, S.J., *Schets van de geschiedenis der jezuiten in Nederland* (Nijmegen: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1940) p. 161.

<sup>10</sup> \*1515 Goes; SJ 20.iv.1546 Coimbra; †18.x.1553 Goa (PIBA, I, 76-77).

a very influential missionary in Ormuz among Christians, Hindus, Muslims and Jews before he was nominated rector of St. Paul's in Goa. So effective was he that he inspired Xavier to proclaim "Da mihi Belgas!" ("Give me Belgians!"). The Belgian Province's attempt to have Berse beatified in 1607 failed. Three years later, Nicolas Trigault,<sup>11</sup> himself a missionary in the Far East, published Berse's biography, *Vita Gasparis Barzæi Belgæ e Societate Jesu, Beati Xaverii in India socii* (Antwerp, 1610). It was reprinted in Cologne in 1611 and Douai in 1615.

There are various avenues whereby one can investigate the diffusion of the fame and the cult of St. Francis Xavier through the Dutch Republic. I shall restrict myself to five: locating relics in the Netherlands; examining the number of publications devoted to him; investigating Xavier's role in the everyday life of Dutch Catholics; researching literary texts, e.g. poems, hymns, plays and novels, in which Xavier is mentioned; and, finally, surveying *objets d'art*, e.g. paintings, engravings, statues and liturgical silverware.

### Relics of Saint Francis Xavier

Jesuit colleges, houses and mission stations within the Netherlands celebrated with tremendous joy the canonisation of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier. Henceforth Jesuits promoted the cult of the Society's first two saints wherever they went. Images and statues of Ignatius and Xavier appeared in all churches. To strengthen devotion among the faithful, Jesuits sought relics. In three cities in the southern part of the country, not part of the Dutch republic but under the government of the Catholic Hapsburgs, Jesuits obtained relics of Francis Xavier.

In Roermond, where the Jesuits opened a college in 1611, the cult of Xavier and Ignatius spread in 1623. Catholics sought their protection and intercession upon the arrival of the plague. The magistrate ordered the lighting of large wax candles before the altars of the two saints, and many Catholics attached plates with I.H.S. on the doors of their homes as the Jews in Egypt painted their doorposts with blood as a protection from death. Of the two Jesuit saints, Francis was more instrumental in answering prayers. Ina van Mierlo, a benefactor, and widow of the royal counsellor and bailiff Everaart Botter, donated a precious shrine for the relics of the two saints in 1625.<sup>12</sup> A subsequent etching with the image of Francis Xavier even mentioned Roermond ahead of Potame and Naples, Bologna, Parma, Aquila, Bruges, Malakka and Manaar, other places where Xavier worked miracles in order to emphasize its importance. In fact, an

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<sup>11</sup> \*3.iii.1577 Douai; SJ 9.xi.1594 Tournai; †14.xi.1628 Hangzhou (PIBA, II, 374).

<sup>12</sup> Van Hoeck, *Schets van de geschiedenis der jezuiten*, p. 225.

inscription on the etching says that it had touched the Roermond relic.<sup>13</sup> Similar reports on the promotion of the cult of Saint Francis Xavier are known for the cities of 's-Hertogenbosch<sup>14</sup> and Breda,<sup>15</sup> where the Jesuits conducted colleges until 1629 and 1637 respectively. After the colleges had been closed, Jesuits remained in both cities but in less visible forms of ministry.

Another remarkable relic of Xavier made its first appearance in the Netherlands in 1638. In 1631 Armand, Cardinal de Richelieu forced Maria de' Medici, the mother of King Louis XIII, into exile. Seven years later, she visited the Dutch Republic to seek the government's mediation with her son so that she could return to France. Her efforts were in vain. But, during her sojourn in Amsterdam, Albert Coenraets Burgh, a doctor of law, presented her with Xavier's rosary. He had purchased it from Dutch Calvinist sailors who, in turn, had stolen it from Jesuits in South America.<sup>16</sup> Gerrit Honthorst's print of the queen-mother's visit to Amsterdam clearly shows her holding the rosary in her hand.<sup>17</sup> When Maria died in Cologne in 1642, she bequeathed the rosary to local Jesuits. The Jesuit brother Anton Klemens<sup>18</sup> made a silver reliquary for it in 1657.<sup>19</sup> The most famous Catholic poet in the Dutch Republic, Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679), a native of Cologne, dedicated a poem to this relic, ending with these two lines: "One still can hear this hero talk / through this sign of prayer."<sup>20</sup> Bom a Mennonite, Vondel became a Catholic in 1641, partly because of the influence of Jesuits in Amsterdam. As we shall see later, he wrote several poems and one play about the Society of Jesus.

Three Jesuit mission stations in the Dutch Republic were dedicated to Saint Francis Xavier: Amersfoort, Enkhuizen and Amsterdam. In Amersfoort Jorden

<sup>13</sup> König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius von Loyola*, p. 232.

<sup>14</sup> Nijmegen, Archief Nederlandse Jezuïeten, doos 132, C.34, undated report.

<sup>15</sup> Nijmegen, Archief Nederlandse Jezuïeten, AA 25a, reports on 1663 and 1664.

<sup>16</sup> L. van Miert, "De rozenkrans van den H. Franciscus Xavierus door Vondel bezongen," *Studien* 92 (1919) 57-66; Georg Schurhammer, S.J., "Der Kölner Rosenkranz des hl. Franz Xaver," *Gesammelte Studien*, ed. Georg Schurhammer, S.J., 4 vols. (Rome: Istitutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1962-1965) BIHSI 20-23; IV, 375-404.

<sup>17</sup> The print can be found as a frontispiece in Kasper van Baerle, *Byde inkomst der alderdoorluchtigste Koninginne, Maria de Medicis, t'Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Iohan en Cornelis Blaeu, 1639).

<sup>18</sup> †12.v.1658 Cologne (Josephus Fejér, S.J., *Defuncti secundæ saeculi Societatis Iesu 1641-1740*, 5 vols. [Rome: Institutum Historicum S.J., 1985-90] I, 271).

<sup>19</sup> Wilfried Hansmann, *St. Mariae Himmelfahrt in Köln* (Cologne: Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege und Landschaftschutz, 1981) p. 27.

<sup>20</sup> See H.J. Allard, *Vondel's gedachten op de Societeit van Jezus* ('s-Hertogenbosch: W. van Gulick, 1868) pp. 35-42.

van Wencom<sup>21</sup> established a little church in 1631. It was, thus, the first Jesuit church in the Netherlands dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, pre-dating by eleven years the Jesuit church in Bruges, commonly believed to be the first named after Xavier.<sup>22</sup> In Amersfoort, Xavier's cult spread especially after a relic made from Xavier's right arm, venerated in Rome since 1615, was brought to Amersfoort in 1662. Brother Gregor Raeden (1611-1668),<sup>23</sup> socius to Father General Goswin Nickel,<sup>24</sup> presented the relic to the Dutch Jesuit Jan van Blocklandt;<sup>25</sup> in 1662, during his stay in Rome for the general congregation summoned to elect Nickel's successor. Van Blocklandt, in turn, handed it to Jan van Alckemade,<sup>26</sup> who had worked in Amersfoort since 1652. Van Alckemade received permission from Jan van Neercassel, the Apostolic Vicar, for a public display of the relic in 1663. In 1712 the Utrecht silversmith Nicolaes Verhaer made a simple, but attractive reliquary of silver, surrounded by a wooden carving of flowers in bloom [fig. 7].<sup>27</sup>

After several sordid quarrels, Fabio Chigi, Papal Nuncio in Brussels, permitted the Jesuit Dutch mission to establish a mission station in Enkhuizen in 1640.<sup>28</sup> At some unknown date, the station received a relic of Xavier. In 1695, the Antwerp silversmith Jan Anthoni Lepies (1673-1731) designed a richly decorated reliquary with the bust of the saint, his eyes raised to heaven, crowning a festive baroque container held and topped by several putti.<sup>29</sup>

Another relic was in a third Jesuit mission station in the Dutch Republic: the Church of St. Francis Xavier, "De Krijtberg," in Amsterdam. This hidden church's dedication to Xavier can be seen in a drawing of the church's interior done by Adriaen de Lelie in 1788. The cartouche at the top of the main altar

<sup>21</sup> \*31.v.1599 Amersfoort; SJ 6.xi.1616 Mechlen; †15.viii.1636 Amersfoort (PIBA, II, 433).

<sup>22</sup> After the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the Jesuit church in Bruges was re-named Saint Walburgis. See Jean Luc Meulemeester, *De Sint-Walburgakerk. Een barokke parel in het 'middenleeuwse' Brugge* (Brugge: Westvlaamse Gidsenkring, 1982).

<sup>23</sup> I thank Dr. Rita Haub for providing me with this biographical information.

<sup>24</sup> \*1.v.1584 Koslar; SJ 3.iv.1604 Trier; elected Father General 17 March 1652; †31.vii.1664 Rome (DHCJ, II, 1631).

<sup>25</sup> \*2.ii.1595 Amsterdam; SJ 8.x.1612 Mechlen; †1.iii.1680 Mechlen (PIBA, I, 116).

<sup>26</sup> \*17.ix.1617 Amsterdam; SJ 15.x.1634 Mechlen; †28.i.1683 Amsterdam (PIBA, I, 50).

<sup>27</sup> The reliquary is now in Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, ABM m.1569. See Casper Staal, "Het bisdom Utrecht: relieken, relikwieën en reliekhouders," in *De weg naar de hemel. Reliekerering in de Middeleeuwen*, eds. Henk van Os, et al. (Baarn: De Prom, 2001) p. 189.

<sup>28</sup> Van Hoeck, *Sibets van de geschiedenis der jezuiteten*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>29</sup> Enkhuizen, Parish of Francis Xavier, inscription on the base: "Antonjio Le Pies fecit et invenit. 1/6/95 Antw."

carried an inscription indicating its dedication to God the Father and to Saint Francis Xavier, the first preacher of the faith in India and China.<sup>30</sup> Two documents from the second half of the eighteenth century (1751, 1764) testify to the donation of two relics of Xavier to the Amsterdam church,<sup>31</sup> and the church keeps a gilded wooden reliquary from the nineteenth century, in which are two relics from the walking stick and the clothes of Francis Xavier (*ex baculo* and *ex vestibus*) and one of Aloysius Gonzaga, surrounded by a string of pearls.

Other relics of Saint Francis were saved during a raid on the Jesuit station in Nijmegen in 1666.<sup>32</sup> While the Catholic faithful prepared their church for the coming celebration of the saint's feast on 3 December, an event that became increasingly more popular because of his role as a protector against the plague, municipal authorities invaded the house. The official report described the church thus: "It is a large church with galleries, decorated with an altar, statues and paintings, and destined for the popish religion. Among the ornaments is a statue of Saint Francis Xavier with the following superscription above his altar 'Saint Francis Xavier, be a helper to the people of Nijmegen.' A notice about a plenary indulgence so filled the invaders with indignation that they ordered their servants to confiscate everything: the statue of Xavier, a wax statue of the saint on his deathbed, the paintings on the walls, the altar decoration, a brass chandelier, a small pipe organ and all other church ornaments. But they overlooked the Blessed Sacrament and the relics of Xavier!"

#### Publications on Saint Francis Xavier

In 1567, fifteen years after the death of Xavier, two of his letters were published in a Dutch translation by Maarten Donck (1505-1590), parish priest in Delft, under the title *Die vruchten der ecclesie Christi* (*The Fruits of the Church of Christ*) (Delft, 1567).<sup>33</sup> The volume is a collection of letters written by Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries and their reports about foreign lands. Without a doubt, Donck extracted Xavier's letters from the *Epistolae Indicae*, the first Latin translation of letters by Jesuit missionaries from the Indies, that had appeared a year before in Louvain in two different editions, and that raised so much mission fervour.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Wash drawing, 40 x 34,5 cm.; Amsterdam, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst.

<sup>31</sup> Amsterdam, Krijtberg, Residentie-archief, 6a.

<sup>32</sup> Frans van Hoeck, S.J., *De jezuïeten te Nijmegen* ('s-Hertogenbosch/Antwerp: L.C.G. Malmberg, 1921) p. 113.

<sup>33</sup> Copies of this rare work can be found at Amsterdam, University Library, OK 66-28 (incomplete), and Leiden, University Library, Hotz 1971.

<sup>34</sup> This Dutch edition is not mentioned by Georg Schurhammer, S.J., and Joseph Wicki, S.J., in MHSI, *Xavier*.

The first *vita* of Francis Xavier was written by Orazio Torsellino, S.J.,<sup>35</sup> and published in Rome in 1594.<sup>36</sup> Two years later a second, drastically revised and enlarged edition appeared, which formed the basis for all later biographies by other authors,<sup>37</sup> including that by Dominique Bouhours, S.J.<sup>38</sup> In the same year, 1596, Torsellino published the first Latin edition of Xavier's letters.

Of the many editions of Torsellino's works, not a single one was printed on Dutch territory. Catholics in the Republic depended principally on the southern Netherlands for publications about Xavier. Editions from Antwerp, Liège, Douai, Cambrai, Mechlin, Ghent and Brussels travelled north. Dutch Catholics also purchased editions printed in German cities, e.g. Cologne, Mainz and Munich, but a smaller number.

The Jesuit mission station in Leeuwarden in Frisia, founded in 1609 and dedicated to St. Boniface, owned as many as twelve books on Francis Xavier in a collection built up over 150 years.<sup>39</sup> The library owned three different editions of the Latin *vita* by Torsellino (Antwerp, 1596; Cologne, 1621; Munich, 1627) and a French translation (Douai, 1608) by Martin Christophe, S.J.,<sup>40</sup> another *vita* by Francesco Scortia, S.J.,<sup>41</sup> translated into Flemish (Brussels, 1660) by Philippe Taisne (or Thaisne), S.J.,<sup>42</sup> and a biography based upon Torsellino's work by Bouhours, written originally in French, and translated into Latin (Munich, 1712) by Pierre Python.<sup>43</sup> The Jesuits in Leeuwarden also possessed two different editions of Xavier's letters by Torsellino (Munich, 1600; Antwerp, 1657), a copy of the previously mentioned Latin publication on miracles by Bachin (Antwerp, 1658), and three publications in Netherlandish on the miracles that occurred in Roermond (Antwerp, 1640), and Mechlin (Ghent, 1660; Ypres, 1683). Finally,

<sup>35</sup> xi.1544 Rome; SJ 15.viii.1562 Rome; †6.iv.1599 Rome (*DHCJ*, IV, 3827).

<sup>36</sup> The list of editions of Torsellino's *De Vita Xaverii* in *Sommervogel*, VIII, 140-42, num.7, includes two errors: the very first Roman edition is from 1594 (not 1593), and the Liège edition by Henricus Hovius is from 1597 (not 1592).

<sup>37</sup> Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Francis Xavier His Life, His Times*, 4 vols. Trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1973-1982) I, xiv.

<sup>38</sup> \*15.v.1628 Paris; SJ 7.ix.1644 Paris; †27.v.1702 Paris (*DHCJ*, I, 506).

<sup>39</sup> Mari P. van Buijtenen, *Catalogus van de boeken en handschriften van de jezuïetenstatie te Leeuwarden* (Leeuwarden: Hubert de Groot, 1941) pp. 111-12, 115-16. The complete collection was given on loan to the Provinciale en Buma Bibliotheek van Fryslân in Leeuwarden.

<sup>40</sup> \*1584 Tours; SJ 7; †5.x.1615 Cambrai (*PIBA*, I, 211).

<sup>41</sup> \*1585 Genoa; SJ 28.x.1600; †19.ix.1629 Bologna (*Sommervogel*, VII, 964).

<sup>42</sup> \*24.viii.1627 Brussels; SJ 26.ix.1643 Mechlin; †4.iv.1691 Bruges (*PIBA*, II, 358-59).

<sup>43</sup> \*23.ix.1640 Fribourg; SJ 15.x.1656; †13.3.1729 Biburg (*Sommervogel*, VI, 1321).

there was a French publication by Philippe d'Outreman, S.J.<sup>44</sup> on portraits of Jesuits, exhibited at the occasion of the canonisation of Ignatius and Xavier in 1622 (Douai, 1623). No doubt libraries of other Jesuit mission stations would show similar collections that reflected a popular, expanding cult of Francis Xavier, whose popularity overshadowed that of Ignatius.

The only publication about Francis Xavier printed on Dutch territory before the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773 is a little prayer book with a novena in his honour, published with a false imprint: *Practyke der novene des H. Apostels van Indien, Franciscus Xaverius* (Antwerp [vere 's-Hertogenbosch]: Petrus Scheffers, 1717).<sup>45</sup> It happened regularly that Catholic books were published with a false imprint, usually of a Flemish or German city, on the one hand to deceive Protestant magistrates and, on the other, to show Catholics that the content of the book could be trusted since it was not published in Protestant territory.

### Saint Francis Xavier in the Daily Life of a Jesuit Mission Station

The best sources for a reconstruction of the daily life of a Jesuit mission station in the Dutch Republic can be found in the *Historia domus* of such houses, complemented with the *Litterae annuae* of the Flemish Province. Subsequent historians have used this material in their monographs on some of these stations. The following example from Rotterdam could be repeated in more or less the same way for the other mission stations: all attest to the growing popularity of Xavier, especially as a protector from diseases;<sup>46</sup> consequent ecclesiastical and liturgical celebrations, and frequent devotions in his honour; donations of works of art representing the famous missionary.

The *Historia domus* of the Jesuit station in de Leeuwenstraat in Rotterdam,<sup>47</sup> founded in 1610, mentioned the saint for the first time in 1649, when Catholics, especially women in childbirth, sought his intercession. Four years later the house historian again reported similar petitions for his intercession. In 1657 the feast of Saints Ignatius and Francis (the sources are not clear whether this was the anniversary of their canonization or a joint feast day) was celebrated for the first time with full liturgical rites. The city council was kindly disposed to the

<sup>44</sup> \*28.iv.1585 Valenciennes; SJ 20.ii.1607 Tournai; †16.v.1652 Valenciennes (*PIBA*, II, 181).

<sup>45</sup> Paul Begheyn, S.J., *Bibliotheca Jesuitica Neerlandica Impressa 1540-1773* (work in progress).

<sup>46</sup> In 1666 the Catholics in Delft chose St. Francis Xavier as patron against the plague, "not without success," as Norbert Aerts wrote in his chronicle of this station. See Frans van Hoeck, S.J., "De jezuiteten-statie te Delft, 1592-1709-1771," *Haarlemse Bijdragen* 60 (1948) 424.

<sup>47</sup> G. Scheerder, O.S.C., *De contrareformatie te Rotterdam. De Leeuwenstraatse statie van de Paters Jezuiten 1610-1708-1800* (Rotterdam: Stichting Historische Publicaties Roterodamum, 1988) pp. 65, 68-70, 116.



Jesuits, and as many as nine city fathers visited the station church. Not surprisingly their visit caused some sensation among the non-Catholic citizens, but after having seen the chapel and having heard the church choir practise, they departed on friendly terms. When the plague next visited the city in 1664, a ten-day cycle of prayers besought the intercession of St. Francis Xavier and St. Rosalia of Palermo. Jesuits had introduced and promoted her cult as a patron against the plague after the discovery of her body in 1624. On Saturdays a sung High Mass was offered in her honour. Every time a priest was called to assist a sick person, candles were lit before the statues of both saints until the person was healed. Eventually, and perhaps not surprisingly, St. Rosalia became the patron saint of the Jesuit station. Finally, in 1681 a silver statue of Saint Francis Xavier, valued at 440 guilders, was presented to the station by Francisco Mollo, agent of John III Sobieski, King of Poland.

It is interesting to observe that plague and heresy became connected as evils in need of eradication. In both cases, Xavier was considered an exemplary miracle worker. Thus Peter Paul Rubens's famous "The Miracles of Saint Francis Xavier," painted for the Jesuit church in Antwerp, demonstrates the use of plague imagery as a metaphor for heresy.<sup>48</sup>

Throughout the Dutch Mission, Jesuits promoted the cult of Xavier. In 1668 in Leeuwarden, two women were believed to be possessed by an evil spirit. After being covered by some relics of Xavier, they vomited hair, sand, blood, rocks, sharp objects, iron hooks, and wooden sticks, all objects that they had swallowed. One woman, now liberated from the power of the devil, confessed her sins, and placed her contract with the devil on the altar alongside Xavier's relics as testimony of the victory of the latter over the former.<sup>49</sup>

Xavier was frequently invoked during childbirth. In 1667/68 in Harlingen, the Jesuit Aegidius a Costa<sup>50</sup> presented a small shrine with relics of Xavier to a couple whose daughter was in mortal danger because of complications surrounding the birth of her first child. All troubles vanished; a healthy baby was born; and the priest no longer questioned the authenticity of the relics.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> C.M. Boeckl, "Plague Imagery as Metaphor for Heresy in Rubens' 'The Miracles of Saint Francis Xavier,'" *Sixteenth Century Journal* 27 (1996) 979-95.

<sup>49</sup> Hans de Waardt, "Van exorcisten tot doctores medicinae. Geestelijken als gidsen naar genezing in de Republiek, met name in Holland, in de zestiende en de zeventiende eeuw," in *Grenzen van genezing. Gezondheid, ziekte en genezen in Nederland, zestiende tot begin twintigste eeuw*, eds. Willem de Blécourt et al. (Hilversum: Verloren, 1993) p. 100.

<sup>50</sup> \*25.xii.1653 Brussels; SJ 9.x.1671Mechlen; †15.xi.1702 Hoor (PIBA, I, 241).

<sup>51</sup> Herman J. Oldenhof, *In en om de schuilkerkjes van Noordelijk Westergo. Katholiek leven in Friesland noordwesthoek onder de Republiek (1580-1795)* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., 1967) p. 285.

Several accounts of persons healed from illnesses such as kidney stones and high fever, mention Francis. Even sick cows were cured of their ailments after drinking water in which a picture of Xavier had been immersed!<sup>52</sup> Francis Xavier is also reported as having been instrumental in establishing the innocence of a girl accused of serious crimes, and having prevented a murder from being committed in a bewitched house. No wonder that in 1677 Apostolic Vicar Jan van Neercassel, incredulous and rather jealous, complained to one of his archpriests: "Do you understand how Saints Ignatius and Xavier can perform so many miracles year after year!"<sup>53</sup> Finally, the mission's superior Jan Onraet or Goetgebuer,<sup>54</sup> who as a young Jesuit suffered from severe haemorrhages from eyes, nose, ears and mouth, started a novena in honour of St. Francis Xavier, and was healed miraculously. A lengthy report of his cure was published in Latin, Flemish and French.<sup>55</sup> No wonder he recommended the practice of "Devotion of the Ten Fridays in Honour of St. Francis Xavier" to the faithful. Yet, despite his popularity, Francis Xavier never received an "officially qualified" place of pilgrimage.<sup>56</sup>

### Saint Francis Xavier in Literature

The Jesuits considered the performance of drama in their colleges as an important pedagogical factor. Their educational institutions in the Netherlands were no different from those elsewhere. The first Jesuit drama on Dutch soil was staged in 1586 at the Jesuit college of Maastricht.<sup>57</sup> Events and incidents from the history of the Society of Jesus were frequent subjects for Jesuit drama. In 1622 students of the colleges in 's-Hertogenbosch and Maastricht celebrated the canonisation of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier with two productions. In 's-Hertogenbosch, the college performed a play entitled *Saint Ignatius*, most probably written by the students themselves, possibly under the direction of Sidronius Hossche, S.J.<sup>58</sup> Hossche was a Jesuit scholastic at the college in 1622 and he would later become famous as a neo-Latin poet. Xavier appeared twice

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<sup>52</sup> De Waardt, "Van exorcisten tot doctores medicinae," pp. 102-03; Oldenhof, *In en om de schuilkerkjes*, p. 229.

<sup>53</sup> Hans de Waardt, *Toverij en samenleving. Holland 1500-1800* (The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1991) pp. 247-48.

<sup>54</sup> \*23.ix.1678 Kortrijk; SJ 29.ix.1698 Mechlen; †19.ii.1743 Ankeveen (*PIBA* II, 176).

<sup>55</sup> *Sommervogel*, V, 1921-922.

<sup>56</sup> Peter Jan Margry & Charles Caspers, *Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland. 1. Noord- en Midden-Nederland* (Amsterdam/Hilversum: P.J. Meertens-Instituut/Verloren, 1997) p. 883.

<sup>57</sup> L. van den Boogerd, *Het jezuïetendrama in de Nederlanden* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1961) p. 226.

<sup>58</sup> \*20.i.1596 Merkem; SJ 20.x.1616 Mechlen; †4.ix.1653 Tongeren (*PIBA*, I, 461-62).

in the production: his initial meeting with Loyola at the Collège Sainte-Barbe and the vow ceremony at Montmartre in 1534. In Maastricht, the title of the play mentioned both saints, *Apotheosis or Canonisation of the Holy Fathers Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier*, but we know nothing about its content.<sup>59</sup>

Far more important than two Jesuit collegiate plays was *Zungchin* or *Fall of the Chinese empire*, written in 1667 by the above-mentioned Joost van den Vondel.<sup>60</sup> The protagonist was Adam Schall von Bell,<sup>61</sup> possibly a relative of the author, who was sent as a missionary to China in 1620. The principal source for the drama was a recent publication by Athanasius Kircher, S.J.,<sup>62</sup> *China monumentis* (Amsterdam, 1667). Vondel dedicated his play to Cornelis Nobelaer, whose two brothers Hendrik<sup>63</sup> and Daniel<sup>64</sup> had entered the Society of Jesus. The "spirit of Francis Xavier" is one of eleven characters in the play. He makes his appearance at the end with the exhortation that we should not be afraid: "Who can fathom God's judgment and providence!"

Fifteen years earlier, Vondel had celebrated the centenary of Xavier's death with a poem of 144 lines.<sup>65</sup> He borrowed the title from Virgil's *Aeneas*: "Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit" ("Even Hercules did not traverse that many lands"). Vondel compared Xavier to Moses in that neither crossed into the Promised Land (in Xavier's case, China) and considered him to be the second "Apostle of the Indies" after St. Thomas. In life Xavier has been able to convert the pagans; now he was able to cure the plague stricken: "Hy rieckt de roos uit stancken" ("From the midst of stench he can draw the rose's sweetness"). The lyric poem ends with a languishing prayer:

Ghy worstelaer en kampioen, die heden  
Het harreras hebt afgeleit omhoogh,

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<sup>59</sup> Van den Boogerd, *Jezuitendrama*, pp. 223, 226.

<sup>60</sup> Cornelis R. de Klerk, ed., *Vondels spelen. Zungchin of ondergang der Sineesche heerschappij* (Amsterdam: Maatschappij voor goede en goedkoope lectuur, n.d.); S. Kalff, "Vondels 'Sineesch treurspel,'" *Vondelkroniek* 2 (1931) 180-89; L.C. Michels, "Vondels Zungchin," *Vondelkroniek* 10 (1939) 19-24; R. Jans, "Zungchin of Ondergang der Sineese Heerschappij," *Vondelkroniek* 10 (1939) 249-55; Gregory Blue, "Johan Adam Schall and the Jesuit Mission in Vondel's Zungchin," in *Western Learning and Christianity in China. The Contribution and Impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J. (1592-1666)*, ed. Roman Malek (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1998) pp. 951-82.

<sup>61</sup> \*1.v.1592 Cologne; SJ 21.x.1611 Rome; †15.8.1666 Beijing (*DHCJ*, IV, 3514).

<sup>62</sup> \*2.v.1601 Geisa; SJ 2.x.1618 Paderborn; †27.xi.1680 Rome (*DHCJ*, III, 2196).

<sup>63</sup> \*10.ii.1602 The Hague; SJ 2.x.1618 Mechlen; †22.vii.1654 Antwerp (*PIBA*, II, 165).

<sup>64</sup> \*11.xi.1605 The Hague; SJ 27.ix.1628 Mechlen; †1.vii.1675 Brussels (*PIBA*, II, 164).

<sup>65</sup> Allard, *Vondel's gedichten*, pp. 64-79.

En uit den rijcken boogh  
 Van Godts gewelf uw kinders hier beneden  
 Met smarte worstlen ziet,  
 Versma hun bede niet.  
 Behaeght u dat uw voorbede ons bevrijde,  
 Zoo kroon uw Eeuwgetijde.

("You wrestler and champion, who today have laid down your suit of armour above, and from the rich bow of God's arch of heaven witness your children down here struggle in pain, do not scorn their prayer. May your intercession liberate us and thus crown your centenary.")

About 1656 Joost van de Vondel wrote two shorter poems on the marble statues of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier.<sup>66</sup> Artus Quellinus (1609-1668), who lived in Amsterdam between 1650 and 1665, sculpted them. In Amsterdam he was invited to carve statues as decoration for the new city hall. In 1656, perhaps in connection with the first centenary of the death of the founder of the Society of Jesus, Jesuits in Antwerp commissioned two statues for their church. He carved them in Amsterdam and they were transported to Antwerp.<sup>67</sup> Again Vondel borrowed a motto from Virgil: "Super et Garamantas et Indos" ("Farther than Garamantes [Africans] and Indians"):

Xaverius, een Kruisgezant geworden,  
 Voert Christus Kruis, noit moe,  
 Den Indiaenen toe:  
 Nu sticht hy noch in marmer Jesus Orden.

("Xavier, having become a herald of the Cross, never gets tired of taking Christ's cross to the Indians; now he is still founding in marble the Society of Jesus.")

Before the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, Jesuits in the Dutch Republic used hymnals published by others along with ones they themselves

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<sup>66</sup> Allard, *Vondel's gedichten*, pp. 80-83. Allard suggested 1652 as the date of composition. See Juliane Gabriels, *Artus Quellinus, de oude, "kunstryck belbouwer"* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1930) pp. 156-58.

<sup>67</sup> Carlos van de Velde, "Rubens, de gebroeders Quellin en de beelden van Sint-Ignatius en Sint-Franciscus in het koor van de jezuïetenkerk te Antwerpen," in *Rubens and His World* (Antwerp: Het Gulden Cabinet, 1985) pp. 297-306. A marble statue of Ignatius, which was in the Royal Palace, Amsterdam until 1898 and then again since 2000, has also been ascribed to Artus Quellinus, but it was not the statue treated by Vondel. See Paul Begheyn, S.J., *Vierhonderdveertig jaar Jezuiten te Amsterdam 1550-2000* (Amsterdam: Ignatiushuis, 2000) pp. 5-6; Robert Schillemaans, "'Heilige Ignatius,'" *Bulletin stichting vrienden van museum Amstelkring* 19 (November 2000) 19-20.

had produced for their liturgical services.<sup>68</sup> Most of the hymnals were published in the southern Netherlands, but four were printed in the Dutch Republic itself, but always with a false imprint of Antwerp. We will focus on these four publications only.

In 1663 Jan van Sambeeck, S.J.,<sup>69</sup> missionary in Harderwijk, published *Het Gheestelyck Jubilee van het jaer O.H. M.D.C.L.* (Antwerp [vere Amsterdam]: Philips van Eyck, 1663) (*The Spiritual Jubilee of the Year 1650*).<sup>70</sup> This lovely little book, with engravings and emblems, contains one long hymn of 31 stanzas of 6 lines each, describing "the life and zeal of St. Francis Xavier, apostle of the Indies and Japan." This, like many songs in hymnals of this type, was written for the melody of a secular song. Van Sambeeck wrote a friendly and direct poetry, e.g. in the fourth stanza:

Ignatius aldaer  
Was desen brandt-altaer;  
Xaverius den kool,  
Die gloeyde van dit vier.  
De Liefde was sijn school;  
Den hemel sijn plaisier.

("There [in Paris] Ignatius / was this sacrificial altar; / Xavier was the coal / that glowed from this fire. / Love was his school; / heaven his pleasure.")

A year later, in 1664, Philips van Eyck printed another Jesuit hymnal, *Nederlandsche weer-galm* (*Dutch Echo*), written by Frans Myleman,<sup>71</sup> who worked in the Groningen territory. The hymns, published under his pseudonym Victor à Campis, were collected and edited by the Groningen bookseller Hendrick Hoomdijck. Myleman concluded his section with hymns on "some friends of God who excelled in their love, especially for their beloved Jesus, and also the mother of God" with one hymn on St. Francis Xavier, "because he brought the fire of love of our Lord so far across the sea." It is a hymn of six stanzas of eight lines each, on the tune "In media Xaverius."<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Albert Boone, S.J., lists 21 books containing one or more hymns in honour of St. Ignatius. Nine of the authors were Jesuits. See "De Ignatius-liederen in de Nederlanden," *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 65 (1991) 165-96.

<sup>69</sup> \*15.x.1601 Gennep; SJ 28.ix.1621 Mechlen; †28.ix.1666 Harderwijk (*PIBA*, II, 283).

<sup>70</sup> Copy in Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1079 E 5; the hymn on pp. 386-91. See also Paul Raasveld, "Missie en multimedia: Johannes van Sambeecks *De Nederlandsche tortelduyve suchtende naer haer gayke* (1650) en *Het gheestelyck jubilee van het jaer O.H. M.D.C.L.* (1663)," *De Zeventiende eeuw* 12 (1996) 379-96.

<sup>71</sup> \*15.iii.1610 Bruges; SJ 24.vii.1636 Mechlen; †15.i.1667 Ommeland (*PIBA*, II, 155).

<sup>72</sup> Victor à Campis [Frans Myleman], *Nederlandsche weer-galm* (Antwerp [vere Amsterdam]: Philips van Eyck, 1664) pp. 111-12 (copy The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 174 D 71:1).

In 1667, Christiaan de Placker,<sup>73</sup> who also worked in the Groningen area, had his hymns published by Herman Aeltsz in Amsterdam, under the title *Evangelische leeuwcrcke* (*Evangelical lark*). The collection was reprinted in 1682.<sup>74</sup> It contains four hymns in honour of St. Francis Xavier. The first compared him to the sun; the second described his life in general. In the third, De Placker honoured Xavier for his love of God and of his neighbours. In the fourth, he sang of Xavier's love willing to suffer for Christ. Altogether these are rather simple texts, in context as well as in form.

The Groningen bookseller Hendrick Hoorndijck printed in 1676 a third impression of the anonymous *Lusthof van geestelijke lieden* (*Paradise of Spiritual Hymns*).<sup>75</sup> The author was, in fact, Tjeerd Weringa,<sup>76</sup> another Jesuit missionary in the northern territories. It includes two songs on Francis Xavier, of which the second was the more remarkable because of its wordings and especially because of the choice of the melody "La Moutarde Nouvelle" ("The New Mustard")! Not without poetic necessity, it sings about the unstoppable energy of the saint:

Xaveri, seer kloecken campioen,  
seght doch wat, hoe sullen wy u binden,  
in een schip, boot, ofte galloen,  
in de cajuyt? de sonden ontbinden:  
Als een goddelijcke schicht,  
g'hebt twaelf duysent mijlen,  
met u minne-pijlen,  
door-reyst, en oock gansch verlicht,  
in de nieuwe werelt, 't geloof gesticht.

("Xavier, brave champion, / say something, how can we bind you, / in a ship, boat, or galleon, / in the saloon? dissolve the sins. / As a divine bolt / you have travelled through / twelve thousand miles / with your arrows of love, / and also completely illuminated / in the new world founded faith.")

These Jesuit hymnals do not contain poetry of a high level, but they do provide material for the use of the faithful. The texts contain historical, theological and catechetical information, but, from time to time, also deeply spiritual, even mystical views.

<sup>73</sup> \*19.vi.1613 Poperinge; SJ 27.ix.1639 Mechlen; †20.i.1691 Antwerp (*PJBA*, II, 213).

<sup>74</sup> I have used a copy of the second impression (Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1213 G 33); the hymns on Xavier are pp. 178-83.

<sup>75</sup> Copy in Nijmegen, Catholic University, 70 d 56; copies of the first and second impression have not been found. The songs on Xavier on p. 165 in part I, and on pp. 165-66 in part II.

<sup>76</sup> \*c. 25.xii.1601 Groningen; SJ 30.ix.1620 Mechlen; †5.xi.1670 Groningen (*PJBA*, II, 434).

### Saint Francis Xavier in Art<sup>77</sup>

The most popular portrait of Francis Xavier was painted by Peter Paul Rubens in 1616. The Jesuits in Brussels commissioned Rubens to paint portraits of Xavier and Loyola.<sup>78</sup> The canvas with Xavier (216 x 135 cm.) was destroyed in 1940; that of Ignatius (224 x 138 cm.) can now be found at the Norton Simon Foundation in Pasadena (U.S.A.). Copies of both in different sizes exist. Most likely the copies were based on the 1622 engravings by Schelte van Bolswert (c. 1586-1659) who had also combined the two Rubens paintings into one composition.<sup>79</sup>

In the Dutch Republic, full size or small copies of Rubens' portraits of Ignatius and Francis could be found in the Jesuit mission stations of Amsterdam (De Papegaai), Culemborg,<sup>80</sup> Dokkum, Gorinchem, Gouda and Wijk bij Duurstede.<sup>81</sup> Rubens' portrait also opens on seventeenth-century silver bookbindings in Enkhuizen and De Rijp, on a chasuble from Enkhuizen,<sup>82</sup> and a guilt silver chalice<sup>83</sup> made in 1633 by one the most important Amsterdam silversmiths Thomas Bogaert (1597-1653), who often worked for the Dutch

<sup>77</sup> The famous Xavier scholar Georg Schurhammer, S.J. (1882-1971) did not mention any works of art on Xavier in Dutch collections in his inventory of Xaverian iconography (ARSI, Fondo Schurhammer). The database of the Stichting Kerkelijk Kunstbezit in Nederland at Utrecht, an inventory of works of art in Dutch Catholic and Protestant churches, has been checked on all works of art regarding St. Francis Xavier. Part of this inventory is formed by the inventory of works of art and history in 28 Dutch Jesuit collections, made in 1988-1989 at the request of the Commissie voor Kunst en Kostbaarheden of the Dutch Jesuit Province. For Spanish and Japanese (and some Netherlandish) iconography, see Fernando García Gutiérrez, S.J., *San Francisco Javier en el arte de España y Japón* (Seville: Guadalquivir, 1998).

<sup>78</sup> Walter Scheelen, "De herkomst en de datering van Rubens' voorstellingen van de H. Ignatius van Loyola en de H. Franciscus Xaverius," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1986) 153-72.

<sup>79</sup> For the original Rubens paintings and their many different copies, see König-Nordhoff, *Ignatius van Loyola*, pp. 221-30, illus. 172-73, 176-89.

<sup>80</sup> These paintings were later in the Jesuit community in Zeist, and are now at "De Krijtberg" in Amsterdam. See Paul Dirkse, ed., *Jezuiten in Nederland* (Utrecht: Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, 1991) p. 43, illus. 2.

<sup>81</sup> A small copy is in the library of the Stichting Kerkelijk Kunstbezit in Nederland at Utrecht.

<sup>82</sup> The chasuble was made by an anonymous North-Holland artist about 1630 (Dirkse, *Jezuiten*, p. 91, ill. 14).

<sup>83</sup> The chalice was purchased by a private Dutch collector from Grijpma & van Hoogen from Groningen. Its base has the portraits of Ignatius and Xavier after Rubens, Sts. Augustine and John the Baptist, and a Christmas scene. The antique dealer informed me that he had purchased the chalice in the province of Zeeland. In this area there existed Jesuit stations in Middelburg (1604-1710), Goes (1608-1609) and Zierikzee (1619-1781).

Jesuits.<sup>84</sup> Other portraits of Xavier decorated other liturgical objects such as chasubles, chalices, monstrances, candlesticks, trays,<sup>85</sup> vases, canon plates, sanctuary lamps, book bindings. Most of the objects were made of silver and often by remarkable silversmiths such as Claes Baerdts, Michiel Bruyn van Berendrecht, and Pieter Cornelisz. Ebbeken.

Several paintings in or from Dutch collections merit closer attention. The first is a small triptych with an alabaster relief of Christ and Verónica in the centre and sidepanels with Ignatius and Xavier. The relief was made circa 1550, but the side portraits were probably painted by an artist from the Netherlands on the occasion of the canonisation of the two in 1622. Because of its size, the triptych could be carried on a journey.

Shortly after the Society had founded "De Krijtberg" in Amsterdam, the Jesuits invited several artists to contribute to the decoration of their hidden church. In 1656, P.N. Bosch painted "The Vision of La Storta,"<sup>86</sup> and in the same year Erasmus Quellinus II painted "Mary and Christ appear to Francis Xavier" [fig. 8].<sup>87</sup> A year later, Jan Cossiers supplied "The Adoration of the Shepherds,"<sup>88</sup> and Jacob Jordaens, "Christ carrying the Cross."<sup>89</sup> These four paintings were used, in turn, above the high altar. The painting of Xavier was donated by Elisabeth de Goyer in honour of her deceased husband Jan van Naerde (†1675). She commissioned it from the famous Antwerp artist who had arrived in Amsterdam in 1656 to decorate the city hall,<sup>90</sup> a project in which his brother Artus Quellinus was already involved. As a model, Erasmus Quellinus used a painting by Gerard Seghers in the Jesuit professed house in Antwerp, or, more accurately, Paul Pontius' engraving based on the painting.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>84</sup> C.M. Westerink, "De Amsterdamse zilversmeden Thomas en Johannes Boogaert: hun nagelaten oeuvre," in *Kerkelijke zilver. Negen opstellen over kerkelijke zilvermeedkunst*, ed. Paul M. le Blanc (The Hague/Utrecht: SDU/Stichting Kerkelijk Kunstbezit in Nederland, 1992) pp. 44-65, 170-75.

<sup>85</sup> For a silver tray by Sibertus Kaen, 1667, from the Jesuit mission at Gouda, see Dirkse, *Jezuïeten*, p. 45, ill. 4; and Xander van Eck, *Kunst, twist en devotie. Goudse katholieke schuilkerken 1572-1795* (Delft: Eburon, 1994) p. 94, ill. 31.

<sup>86</sup> The present whereabouts of this painting are unknown. For that reason it is impossible to check for the signature of the otherwise unknown painter P.N. Bosch, assuming that he would have signed this canvas. See Xander van Eck, "De jezuïeten en het wervende wisselaltaarstuk," *De zeventiende eeuw* 14 (1998) 83.

<sup>87</sup> Van Eck, "De jezuïeten," 84; now at the Museum of Art, Indianapolis.

<sup>88</sup> Van Eck, "De jezuïeten," 86; now at the Minneapolis Institute of Art.

<sup>89</sup> Dirkse, *Jezuïeten*, p. 77 (illustration). Now at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

<sup>90</sup> H. Schneider, "Erasmus Quellinus te Amsterdam," *Oud-Holland* 39 (1925) 54-57.

<sup>91</sup> Gutiérrez, *San Francisco Javier*, p. 30, ill. 10.



An important, but unfortunately badly damaged, painting in Culemborg shows St. Francis Xavier baptizing a young man, surrounded by onlooking spectators. The identity of the artist remains unknown but he was most likely from the southern Netherlands in the mid-seventeenth century.

Finally, among the many statues of Xavier two deserve special mention: a silver bust crafted by either Peter Buiren or Peter Alberts in Zwolle between 1655 and 1664, most probably for the local Jesuit mission station, and a wooden statue with a strikingly expressive face by an anonymous eighteenth-century artist for the Jesuits in Nijmegen.<sup>92</sup>

Two Dutch Jesuit brothers contributed to the beauty of the Jesuit church *Mariae Himmelfahrt* in Cologne<sup>93</sup> with two works of art representing Francis Xavier. In 1638 Theodorus Silling (or Selling)<sup>94</sup> manufactured a silver reliquary bust, partly gilded, embossed and chiseled, for an altar to be dedicated to Xavier. Many consider the bust an important example of seventeenth-century craftsmanship [fig. 9]. Between 1643 and 1673, Silling's compatriot Johannes Ludgens,<sup>95</sup> a talented embroiderer, wove a large and impressive antependium for the main altar of the church. In the central of the five arches sits the Madonna with the Child Jesus, flanked by four kneeling Jesuit saints with folded hands, on the left Aloysius Gonzaga<sup>96</sup> and Ignatius Loyola, and on the right Francis Xavier [fig. 10] and Stanislas Kostka,<sup>97</sup> all in soft colors with clear outlines, and accompanied by flowers. Both Ignatius and Xavier are dressed in chasubles.

This overview of the cult of Saint Francis Xavier in the Dutch Republic confirms the opinion of the famous volume produced by Jesuits in the Flemish-Belgian Province to commemorate the first centenary of the Society of Jesus in 1640: "Although Saint Xavier (as one knows) never trod Dutch soil with his feet, nevertheless in times of need, he never left it without his help."<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Paul Begheyn, S.J., *De jezuiten in Nijmegen* (Nijmegen: Nijmeegs Museum 'Commanderie van Sint-Jan'/Apostolaat van het Gebed, 1991) p. 33 ill.

<sup>93</sup> Wilfried Hansmann, *St. Mariae Himmelfahrt in Köln* (Cologne: Rheinischer Verein für Denkmalpflege und Landschaftsschutz, 1981) pp. 28-29.

<sup>94</sup> \*8.v.1577 Amsterdam; SJ 14.vii.1631 Trier; †6.iii.1657 Cologne (*DHCJ*, IV, 3573-3574).

<sup>95</sup> \*28.x.1611 Groningen; SJ 26.ix.1640 Cologne; †16.vii.1693 Cologne (Archiv Norddeutsche Provinz, Abt. O - A 14 [information provided by Dr. Clemens Brodtkorb, the archivist]).

<sup>96</sup> \*9.iii.1568 Castiglione delle Stiviere; SJ 25.xi.1585 Rome; †21.vi.1591 Rome (*DHCJ*, II, 1779).

<sup>97</sup> \*28.x.1550 Rostków; SJ 27.x.1567 Rome; †15.viii.1568 Rome (*DHCJ*, III, 2219).

<sup>98</sup> *Afbeeldinghe van d'eerste eeuw der Societeyt Jesu* (Antwerp: Plantuinsche drukkerie, 1640) p. 648.

### Sumario

En 1658, Francisco Javier fue escogido como santo patrono de la misión jesuita en la República de Holanda. En este artículo se describe la expansión de la fama y el culto de San Francisco Javier. Sucesivamente se da información sobre la presencia de sus reliquias en los Países Bajos del Norte; sobre el número de publicaciones consagradas a él; sobre su aparición en documentos históricos y en textos literarios como poemas, himnos, obras de teatro y novelas; y finalmente sobre obras de arte como cuadros, grabados, estatuas y objetos litúrgicos de plata. A través de todo ello se hace claro que durante dos siglos Francisco Javier fue un santo popular, y aún más que Ignacio de Loyola, en la República Holandesa, en la que los jesuitas eran personas no gratas.

# SAVERIO E ANDRÉ DE CARVALHO (1529-1563) FRA PROFEZIA E STORIA

Anita Mancia\*

## Premessa

António Franco,<sup>1</sup> Giuseppe Antonio Patrignani<sup>2</sup> ed Élesban de Guilhermy,<sup>3</sup> tre gesuiti autori di menologi vissuti fra il XVIII e il XIX secolo, sono concordi nel ritenere profetiche le parole di San Francesco Saverio al riguardo di André de Carvalho (Alcaceres 1529–Tangeri 1563) che sarebbe morto—questo è il contenuto della profezia—nella stessa terra nella quale morirono gloriosamente i suoi illustri consanguinei, in Africa.

Tanto Patrignani quanto Franco riferiscono in portoghese l'uno e in traduzione italiana l'altro, il contenuto della lettera aperta di "raccomandazione" di Saverio a Rodrigues del 27 marzo 1552,<sup>4</sup> della quale André era latore, per il

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<sup>1</sup> \*2.ii.1662 Montalvão; SJ 26.vii.1677, Évora; †3.iii.1732 Évora (*DHCJ*, II, 1518). Cf. António Franco, S.J., *Ano Santo da Companhia de Jesus em Portugal* Fevreiro, prefaciada e anotada por Francisco Rodrigues, S.J. (Porto: Biblioteca do "Apostolado da Imprensa," 1931 pp. 49-50).

<sup>2</sup> \* 22.ii.1659 Ostra; SJ 17.ix.1680 Roma; †15.ii.1733 Roma (*DHCJ*, III, 3058-3059). Cf. Giuseppe Antonio Patrignani, S.J., *Menologio de Pie Memorie d'Akuni Religiosi della Compagnia di Gesù* (Venezia: Presso Nicolò Pezzana, 1730) pp. 191-92.

<sup>3</sup> \*16.ii.1818 Parigi; SJ 30.viii.1836 Saint-Acheul-lez Amiens; † 6.8.1884 Parigi (*DHCJ*, II 1840-1841) Cf. Élesban de Guilhermy, S.J., *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jésus Assistance de Portugal*, 2 vols. (Poitiers: Henri Oudin, 1867-68) I, 293-94.

<sup>4</sup> Goa 27 Martii 1552, MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 714-15.

rettore del collegio di Coimbra. A questa lettera i menologisti fanno seguire il resoconto della "profezia" sulla morte di André, che Patrignani racconta con molti dettagli, il suo menologio è il più lungo dei tre, mentre Franco definisce concretamente il prezzo del riscatto in 2500 cruzados,<sup>5</sup> la moneta portoghese di allora. André rifiutò la liberazione e diede la somma ad Aires de Saldanha,<sup>6</sup> giovane cavaliere di Santarém. Le trattative dovettero dunque essere ricominciate ed il prezzo fu innalzato, poiché i mori compresero che André era una persona importante nel suo Paese. Prima che si potesse arrivare ad un compromesso André morì. Nessuno dei tre menologisti fa menzione di tutto quello che era successo nel frattempo. E, soprattutto, nessuno dei tre ricorda il mandato (ordine) di ben diverso tenore, che Saverio scrisse per il provinciale di Goa, il padre Jasper Barzeo (Berse o Barzaeus)<sup>7</sup> appena tre settimane dopo l'offerta ad André. Questo "mandato" era un documento riservato, nel quale Saverio ordinava che André fosse rinvio in Portogallo e che, soprattutto, gli fosse impedito di tornare a Goa, ed essere ordinato sacerdote. Perché tutto questo?

André de Carvalho fu ordinato sacerdote nel 1559, sette anni dopo aver lasciata Goa. Che cosa era accaduto nel frattempo?

Da almeno due lettere (6 ottobre e 8 dicembre 1559) del provinciale Miguel Torres<sup>8</sup> al p. Generale Diego Láinez,<sup>9</sup> dalla lettera autografa del padre Diego

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<sup>5</sup> Antica moneta portoghese. Cf Anita Mancia, "Cattura e prigionia di cinque gesuiti portoghesi presso i mori a Meknés dal 1732 al 1735," *AHSI* (2002) 84 n. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Aires de Saldanha, beneficiario del riscatto del gesuita, potrebbe essere il figlio di Antonio de Saldanha e di Joanna de Mendonça. Nato a Santarém nel 1542 morì di ritorno dalle Indie, dove era stato nominato viceré, a Terceira nel 1605. Per le date di nascita e di morte potrebbe essere il Saldanha di cui André de Carvalho parla nella sua lettera. Cfr. M. José Salgaer, *Nobiliario de famílias de Portugal de Saldanha*, 24 vol. (Barcelos: 1930-40) ed anche la *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira* (Lisboa-Rio de Janeiro) 696. Tuttavia nel testo non si fa alcuna menzione dell'episodio occorso nel 1562-1563. Pertanto questa attribuzione di identità è ipotetica. Resta inoltre il dato che nell'unica lettera autografa sull'episodio della cattura di André, egli menziona una volta il Saldanha chiamandolo Jo de Saldanha e non Aires.

<sup>7</sup> \*1515 Goes; SJ 20.iv.1546 Coimbra; 18.x.1553 Goa (*DHCJ*, I, 427). Il mandato a Barze inter 6 et 14 aprilis, MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 381-83.

<sup>8</sup> \*23.viii.1509 Alagón; SJ ix.1546 Roma; †24.x.1593 Toledo (*DHCJ*, IV, 3824). Le due lettere si trovano rispettivamente in ARSI, Lus 60, ff. 154 r (lettera del 6 ottobre 1559) e f. 165 r (lettera dell'8 dicembre 1559).

<sup>9</sup> \*1512 Almazán; SJ uno dei primi socii; eletto Padre Generale 2.vi.1558; †19.i.1565 (*DHCJ*, II, 1602).

Mirón<sup>10</sup> a Láinez (22 giugno 1563), si apprende che almeno due circostanze della vita di Carvalho crearono scandalo e furono meno luminose e limpide di quello che gli storici-agiografi lascino supporre. La prima di queste circostanze, descritta nella lettera di Torres a Láinez del 6 ottobre 1559, era che André era stato riconosciuto responsabile indiretto di un omicidio volontario commesso da un uomo che gli aveva chiesto un consiglio a proposito di una offesa ricevuta. Secondo quanto scrive Torres, André lo avrebbe invitato a uccidere l'offensore. L'offeso lo uccise. Questa azione, che era stata riferita a Torres da persone della famiglia di André, creava un problema in Compagnia e la necessità che il Generale concedesse ad André una dispensa per omicidio volontario. Ritornando su questo tema che evidentemente sentiva molto, l'8 dicembre dello stesso anno, Torres scrisse un'altra lettera al padre Láinez. In essa, insieme con altre cose, egli tornava a chiedere la dispensa per André. Quando André aveva istigato l'omicidio, scriveva Torres, non era ancora stato ordinato sacerdote e non era gesuita. Era un ragazzo. Tuttavia, siccome durante l'anno 1559 non aveva potuto confessare e dire la Messa, questa situazione anomala avrebbe certamente creato uno scandalo ad Évora dove egli si trovava. Inoltre il giovane gesuita, e questo è anche un dato psicologico di cui tenere conto, non sembrava ricordare quello che era accaduto. Dunque era necessario inviare una dispensa. Questa fu ottenuta, sebbene la prima reazione del p. Generale Láinez fu, d'accordo con i consultori, che non fosse necessario dare nessuna dispensa. Però ci fu un ripensamento determinato da uno scrupolo. Così in una lettera dell'11 dicembre 1559 per il rettore del Portogallo (il Generale non specificava quale rettore) si può leggere la dichiarazione di Láinez che autorizzava il rettore o superiore del collegio o della casa a dare la dispensa. Conviene citare il testo in spagnolo nell'originale dato che si tratta di un documento importante: "Por abundar de cautela se ha pedido dispensacion sobre la yregularidad que podia haver yncurido el padre Andreas Carballo por aquel caso que se scrive de su joventud, y ansi se da autoridad, al Rector o Superior del Collegio/ o casa que dispense con el (presupuesto que tenga los votos della Compagnia) y le habilite para todo lo que conviene y si tambien fuese necesario dispensa para estar en la Compañia se conceder."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> \*1516 Valencia; SJ 1541 Parigi; †25.viii.1590 Roma (DHCJ, III, 2686) La lettera di Mirón a Láinez che si riproduce in Appendice è in ARSI, Lus. 61, ff. 142<sup>v</sup>-143<sup>r</sup> (2 Giugno 1563).

<sup>11</sup> Ci sono due risposte del P. Generale Láinez al P. provinciale Torres. La prima, nella quale non riteneva che il caso di Carvalho fosse necessario di dispensa, è del novembre 1559 e menziona anche la data delle due lettere di Torres su questo tema. La seconda risposta al provinciale è in realtà l'autorizzazione alla dispensa per il Rettore del Portogallo (il Generale non sapeva dove Carvalho fosse) datata Roma, 11 Dicembre 1559. Entrambe le risposte si trovano in ARSI, Hisp. 66, ff. 33<sup>r</sup> e 35<sup>r</sup> (la dispensa) rispettivamente.

Nella risposta di Torres a Láinez dell'8 febbraio del 1560 si legge: "La dispensa del padre André de Carvalho se usará come V. P. ordina ad Évora."<sup>12</sup> André era stato mandato ad Évora dal suo provinciale poiché sua madre, malata, lo aveva richiesto ripetutamente.

La corrispondenza Torres-Láinez mostra che c'era forse un eccesso di preoccupazione in provincia. A Roma il fatto raccontato dal provinciale due volte con dettagli diversi, sul quale evidentemente mancavano prove certe, era stato accolto con uno spirito sempre estremamente scrupoloso e attento, ma più liberale e aperto, paterno.

L'altro evento creatore di scandalo fu il comportamento di André durante e dopo il fallimento delle trattative di riscatto a Tangeri, quando egli era prigioniero dei Mori. André, non sperando più in un aiuto efficace né da parte della regina Caterina di Braganza reggente dopo la morte di João III, né da parte dei Gesuiti, usò armi offensive e difensive per conquistarsi la libertà da solo. Azione, questa, che irritò notevolmente il padre Mirón, anche se egli comprendeva le cause di tale comportamento.

Ritornando al tema della profezia di Saverio, Il menologio di Guillermy che contiene uno stralcio della famosa lettera di Saverio a Rodrigues, è organizzato ancor più letterariamente e in modo più fantasioso di quelli di Franco e Patrignani. Infatti, dopo la citazione della lettera in traduzione francese, Guillermy immagina la scena della partenza di André e l'abbraccio di Saverio. Conviene citare il testo per vedere questa invenzione letteraria:<sup>13</sup>

Abbracciando, al momento della partenza André de Carvalho il glorioso apostolo gli predisse che avrebbe reso l'anima al Salvatore, su una terra resa illustre attraverso le imprese e la morte dei suoi antenati; e dieci anni più tardi, nel fondo delle galere di qualche pirata barbaresco, la profezia del Santo si realizzò. Inviato a Mazagan [secondo la grafia spagnola nel testo di Guillermy] per riconciliarvi due dei suoi fratelli, che dopo avere vinto insieme eroicamente una armata musulmana, si stavano dividendo, il P. Carvalho tornava per mare a Tangeri, allorché la sua nave fu catturata da sedici galere africane. Alla notizia della sua prigionia la regina Caterina si impegnò a fare portare ai corsari il riscatto dell'uomo di Dio. Ma il santo prigioniero, non respirando che la carità di Gesù Cristo, impiegò il prezzo della sua libertà per rompere le catene di un giovane, la cui anima poteva essere in pericolo di fronte alle seduzioni ed alle minacce dei suoi superiori. E nel tempo dei nuovi indugi necessari alla conclusione del suo riscatto, morì

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<sup>12</sup> Lisbona 8 Febbraio 1560, ARSI, Lus. 61, f. 179<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> *Ménologe de la Compagnie de Jésus*, I, 294.

di miseria e di stanchezza nella sua schiavitù volontaria, presso gli stessi infedeli contro i quali i suoi fratelli avevano finito per fare trionfare la croce.

Le fonti di questo racconto fantasioso sono appunto la lettera di raccomandazione di Saverio a Rodrigues e le opere dei menologisti Franco e Patrignani. Il dato più interessante di esso è che André vi appare come un Santo. Così dalla "profezia" si passa senza soluzione di continuità all'agiografia.

Diogo Barbosa Machado, a sua volta, nella sua *Biblioteca Lusitana*,<sup>14</sup> offre una notizia biografica di André che è centrata sulla genealogia della sua nobile famiglia, da un lato e, dall'altro, sulle circostanze della morte, che furono crudeli e che vengono descritte in dettaglio. Da Machado si apprende che, in quanto testimone oculare degli avvenimenti relativi all'assedio di Mazagão, André scrisse una "Relação do Cerco de Mazagão" che si troverebbe nel Collegio di Coimbra dei Padri Gesuiti. Questa notizia è citata anche in Sommervogel alla voce Carvalho.<sup>15</sup>

Invece la "bibliografia" più scientifica delle fonti per studiare la vita di André si trova nell'opera di Georg Schurhammer, S.J.<sup>16</sup> Di conseguenza questo articolo si fonda sull'esame e lo studio delle fonti biografiche indicate dallo Schurhammer, nonché sulle *Epistole di Saverio*, sui *Documenta Indica* di Josef Wicki, S.J.,<sup>17</sup> e sul primo volume dei *Monumenta Malucensia* di Hubert Jacobs, S.J.<sup>18</sup>

Scopo di questo articolo è mostrare la differenza tra la realtà storica dell'uomo André de Carvalho e la tendenza dei menologisti dall'ottocento fino ad oggi ad interpretarla in modo agiografico. Durante la vita André fu oggetto di apprezzamenti positivi ma anche di critiche come quelle di Saverio, Mirón e Torres. Soltanto la generosità ed il grande coraggio nell'affrontare la morte, innalzarono il giovane gesuita agli occhi dei soci che ne fecero una sorta di

<sup>14</sup> Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Biblioteca Lusitana Histórica, crítica e cronológica*, 4 vols. Segunda edição (Lisboa: Oficinas Gráficas Bertran, 1930-35) I, 139-40.

<sup>15</sup> *Sommervogel*, I, 786.

<sup>16</sup> \*25.ix.1882 Glottental; SJ 30.ix.1903 Feldkirch; †2.ix.1971 Roma (*DHCJ*, IV, 3535). Cf. Georg Schurhammer, S.J., *Franc. Xaver. Sein Leben und seine Zeit*, 2 vols. in 4 pts. (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1955-1973) II/2, 336-39. In ARSI, Goa 1, ff. 551<sup>v</sup> è conservato un excerptum attribuito ad André de Carvalho. Ma qualcuno ha corretto l'attribuzione nell'indice del codice e ve ne ha sostituita un'altra, quella di Frois, post-datando il documento dal 1552 al 1557. Siccome il documento è incompleto e non ci sono elementi interni e formali (la grafia) per attribuirlo a Carvalho, e dato che questo testo non è stato neanche menzionato da Schurhammer come attribuibile a Carvalho, lo si menziona qui soltanto per completezza di informazione sul Nostro.

<sup>17</sup> \*30.vi.1904 Zurich; SJ 15.ix.1922; †18.ii.1993 Feldkirch (*Catalogus defunctorum in renata Societate Iesu (III) 1986-2000* [Roma: Curia Praepositi Generalis, 2001] p. 105).

<sup>18</sup> \*13.v.1909 Zevenaar; SJ 7.ix.1934; †2.x.1996 Nijmegen (*Catalogus defunctorum 1986-2000*, p. 47).

martire o di vittima della violenza, come si vede nel Dizionario Biografico della Compagnia di Gesù, nell'articolo redatto dal padre José Vaz de Carvalho, S.J.<sup>19</sup> In tal senso la linea agiografica dei menologi prende, in età contemporanea, una connotazione più umana e meno agiografica in senso stretto. Ma tuttavia, sin qui, è mancato uno studio attento sulla sua vita, capace di andare al di là dell'agiografia o dell'edificazione. Appunto per queste ragioni contemporaneamente ad una visione più oggettiva dell'operato di André de Carvalho, questo articolo vorrebbe offrire una pagina storica su di lui in quanto missionario e coautore con il P. Francisco Henriques,<sup>20</sup> di una istruzione sulle missioni della Compagnia di Gesù in India scritta intorno al 1561, quando egli era tornato in Portogallo, ad Évora.<sup>21</sup>

André è un carattere emblematico di un tempo (1548-1563) straordinariamente importante e fecondo per l'Ordine, in quanto è il quindicennio di fondazione. Di questo quindicennio il Portogallo, ponte fra Asia ed Africa, è simbolo.

Si presentano in appendice una serie di inediti: i voti semplici autografi del 1548 e del 1553 e le due lettere autografe rispettivamente di André e del padre Mirón che riferisce sulle circostanze della sua morte.

#### **Genealogia della famiglia di André de Carvalho e sue relazioni con la corte portoghese**

Secondo quanto si apprende dalle risposte di André de Carvalho alle "Interrogationes communes pro omnibus et particulares pro Scholasticis Societatis Latino Sermones" del Padre Jerónimo Nadal<sup>22</sup> che costituiscono la sua biografia breve, André de Carvalho era nato in Africa, ad Alcaceres, nel 1529.<sup>23</sup> Durante la sua adolescenza era stato con suo padre, sempre in Africa per seguire per qualche tempo la corte e recarsi quindi in India, dove appunto fu ricevuto nella Compagnia da San Francesco Saverio a Goa nel mese di ottobre del 1548.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> *DHCJ*, I, 670-71.

<sup>20</sup> Francisco Henriques, rettore di Sant'Antonio, socio del provinciale, procuratore in India \*1521 Lisbona; SJ 26.v.1545; † 16.iii.1590 (*Sammervogel*, IV, 273-74); MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, V, 160-88.

<sup>21</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, V, 161.

<sup>22</sup> \*1.viii.1507 Palma de Mallorca; SJ 29.xi.1545 Roma; †3.iv.1580 Roma (*DHCJ*, III, 2793).

<sup>23</sup> MHSI, *Nadal*, I, 789-95.

<sup>24</sup> MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 1996 6. Nella lettera del 12 gennaio 1549 di cui è stato pubblicato l'apografo databile al 1585 di João Rebelo, S.J. (\*1541 Prado; SJ 21.vii.1558 Coimbra; † 24.vii.1602 Évora [*DHCJ*, IV, 3303]) a Sant'Ignazio di Loyola, risulta che i gesuiti in India erano circa 30 e il 25 ottobre 1548 erano entrati in Compagnia a Goa André de Carvalho, D. Didacus Lobo, e Cristovão Ferreira.



La nascita di André intorno al 1529 ad Alcacer, in Africa, dimostra la storica relazione fra i Carvalho e l'Africa portoghese. I nonni di André de Carvalho si erano distinti appunto in Alcacer.

Pedro Alvares de Carvalho, figlio di D. Catharina da Guerra e di Alvaro de Carvalho, fu signore primogenito di Carvalho e capitano di Alcacer Ceguer in Africa. Si sposò con Maria di Tavora, figlia di D. Martinho di Tavora, capitano di Alcacer Ceguer, dove i Mori lo uccisero, e di D. Isabel Pereira, figlia di Ruy Dias de Sampayo, Signore di Anciaens e Villarinho e di Donna Constanza Pereira. Essi ebbero tre figli: Alvaro de Carvalho, Gil Fernandes de Carvalho, che servì in India ottenendovi grande reputazione e morì tornando nel Regno, e Bernardim de Carvalho, che fu Capitano di Tangeri nel 1554 e ottenne gloriosi successi in guerra contro i mori. Egli governò là per dieci anni con prudenza, come riferisce il conte della Ericeira nella sua *História de Tanger*.<sup>25</sup> Sposò Donna Violante de Mendonça, figlia di Diogo Lopes de Sousa ed insieme ebbero nove figli: Diogo Lopes de Carvalho, capitano di Mazagão, André de Carvalho, che morì in India, Donna Isabel de Mendonça, moglie di Gil Fernandes de Carvalho, signore di Carvalho, Donna Maria e Donna Bernardina, Religiose nel Convento di Santa Clara di Lisbona, Alvaro de Carvalho, Capitano di Malacca, che fu ucciso dagli Olandesi. Pedro Alvares de Carvalho, senza stato, Martin di Tavora e André di Carvalho, religiosi della Compagnia, Antonio de Carvalho e Cristovão de Carvalho, che morirono senza eredi.

Altri due membri del casato di Carvalho si distinsero nel governo della piazzaforte di Mazagão. Essi erano Diogo de Sepulveda ed Alvaro de Carvalho che si distinse nell'assedio del 1562.

*La História genealógica da casa Real Portuguesa desde a sua origem até o presente com*

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Didaco o Diogo Lobo era figlio di Don Felipe Lobo, terzo barone di Alvito (1541-1559) e di Donna Hieronima de Castro (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 63\*). Nella lettera di João de Albuquerque, vescovo di Goa a João III di Portogallo del 28.xi.1548 egli era menzionato come nipote del signore di Alvito (*Doc. Ind.*, I, 331 n. 26). Barzeo, nella lettera ai soci di Coimbra da Goa del 13.xii.1548 affermava che André de Carvalho, Diogo Lobo e Alvaro Ferreira erano venuti insieme nella Compagnia per fare gli Esercizi (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, I, 403). Su Christovão o Alvaro Ferreira sappiamo che egli era entrato in Compagnia a Goa il 25.xi.1548 ove si diede agli studi nel collegio di San Paolo. Aveva imparato il giapponese perché desiderava andare in Cina con Saverio. Quando però giunse a Sanchoan si scoraggiò. Dimesso da Saverio tornò a Goa. Il suo caso e l'ordine di Saverio nei suoi confronti sono contenuti in una lettera a Barze (MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 521). In quella lettera Saverio criticava le ammissioni facili in Compagnia. Meglio era ricevere pochi soci, ma sicuri. Egli dice chiaramente che coloro che vengono ricevuti dovrebbero passare per molte esperienze e poi essere dimessi, come lui aveva fatto con Ferreira. Sulla spedizione di Carvalho, Ferreira e Lobo a Goa, cf. anche *Chronicon*, I, 344.

<sup>25</sup> Fernando de Meneses, II conde de la Ericeira, *História de Tangere que comprehende as noticias desde a sua primeira conquista até á sua ruína* (Lisboa: Miguel Lopes Ferreira, 1732) liv. 2 76.

as *Famílias ilustres, que procedem dos Reis, e dos Serenissimos Duques de Bragança* scritta da D. Antonio Gaetano de Sousa, fornisce la descrizione dell'assedio.<sup>26</sup> Le sue cause e svolgimento sono narrate nel completo studio di António Dias Farinha,<sup>27</sup> fornito di una ricchissima bibliografia, ed anche nelle "Litterae Quadrimestres" della Compagnia di Gesù del 1562.<sup>28</sup>

### Ingresso di A. de Carvalho nella Compagnia di Gesù: la risposta al questionario di Nadal

La data dell'ingresso di André de Carvalho nella Compagnia di Gesù è il 25 ottobre 1548 a Goa, notizia che ci viene da Polanco<sup>29</sup> e non dai catalogi di Goa. Infatti i primi conservati risalgono al 1552.

In una lettera da Goa del p. Barzeo ai soci di Coimbra del 13 dicembre 1549,<sup>30</sup> viene dato conto delle circostanze in cui André de Carvalho si avvicinò alla Compagnia. Siccome quella di Barzeo è una delle testimonianze più antiche e contiene elementi personali, vale la pena citarla. La lettera è in italiano:

Mi mandò a cercare in casa sua un gentiluomo giovane, fratello del capitano d'Alcazar, il qual trovai molto edificato di nostra povertà e fatighe che ci vedeva supportare nel mare et nella terra dopo che giungessimo, et haveva desiderii d'intrare nella Compagnia. Et dissimulandolo insino a tanto che messe ordine alle sue cose et gente, con un servitore solo di notte, venne al collegio, et ha fatto li Essercitii Spirituali con molto frutto. Et venendo a visitarli il capitano di Sofalla anchora con buoni desiderii, gli disse fra molte cose che non darebbe una hora della Compagnia per tutto il mondo in oro, et così a molti gentiluomini, che per l'essempl[o] no st[ar] [ati] mossi al medesimo. Il di seguente mandò nostro detto Superior al Padre Melchior

<sup>26</sup> D. Antonio Gaetano de Sousa, *História Genealógica da casa Real Portuguesa desde a sua origem até a presente com as famílias ilustres que procedem dos Reis, e dos serenissimos duques de Bragança*, 12 vols. (Lisboa: Na Regia Officina Sylviana e da Academia Real, 1747) XI, 749-50.

<sup>27</sup> Per uno studio sulla piazzaforte di Mazagão nel periodo filippino, cf. António Dias Farinha, "História de Mazagão durante o período filipino," *Studia* 26 (1969) 181-346 e 27-28 (1969) 281-429. Benchè non recentissimo, questo studio è profondo e completo. In particolare esso si basa su una fonte francese, "Les sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc," offerto da Pierre de Cenival nel 1932. La monografia di Dias Farinha contiene una bibliografia ricchissima di tutte le fonti consultate dall'autore (26 [1969] 333-42).

<sup>28</sup> ARSI, Lus. 51, f. 237<sup>v</sup>; ARSI, Lus. 52, ff. 253<sup>vv</sup> in portoghese; in latino ff. 256<sup>vv</sup>. E finalmente ARSI, Lus. 52, f. 57<sup>r</sup>. Queste lettere sono citate con la segnatura archivistica perché dopo il febbraio 1562 non sono state più pubblicate e si trovano, manoscritte. A seguito di una ordinanza del P. Laínez divennero semestrali.

<sup>29</sup> MHSI, *Chronicon*, I, 344.

<sup>30</sup> MHSI, Doc. Ind., III, 403-04.

Gonzalez<sup>31</sup> che menassi seco don Diegho Lob[o], il qual nella nave veneva mosso per la Compagnia et lo menò se[co] subito.<sup>32</sup>

Non è casuale che le circostanze dell'approccio di Carvalho, giovane ricco e nobile, alla Compagnia, evochino letterariamente il racconto evangelico su Nicodemo. Quando André entrò nell'Ordine, era consapevole di ciò che faceva e già affezionato alla Compagnia, tanto che non avrebbe dato un'ora della vita in quella in cambio di tutto l'oro del mondo.<sup>33</sup>

Le risposte più interessanti al questionario di Nadal sono la 15, che riguarda le persone e le circostanze nelle quali il giovane fu ricevuto, la 24, concernente i viaggi di André in India e in Portogallo, e le funzioni ivi ricoperte, la 31, circa la sua destinazione in Africa e le risposte alle domande sulla formazione scolare.<sup>34</sup>

Quando André entrò in Compagnia, aveva studiato latino quasi due anni e casi di coscienza da otto. Infatti aveva rivelato una notevole inclinazione per questa materia. Quanto alla valutazione che dava di se stesso, André riteneva di avere poca memoria ma buon giudizio. Non aveva nessun grado<sup>35</sup> ed era incoraggiato a perseverare in tutti gli studi in cui la Compagnia pensava di metterlo.

Quanto al modo in cui egli intendeva esercitare l'ufficio di confessore, ecco le sue risposte: prima di tutto dire alla persona da confessare tre cose, tutti i peccati ed insieme con la contrizione per averli commessi, tenere fermo proposito di emendarli. A ciò doveva seguire la confessione dei peccati e alla fine, una domanda su ciò che gli sembrasse necessario. Di qui l'elenco di una serie di rimedi contro i peccati e alcune meditazioni della prima settimana o cose simili. Due raccomandazioni, in particolare, erano la devozione alla Vergine e le confessioni frequenti.

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<sup>31</sup> dis. 1554 (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, II, 59).

<sup>32</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 403-04.

<sup>33</sup> MHSI, *Chronicon*, I, 344. Certamente la frase che si trova nella lettera di Barzeo proviene dall'Historia di Polanco. L'ingresso in Compagnia di André così come lo descrive Barzeo, ripete in portoghese, le parole latine di Polanco.

<sup>34</sup> ARSI, Fondo Ges. MSS 77/I, ff. 85<sup>v</sup>-86<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> In ARSI esiste l'autografo dei voti semplici di André de Carvalho, ma è senza luogo e senza data (Ital. 58, f. 78<sup>v</sup>). Ci sono anche i voti emessi dopo il biennio che sono conservati in ARSI, Ital. 2, f. 361<sup>r</sup>. Questi ultimi sono del periodo in cui la formula dei voti fu fissata dalle *Costituzioni*, (MHSI, *Constitutiones III*, Part V, cap. 4 nro. 4, p. 170). Tanto il voto del 1548 quanto quello del 1553 rispecchiano la formula portoghese. Cf. Estanislao Olivares, S.J., *Los votos de los Escolares de la Compañia de Jesús: su evolución jurídica* (Roma: Institutum Historicum S.I., 1961) BIHSI 19, pp. 15-17.

Confessare molte persone durante il giorno era causa di irritazione per André, che invece rivelava una certa inclinazione o buona disposizione per la confessione dei peccati più gravi.

**Come si forma un "martire":**

**la lettera del André de Carvalho a Ignazio di Loyola del 22 ottobre 1553**

Prima di entrare nel merito del problema della valutazione su André de Carvalho da parte dei suoi superiori, è bene restituire la voce ad André stesso. Da Coimbra, il 22 ottobre 1553,<sup>36</sup> egli scriveva a Sant'Ignazio di Loyola una lettera di sapore profetico o, quanto meno anticipatrice, rispetto a ciò che gli sarebbe accaduto di lì a nove anni, prigioniero dei Mori a Tangeri.

Nella lettera il giovane André ricorda l'episodio del martirio (testimonianza dell'integrità e della generosità della fede) del padre Ludovico Mendez,<sup>37</sup> che si trovava nel capoluogo dell'isola di Comorín per istruirvi gli abitanti nella fede cristiana.

In quel tempo la situazione dei cristiani era sfavorevole. Infatti essi dovevano pagare dei tributi al re, che governava con diritto ereditario. Poiché si erano lamentati per avere subito furti insieme con il pagamento dei tributi, fu loro risposto che la loro richiesta di essere protetti contro le ingiustizie di alcuni predoni era giusta ed onesta. Però si voleva che i cristiani indicassero i predoni. A questo scopo essi si unirono agli abitanti per scoprirli.

Il sovrano, avendo compreso che coloro ai quali aveva concesso di depredare erano stati denunciati dai cristiani e uccisi a Badaghi in una grande strage, colpito dall'ira, non potendo far altro, preparò la vendetta. Per questo armò un esercito e invase la città di notte facendo strage di una moltitudine dei cristiani. A questo punto si possono usare le stesse parole di André perché da esse emergono la sua conoscenza dei fatti narrati e la sua interpretazione della morte di Ludovico Mendez in chiave di martirio. Scrive André:

Mentre eseguono con zelo gli ordini del re, accadde che venisse al tempio, dove passava la notte in preghiera, il carissimo fratello nostro[Mendez], pronto a ricevere (come era lecito aspettarsi dall'evento) la vicina e ardentemente desiderata palma del martirio.

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<sup>36</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 30-33. Di questa lettera in portoghese c'è anche un'altra versione in latino pubblicata nel volume *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae nunc primum editae* (Florentiae: Ex typographia a SS. Conceptione Raphael Ricci, 1887) pp. 168-70. Per una descrizione del manoscritto portoghese cf. MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 29.

<sup>37</sup> \* ?; SJ 1546; †1552 (MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 30 n. 3; MHSI, *Xavier*, II, 172 n. 41). Barzeo favorì il suo ingresso nella Compagnia di Gesù, quando egli era già in navigazione verso l'India. Fra il 1549 ed il 1552 lavorava a Coulan con Nicolò Lancillotto (\*? Urbino; SJ 1541 Roma; †7.iv.1558 Quilon [DHC], III, 2276). Nel 1552 Mendes fu inviato nel promontorio di Comorín dove subì il martirio.

Frattanto i nemici del nome cristiano e dei suoi servitori infierendo duramente come in preda alla follia, fatta una strage immane secondo l'ordine del re, finalmente arrivano al tempio dove era raccolto un gran numero di persone; e avendo dunque stabilito di distruggerlo con un incendio e di annientarlo, gli avevano mosso contro delle macchine da fuoco. Allora il servo di Dio si diresse al vestibolo del tempio per scongiurare i Mori a non procedere in una strage immane e a non incendiarlo, per non infierire crudelmente contro degli innocenti e incolpevoli. Mentre diceva queste cose si unisce di nascosto con l'esercito nemico, che gli taglia la gola con un rasoio. Ricevuta questa ferita, cade a terra e prima di spirare, nell'altro femore riceve una seconda ferita. Infine i Mori portano via con loro la sua testa tagliata.

Così il nostro carissimo fratello finì il breve corso della sua vita, mutando le lotte e le fatiche dell'una con la quiete dell'altra che è immutabile, mutando grazie ad un martirio degno di lode, a noi tutti che restiamo in questo esilio, il grande e flagrante desiderio di seguire lo zelo e nondimeno lasciando il suo esempio per imitazione. Salute.<sup>38</sup>

Questo racconto di martirio, del quale ci sono due versioni, quella redatta in portoghese e la versione più stilisticamente pulita in latino, contiene tutto il necessario all'educazione del futuro martire: la descrizione dei fatti che fanno da sfondo all'azione del gesuita il quale non per caso, viene a trovarsi nel vestibolo del tempio nel momento in cui questo è assalito. L'obiettivo del narratore ritorna di nuovo sul meccanismo disumano della strage per riportare l'attenzione sull'azione concreta e sul discorso del carissimo fratello che incita i Mori a non uccidere degli innocenti (questo è un comandamento troppo generale per definirlo soltanto cristiano, infatti è religioso in sé e ragionevole). I Mori non ascoltano e il fratello è ferito. La narrazione delle circostanze della morte è pure molto precisa.

Ai fatti segue una riflessione biblica edificante che si centra sul mutamento della vita fatta di fatiche e di dolore con una vita eterna che è quiete immutabile. Analogo mutamento è quello di coloro che restano dopo di lui: il martirio è degno di "studio" (particolare interesse, predilezione, amore) e di imitazione. Su questi due concetti, applicati a tutta la vita dell'uomo, si chiude la lettera e si prepara il destino dell'uomo Carvalho, che terminerà la sua vita proprio lottando contro i Mori, non sappiamo se pronunciando parole atte a suscitare la loro pietas, come il carissimo Lodovico e come i gesuiti, con l'esempio dell'imitazione del martirio, gli avevano insegnato a fare.

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<sup>38</sup> *Selectae Indiarum Epistolae*, p. 170, e MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 32. La lettera in portoghese non finisce su questo esempio di martirio, ma continua affermando la necessità di scrivere e di informare per mandare nuovi soggetti in quella nuova parte della vigna del Signore.

**Curriculum vitae di André de Carvalho:  
opinioni su di lui in Compagnia**

Per ricostruire il curriculum vitae ed i giudizi su André de Carvalho, occorre fare riferimento ad ARSI, Lus. 43, I-II. Il nome di André de Carvalho appare la prima volta fra i "gramáticos" nel Collegio di São Roque a Lisbona.<sup>39</sup>

Nel dicembre 1553, lo stesso anno in cui André scriveva la lettera sul martirio di Mendes a Sant'Ignazio, egli si trovava a São Roque. Nel 1561 era ad Évora, e su di lui si poteva leggere questa osservazione:

Padre André de Carvalho ha sopportato molte tribolazioni da due o tre anni fino a questa Pasqua e con dispiacere dei superiori e non conosco i bandi a causa delle quali in questi mesi fu trasferito da Goa da una parte all'altra fino a che il Padre Francesco si lamentò di lui e sembra che procede ancora bene, abbia buon giudizio senza grande opinione di sé e si tiene i molti. Fin qui si mostrò molto affezionato ai sui parenti ed in questo fu disordinato, quando invece può confessare.<sup>40</sup>

Il giudizio dei suoi superiori era critico, fondato sull'allontanamento impostogli da Saverio. Mentre gli veniva riconosciuto buon giudizio, egli veniva criticato per l'eccessivo affetto ovvero per la sensibilità che lo legava ai suoi familiari.

Nel 1557-1558 André era a Coimbra per ascoltarvi il primo corso di casi. Ancora nell'ottobre del 1559 si trovava a Coimbra fra coloro che ascoltavano le confessioni. Era già sacerdote.

Questo è il giudizio che si può leggere su di lui nell'ottobre del 1559:

Padre André de Carvalho di 29 anni ricevuto in India dal beato Padre e Maestro Francesco, studiò un po' di latino e per qualche tempo casi di coscienza. Ha buon giudizio e poca capacità per le lettere. È molto debole e malato alla testa da molto tempo, e per questo non confessa e non ha nessuna occupazione e spesso ha febbri e una disposizione molto cattiva.<sup>41</sup>

Il ritratto fisico-morale di André è quello di una persona la cui malattia fisica influisce su tutta la persona nel suo complesso. Tuttavia, fra l'11 dicembre 1559 e il settembre 1560 era ancora "auditor summam casuum."<sup>42</sup> Nel 1562 ad Évora continuava ad essere mal disposto e debole, ma leggeva la "Summa Caietani."

<sup>39</sup> ARSI, Lus. 43/I, ff. 53<sup>r</sup>, 55<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> ARSI, Lus. 43, f. 57<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> ARSI, Lus. 43, f. 74<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> ARSI, Lus. 43, f. 119<sup>r</sup>.

Nonostante le critiche dei suoi superiori, André era ricordato con stima ed affetto da alcuni suoi compagni, come si può leggere, per esempio, nella lettera di Hierónimo Fernandes ad André da Goa il 6 dicembre 1556.<sup>43</sup> Prima di raccontare gli eventi di Goa e i progressi della Compagnia di Gesù, Fernández ricorda la lettera che gli scrisse ed alla quale André non rispose. E ancora mette in evidenza la sua seria determinazione di scrivergli ogni anno tanto grandi sono le "muitas charidades que dele recibi." Poco prima, riguardo alla forza e sincerità della determinazione aveva affermato che "il molto amore che porto A V.R. non mi lascia fare altra cosa, se mi ricordo soprattutto della grande carità che ho ricevuto da lei."<sup>44</sup> La parola "caridades," al plurale nel testo, va presa naturalmente nel senso della virtù teologale che inclina all'amore di Dio.

Quando si trovava a Coulan, André de Carvalho stava con i padri P. N. Lancillotto e Mendez, come si apprende nelle lettere citate a Sant'Ignazio del 1553, e del p. Fernandes.<sup>45</sup>

### **La Relazione di Francesco Henriquez e André de Cavalho sulle Missioni della Compagnia di Gesù in Oriente**

Una lettura corretta di questo documento, la cui struttura è complessa, deve basarsi sull'introduzione critica di Wicki<sup>46</sup> e Jacobs al testo.<sup>47</sup> Dal Wicki si deve accogliere il criterio metodologico della distinzione fra gli "autori immediati" della relazione tanto concisa quanto sobria e solida, P. Francisco Henriques, procuratore delle missioni portoghesi orientali e André de Carvalho, e gli autori "mediati." Gli autori mediati sono i soci che scrissero dello stato (condizioni) dell'India in anni precedenti. Fra essi Baltasar Dias<sup>48</sup> e Antonio de Quadros<sup>49</sup> ricoprono un ruolo importante.

La relazione di mano del p. Henriques fu scritta dopo la metà del 1561 ad Évora. Essa è il risultato complesso di una esperienza diretta di entrambi i soci in India. Dal punto di vista stilistico si avvale delle caratteristiche delle lettere dall'India e delle norme che ne fissavano la redazione, secondo quanto stabilito in alcune lettere di Polanco a Barzeo.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>43</sup> \*c. 1532; SJ 1550 Goa; †? Nel 1571 si trovava a Bazain. Da allora non è più menzionato nei catalogi 223 n. 26. La lettera ad André de Carvalho è MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 584-89.

<sup>44</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 586.

<sup>45</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 589.

<sup>46</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 31 n. 6, 160-61.

<sup>47</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Mal.*, I, 324-25.

<sup>48</sup> \*1508 Portogallo; SJ 10.vi.1549. Coimbra; †21.viii.1571 Goa (*DHCJ*, II, 1112).

<sup>49</sup> \*1529 Santarém; SJ 1.iv.1544 Coimbra; † 21.xi.1572 Goa (*DHCJ*, IV, 3264).

<sup>50</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 15-16, 61-64.

Polanco, conscio che le lettere dall'India avevano un pubblico definito in Europa, i lettori colti e nobili interessati a conoscere le opere della Compagnia, chiedeva a Barzeo di scrivere lettere il cui scopo fosse quello di edificare i potenziali lettori con episodi positivi atti a mostrare l'impegno, l'abnegazione e i successi della Compagnia, le virtù dei suoi soci nella propagazione della fede. Per questa ragione insisteva su due punti, che le lettere fossero abbastanza generali da non trattare temi controversi o difficoltà particolari dei soci, nel qual caso non avrebbero dovuto essere pubblicate, e che sviluppasse temi geografici ed etnografici, quali la cosmografia, le condizioni climatiche, curiosità al riguardo delle popolazioni, abitudini insolite e, in generale, tutto quanto si riferiva all'aspetto geografico-storico dell'azione di missione dell'Ordine nel mondo ed in India.

Polanco d'altra parte, era perfettamente consapevole che la Compagnia di Gesù aveva anche un pubblico interno, le cui esigenze dovevano essere rispettate e soddisfatte. In tal senso occorreva raccontare fatti ed episodi attinenti i singoli soci. Che fare dunque? Si faceva strada l'idea di due tipi di lettere: quelle generali, che possono e devono essere pubblicate per l'edificazione del pubblico nobile e per la gloria di Dio, e quelle a parte, che solo l'Ordine deve conoscere. Se una lettera contiene tutti e due questi aspetti, si dovrà lavorare affinché quello che è privato sia messo da parte per l'Ordine e sottratto ad occhi indiscreti, a persone a cui le notizie private non sono destinate.

Il documento che si offre e si descrive qui, corrisponde alle caratteristiche di testo destinato ad un più vasto pubblico. Il titolo, come si presenta nel manoscritto, gli è stato apposto dal Nadal "Información de la India y de las otras partes del Oriente." Anche il nome dei due autori è stato aggiunto da Nadal "Francisco Anríquez y Andrés de Carvalho," a margine sinistro del primo foglio.<sup>51</sup> La relazione era stata scritta appunto per Nadal, che nel 1553 era visitatore in Portogallo.

Nella sua introduzione, il p. Wicki vaglia tutta una serie di elementi storici e ambientali per stabilire come tempo di questa relazione il 1560-1561. È utile ricordarli qui: i fatti e le azioni riferite fanno propendere per una datazione che si colloca alla fine del 1560 (per esempio la guerra contro Jaffna, che non fu condotta felicemente), il p. Baltasar Dias, che, lasciò Malacca alla fine del 1560, ma non era ancora arrivato in India,<sup>52</sup> alcune lettere della fine del 1560 di

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<sup>51</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 160.

<sup>52</sup> Nella seconda parte della "Instrución" di Henriques-Carvalho (f. 346<sup>v</sup>) a mo' di post-scriptum o come nota di chiusura c'è una interessante informazione di mano del p. Henriques dalla quale si apprende che i ff. 345<sup>rv</sup> erano il riassunto di una lettera inviata dal padre Antonio de Quadros



Francisco Barreto,<sup>53</sup> che l'8 giugno 1561 era arrivato a Lisbona e che il padre Torres aveva ricevute.<sup>54</sup> Il 16 settembre Torres inviò alcune lettere apografe che aveva ricevuto a Coimbra da Lisbona ed aveva mandato ad Évora. Nel 1560, 1561 e parzialmente nel 1562, André si trovava ad Évora. Il 2 Maggio 1562 partì per l'Africa.

Nadal visitò la provincia portoghese nel 1561, cominciando dalla fine di Maggio a Coimbra e terminando con Évora il 2 ottobre.<sup>55</sup> Risiedette ad Évora quasi dal 18 luglio fino alla fine del mese e dal 12 settembre al 2 ottobre. Risiedette poi a Lisbona dal 31 luglio al 10 settembre, ove condusse con sé ad Évora il Padre Provinciale e suo socio, Francisco Henriques, che il Visitatore aveva esaminato l'8 Agosto. Considerati tutti questi elementi, questa relazione per la più gran parte desunta dalle lettere dell'India può ragionevolmente essere stata scritta dopo la metà del 1561.

Dalla lettura della seconda parte del documento, pubblicato da Jacobs,<sup>56</sup> il lettore viene a conoscere una serie di dati sull'Asia insulare: l'isola di Morotaim, le Molucche, Timor, Banoba, Ambueno, Solor.<sup>57</sup> Le brevi note, separate da linee orizzontali che dividono la metà del foglio in cui questi appunti sono scritti, insistono su di un punto: la mancanza di operai per la vigna del Signore. Tante popolazioni sono ben disposte ad accettare la fede di Cristo, ma manca chi possa istruirle e confessarle. Anche a Canton vi sono popolazioni che potrebbero ricevere la fede. Sono per lo più Mori. Così come hanno accettato la fede islamica, che è un duro giogo, potrebbero accettare la cattolica, se solo vi fossero abbastanza missionari per questo scopo.

Alla fine di questa seconda parte del documento c'è un commento del Padre

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dall'India e la maggior parte costituiva il riassunto di un'altra del padre Baltasar Dias che risiedeva a Malacca e non era ancora arrivato in India. C'è effettivamente una lettera in latino di Baltasar Dias ad Antonio de Quadros del 3.xii.1559 da Malacca che contiene una informazione su Solor, Timor e la Cambogia. Questa lettera è stata pubblicata in portoghese dal padre Jacobs in *MHSI, Doc. Mal.*, I, 299-307. Per la bibliografia su Timor, cf. 301 n. 3. Ancora un'altra lettera di Dias da Malacca del 3.xii.1560 in latino, riguarda la buona disposizione della popolazione di quella terra verso la fede cristiana. Tutte queste informazioni precedenti il documento sin qui esaminato, armonizzano perfettamente con il suo contenuto e ne possono essere state le premesse.

<sup>53</sup> Sulla vita e l'azione di Francisco Barreto, governatore dell'India, cf. *MHSI, Doc. Ind.*, III, 299 n. 9.

<sup>54</sup> *MHSI, Doc. Ind.*, III, 161.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. William V. Bangert, S.J., *Jerome Nadal, S.J. 1507-1580: Tracking the First Generation of Jesuits*. ed. Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1992) pp. 239-69.

<sup>56</sup> *MHSI, Doc. Mal.*, I, 324-29.

<sup>57</sup> *MHSI, Doc. Mal.*, I, 326-29.

Henriques che è decisivo per avere una indicazione sulle fonti della relazione. Infatti egli ritiene che gli appunti siano il riassunto di una lettera inviata dall'India dal padre Antonio de Quadros.<sup>58</sup> E, per la parte restante, sono la sintesi di un'altra del padre Baltasar Diaz che venne da Malacca, dove egli risiedeva.<sup>59</sup>

Se i riferimenti dell'Henriquez sono così generali, Jacobs che ha studiato il testo, è arrivato alla conclusione che esso riferisce in un modo frammentario ed abbreviato, i contenuti dei documenti 63 (nos. 1-13) e 88 (nos. 15-21). Il testo, scritto anch'esso nella seconda metà del 1561 quando Nadal non aveva terminato ancora la sua visita in Portogallo, era indirizzato appunto a lui, che vi aveva apposto a mano "India." La nota o post-scriptum in spagnolo alla fine del testo tutto redatto in portoghese, indicava che il suo lettore doveva essere spagnolo.

Nella sua nota sulla natura di questo documento, una relazione, Jacobs osserva che si tratta di un riassunto. Quanto alla ragione di pubblicarlo, la più forte deriva dal suo contenuto: la limitatezza dei soggetti e dei mezzi per l'azione missionaria. Da ciò, continua l'editore del testo, comprendiamo la simpatia e il senso di responsabilità ma anche l'angoscia dei gesuiti portoghesi al riguardo del campo di missione nel Sud-Est asiatico.<sup>60</sup>

"India" era allora un nome generico che comprendeva paesi vastissimi dalla Cina, mai visitata da Javier, ma visitata dopo la sua morte, al Giappone, a São Tomé, a Malacca, Cabo Comorín, l'estrema punta meridionale dell'India, a Coulan, Cochín, e Baçain.

La parte della relazione di Henriques-Carvalho dedicata alla Cina riveste un notevole interesse, se si pensa a tutta la storia posteriore. Lo stesso vale per la descrizione delle isole del Giappone, difficili da raggiungere a causa della posizione geografica e del clima.

Articolata in 7 paragrafi, secondo la divisione del Wicki, che va dal foglio 335<sup>v</sup> al 337<sup>r</sup>, la relazione sulla Cina, scritta otto anni dopo la morte di San Francesco Saverio alterna la descrizione fisica con la descrizione del carattere delle popolazioni e i primi contatti con i portoghesi. Questo aspetto è particolarmente interessante perché manifesta tanto il carattere dei cinesi quanto quello dei portoghesi e l'incomprensione che nacque al primo incontro: "Accadde che i portoghesi avendo commercio con i cinesi, il capitano di una nave portoghese impiccò un cinese per un furto nella città di Cantón, che era

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<sup>58</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 31 n. 6, 160-61.

<sup>59</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 175 nn. 70-73.

<sup>60</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Mal.*, I, 325.

molto popolosa. E lasciandolo per terra impiccato, ripartì con la nave.<sup>61</sup> I portoghesi potevano approdare solamente in una isola vicina alla città di Canton, che viene nominata nel testo Shanchuan. Anche altre nazioni avevano accesso ad essa. Ai cinesi invece era proibito. Così essi portavano là alcune mercanzie di nascosto dai loro governanti, che li avrebbero altrimenti puniti con gravi pene.

Il paragrafo 35 del testo è dedicato a San Francesco Saverio e conviene riferirlo qui perché è storicamente il più interessante:

Il padre Maestro Francesco desiderava molto entrare in Cina, ed essendo determinato a ciò, cercò di farlo, benchè gli dicessero che i cinesi non lo avrebbero permesso e neppure se fosse entrato senza il loro consenso lo avrebbero lasciato vivo. Con questo desiderio egli attraccò in quell'isola, e negoziando là il suo ingresso, prima di ottenerlo, finì i suoi giorni. E poco dopo si aprirono i porti liberamente, e sono continuate le relazioni dei portoghesi di laggiù [Shanchuan] e la terra è tanto sana, fertile e ricca che, scriveva un ufficiale dei più importanti dell'India ad altri suoi corrispondenti in Portogallo, che era molto importante per la conservazione di quello stato che Sua Altezza non permettesse che si convertisse la Cina, perché avrebbe chiamato a sé tutti i soldati portoghesi dell'India con la certezza che si potesse vivere laggiù felici e ricchi.

Dicono che il Giappone prende le leggi di questo Regno per governarsi e che una delle ragioni che muovevano il Maestro Francesco ad entrare in Cina era conservare per sé i frutti di un lato per aiutare alla conversione dell'altro.<sup>62</sup>

Il testo mostra come Francesco Saverio desiderasse andare in Cina e ce lo fa vedere in atto di arrivare appunto a Shanchuan, prima della fine della sua vita. Dopo di allora le cose cambiarono e i porti si aprirono.

Una delle ragioni che spingevano Saverio ad entrare in Cina era quella di conservare i frutti del proprio lavoro per aiutare i missionari nella conversione, e dunque permettere il commercio spirituale-umano con le popolazioni del luogo come fonte (mezzo) per l'accrescimento della vita spirituale.

Stranamente il contenuto del paragrafo 36 sembra contraddittorio con quello precedente, ma si tratta solo di una contraddizione apparente. Se infatti era opinione di un alto ufficiale che non si convertisse il Paese, il consiglio di chi scrive è diverso: "Se si dovesse pretendere la conversione del Paese, sembra che sarebbe necessario che il Re scriva al Vicerè dell'India, che invii con i Padri un

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<sup>61</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 175 nn. 70-73.

<sup>62</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 175 n. 75.

ambasciatore in nome di S.A. con qualche regalo, comè si fece quando il Padre Maestro Francesco andava laggiù.”<sup>63</sup>

Il paragrafo 37 non contiene dati nuovi rispetto agli altri riferiti, ma ritorna a descrivere che cosa trovarono i portoghesi quando arrivarono per la prima volta in Cina, e che cosa possedevano. Così esso ripete il contenuto del 34. In tal senso le aggiunte al testo non fanno progredire il pensiero dell'autore, ma sono piuttosto glosse esplicative la cui funzione è quella di arricchire con informazioni lo sviluppo della riflessione. Sono queste parti quelle che, a detta di Polanco, stimolano la curiosità di un pubblico ampio di lettori.

Altrove, come nel caso delle Molucche, nuovamente ricorre il riferimento all'azione di San Francesco Saverio.<sup>64</sup> In quello su Comorin c'è un'aggiunta molto significativa, sulla morte di Ludovico Mendez che fa appunto pensare alla testimonianza oculare di Carvalho.<sup>65</sup>

In conclusione, quattro sono le ragioni per le quali questo documento merita rilievo e studio, tanto all'interno della biografia di André de Carvalho, quanto nell'ambito della storia della Compagnia di Gesù nell'India Portoghese fra il 1549 e il 1561:

- 1) l'essere stato scritto nove anni dopo la morte di San Francesco Saverio, quando la Compagnia era agli inizi della sua missione in Cina;
- 2) il coinvolgimento di più gesuiti nella sua elaborazione mediata ovvero indiretta, da Carvalho ed Henriquez a Baltasar Díaz e António de Quadros, che contribuisce ad arricchire la trama delle relazioni fra esso e le antecedenti e coeve lettere dall'India e tutto il genere letterario delle lettere dall'India;
- 3) la relazione fra questo documento e il modo di scrivere le lettere dall'India, che segue una serie di regole fissate da Polanco;
- 4) il rapporto fra lo sviluppo del testo e le aggiunte (glosse). Mentre queste precisano dati o dettagli attinenti la storia delle popolazioni e della Compagnia di Gesù fra il 1552 e il 1561 in un decennio di fondazione di molte missioni e di decisioni importanti per il futuro di esse, l'istruzione per Nadal è ricca di suggerimenti e consigli, come in parte si è visto e come tutto il documento, compresa la sintesi pubblicata da Jacobs, dimostra.

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<sup>63</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, III, 183 n. 126.

<sup>64</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, V, 177 n. 86.

<sup>65</sup> MHSI, *Doc. Ind.*, V, 183 n. 126.

### Gli ultimi due anni di vita di Carvalho a Mazagão e a Tangeri prigioniero dei turchi

Una delle prime notizie dell'assedio di Mazagão in Africa ove i Gesuiti avevano una residenza, si trova nella lettera di Gonçalo Vaz de Melo, procuratore del Portogallo, a Nadal visitatore da Lisbona (14 Aprile-14 Maggio 1562).<sup>66</sup> A causa dell'assedio dei Mori, Torres aveva inviato laggiù dei sacerdoti gesuiti Gaspar Álvarez,<sup>67</sup> Marcos Núñez,<sup>68</sup> Francisco de Figueiredo<sup>69</sup> e Belchior de Paiva.<sup>70</sup> Il capitano della città era il fratello del Padre André de Carvalho, Alvaro de Carvalho.

Per comprendere gli eventi relativi al 1562, occorre riferirsi ad un contesto storico più antico, segnatamente al decennio compreso fra 1550 e 1561.

Le difficoltà di Lisbona nel rafforzamento della piazza furono sentite dal nuovo capitano che successe a Pedro Alvares de Cabral. Il nuovo capitano scrisse ripetutamente al re João III con richieste di viveri. La minaccia dell'assedio sorgeva nuovamente a causa dell'alleanza di Mulai Muhammad Xequé con i turchi. Questi minacciavano ancora a bordo delle loro navi e Mazagão correva il rischio di restare isolata. Le difficoltà furono superate perché l'alleanza tra il califfo<sup>71</sup> e i mori si spezzò, e Muhammad Xequé cercò di riavvicinarsi a Don João III. Gli propose una alleanza contro i turchi, che il monarca portoghese accettò. Il califfo insistette che una delle condizioni dell'alleanza fosse l'esistenza di porti franchi, per facilitare il commercio marocchino e l'acquisto di armi. D. João III non si mise mai d'accordo a queste condizioni e il trattato non fu mai effettivo.

Il periodo di pace nel quale questa alleanza fu negoziato, fu rapidamente spezzato. Nell'ottobre del 1555 Alvaro de Carvalho scriveva a Pedro de Alcáçova Carneiro sui dubbi che sorgevano sulla validità della pace con il

<sup>66</sup> MHSI, *Nadal*, I, 689-90. Gonçalo Vaz de Melo, Superiore, \*1526 Vilar; SJ 7.ii.1544 Coimbra; †14.v.1563 Lisbon (DHCJ, IV, 3911).

<sup>67</sup> \*1521 Grijó de Parada; SJ 1553 Salamanca; † 13.viii.1569 Lisbona (DHCJ, I, 88).

<sup>68</sup> \* ? Madeira; SJ 28.i.1546; dis. 1563 (MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 557 n. 1). Cf. anche Francisco Rodrigues, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, 4 vols. in 7 parts. (Oporto: Apostolado da Imprensa, 1931-1950) I/1, 697-98 n. 2.

<sup>69</sup> \* Azere; SJ 16.viii.1553; † 30.vii.1576 (MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 705 n. 4). Cf. anche Rodrigues, *Historia*, I/1, 698 n. 2.

<sup>70</sup> SJ 1558 (MHSI, *Xavier*, I, 689). Cf. anche Rodrigues, *História*, I/1, 698 n. 3.

<sup>71</sup> Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J., "Rescate de cautivos cristianos bajo Muhammad al-Mutavakkil. Misión a Teruán y Fez del P. Gabriel Bautista del Puerto y H. G. López (1574-1575)," *Archivo Teológico Granadino* 58 (1995) 226 e nota 3.

califfo, perché i combattimenti erano ricominciati dinnanzi alla piazza. La lotta fra il califfo e i turchi sembrava terminata e il capitano chiedeva, infine che si inviassero rinforzi per Mazagão. I combattimenti continuavano con violenza nel 1556. Il 15 gennaio 1557, il capitano scrisse alla Regina raccontandole della cura che i turchi avevano messo per stabilire un'alleanza con il califfo, al fine di promuovere la lotta contro i cristiani. Questa fu celebrata e il 20 febbraio dello stesso anno Mazagão fu assediata dai turchi alleati del Califfo. Alvaro de Carvalho tentò di separare gli alleati e condusse una azione diplomatica di grande interesse.

Il nuovo califfo del Marocco, Mulai Abdallah Algalibe, sarebbe succeduto al padre Muhammad Xequé nel 1557. Egli concepì il progetto di ripetere la prodezza del suo predecessore a Santa Cruz e impadronirsi di Mazagão.

Nel settembre del 1559 iniziarono i preparativi per l'assedio della piazzaforte. Seguirono scaramucce durante il 1560 e 1561. Le difficoltà della reggente, D. Caterina, non permisero il soccorso della piazza come chiedeva Alvaro de Carvalho. Nell'imminenza dell'assedio egli prese la stessa risoluzione che D. João aveva preso nel 1534: consultare le persone più importanti del regno al riguardo della possibilità di abbandonare la piazza. Egli decise pertanto di presentare il progetto alla Corte. Nel frattempo, D. Caterina faceva ritornare parte della cavalleria, le donne e i bambini. Alvaro di Carvalho ritornò in patria e suo fratello Rui de Sousa de Carvalho fu nominato capitano ad interim il 17 maggio 1561.

Mullah Abdallah Algalibe, che si aspettava una vittoria facile e di grande ripercussione, fece sapere che stava preparando una spedizione contro i turchi di Algeri. Rui de Sousa de Carvalho temeva l'assedio. Ordinò dunque che fossero riparate alcune delle fortificazioni. Non si lasciò tempo in mezzo: il 4 Marzo del 1562 l'esercito nemico si accampò dinnanzi alla piazza.

L'assedio fu provvidenziale per la Mazagão portoghese. Infatti l'abbandono si doveva consumare quell'anno, forse in pochi mesi.

Quando Rui de Sousa de Carvalho comunicò la situazione estrema nella quale si trovava, la risposta portoghese non si fece attendere. La reggente Caterina di Bragança emanò una ordinanza con la quale stabiliva che la torre di Belem non doveva lasciare passare nessuna nave che non recasse con sé il suo decreto. In breve tempo si decisero due cose: la regina avrebbe chiamato i grandi cavalieri di Mazagão per il soccorso della patria; il 24 Marzo Alvaro de Carvalho avrebbe assunto la capitanía della piazza.

Al tempo della lettera di Vaz provinciale del Portogallo a Nadal, il capitano aveva richiesto l'invio di suo fratello, ma questi non era stato ancora mandato.

Di questo invio, ricorda il Nadal nella sua lettera,<sup>72</sup> i sovrani portoghesi gli avrebbero parlato di lì a poco. Più oltre nella lettera, Nadal menziona il contenuto del colloquio con i sovrani. Essi insistettero che André de Carvalho fosse inviato a Mazagão per alcune questioni importanti. I gesuiti lo inviarono con un compagno, Belchior de Oliveira.<sup>73</sup> La data della partenza, menzionata da Nadal, è il 2 Maggio 1562. Nadal aggiungeva che non c'erano lettere di Carvalho da Mazagão, ma si diceva certo della vittoria, che la città non era stata ancora assediata e che quando lo fosse, l'assedio non sarebbe durato molto.

Ancora in un'altra lettera,<sup>74</sup> Nadal fa riferimento ad André de Carvalho e alle lettere ricevute da lui. Rammentando l'insistenza con la quale la regina lo aveva richiesto per cercare di sanare alcune temute discordie fra i partecipanti all'assedio della città, Nadal esprimeva la speranza che André sarebbe presto ritornato, visto che i Mori erano stati cacciati da Mazagão. In realtà le cose sarebbero andate diversamente.

### Testimonianze su Carvalho nelle *Litterae Quadrimestres*

Ci sono due "*litterae quadrimestres*" del 1562 coeve alle testimonianze di Vaz de Melo-Nadal e una di esse, in particolare,<sup>75</sup> è più tardiva, poiché ci fa giungere al mese di settembre del 1562. Questo è il testo della lettera di Manuel de Góis<sup>76</sup> da Évora a Roma datata il 1 Maggio 1562, e ricevuta a Roma all'inizio di settembre:

Un giorno o due dopo la partenza delle navi per l'India venne a informare S.A. che "El Xarife" (che in Africa a 6 Regni) aveva assediato Mazagán (in spagnolo nel testo) che è una città di quelle che il Re possiede laggiù e che aveva in quella fino a 80.000 e 100.000 uomini, il capitano della quale era in questa corte, e stabilito che andasse laggiù, si venne a chiedere che gli dessero alcuni della Compagnia affinché andassero con lui per aiutare colà, in conformità al Nostro Istituto, e la Regina chiese lo stesso con molta insistenza. In 3 o 4 giorni fece preparare una buona armata di 13 navi, con le quali si inviarono dalla casa il Padre García Alvarez ed il fratello Francisco de Figueredo e dal collegio il Padre Marcos Nuñez ed il Fratello Melchior de

<sup>72</sup> MHSI, Nadal, I, 690.

<sup>73</sup> \* Carrazedo, SJ 1555; †1580 Porto (MHSI, Nadal, I, 697). Cf. anche Rodrigues, *História*, I/1, 698. Aveva preso parte alla battaglia di Alcácer-Quibir.

<sup>74</sup> Lettera di Vaz al Nadal, 7.vi.1562 Lisbona (MHSI, Nadal, I, 702). La lettera fu scritta quasi un mese dopo la morte di André de Carvalho a Tangeri. Ma questa notizia, mentre Vaz scriveva, non era ancora arrivata.

<sup>75</sup> ARSI, Lus. 51, ff. 253<sup>rv</sup>.

<sup>76</sup> \*1543 Portel; SJ 31.viii.1560 Évora; †13.ii.1597 Coimbra (DHCJ, II, 1768).

Paiva. Quando andarono a baciare la mano a S.A, tanto lei come tutti i cortigiani furono molto edificati e dicevano parole di molta lode della Compagnia e la Regina che allora si trovava in consiglio, se non lo impedivano gli uffici della Settimana Santa né altre occupazioni, disse che non era necessario mandare a chiamare costui. Di là ritornarono ad imbarcarsi senza sacco etc e senza tornare a casa (e là nella nave del capitano si ritrovarono). Questa armata partì la domenica delle Palme. Poi la regina tornò ad insistere che mandassero il Padre André de Carvalho, il fratello del capitano. Il padre glielo concesse. Mandò un messaggio ad Évora ed egli venne con un compagno e poi partirono per dove tutti fanno un servizio tanto grande a Nostro Signore come attraverso alcune copie delle sue lettere che andranno con questa V. P. potrà comprendere. In casa c'è grande fervore di andare a questa impresa e si chiede con grande calore (altri pellegrinaggi e missioni si concedono di molto servizio di Nostro Signore e da predicare di qui ad alcune leghe).<sup>77</sup>

Questa testimonianza coincide con quella di Vaz. Ma ad essa si deve aggiungere quella della quadrimestre di Torres a Láinez sull'assedio datata 1 Settembre 1562.<sup>78</sup>

Già saprà V.P. come N.S. per sua misericordia volle spezzare i cuori dei Mori che avevano assediato Mazagán con la vittoria meravigliosa nei due combattimenti che ebbero. Essa diede ai cristiani, morendo, molti dei nemici che sono non meno di cinquemila e 20.000 feriti posto che non morirono dei nostri. In tutto l'assedio non furono molto più che cento e uno non più di 200 e un fento. E non si aspettava vittoria simile se non della somma ed eterna bontà di Dio, Nostro Signore. Digiuni, discipline Messe ed altre opere pie che si fecero in tutto questo regno dacchè iniziò l'assedio non solo per i religiosi a richiesta della Regina ma per tutti quelli del porto facevano crescere il fervore e l'affetto a seconda che la necessità e il pericolo erano maggiori. E così il giorno dell'Ascensione tolsero l'assedio e se ne andarono con danno e sfiducia di potere prendere la posizione a causa del molto coraggio e sforzo che Cristo Nostro Signore dava ai suoi, che per suo amore e difesa della sua santa fede avevano offerto le loro vite. Dopo di ciò i Padri rimasero là curando e servendo gli infermi, tanto nelle necessità materiali quanto in quelle spirituali. Ed essendo questa fatica grande e più grande quella passata, così per il continuo lavorare e mangiare e dormire male ed essere malvestiti dacchè entrarono lì, il padre Gaspar Alvarez si ammalò gravemente e un fratello, uno dei capitani che venivano là, lo prese e lo pose

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<sup>77</sup> ARSI, Lus. 51, ff. 236<sup>v</sup>-237<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> ARSI, Lus. 51, ff. 253<sup>v</sup>.



nella sua camera nell'imbarcazione. Gli faceva il letto e lo curava e gli dava quanto era necessario ed anche dolci e altre cose come se fosse in terraferma. E con tutto il fatto che era arrivato a questa città che era molto debilitato e mezzo morto (tanto che nel mare pensarono che sarebbe morto in una notte e gli misero una candela in mano) lo mandò qui con la sua gente. N.S. volle che si trovasse meglio finchè fu del tutto guarito. Ma siccome il Signore vide che alcuni avrebbero potuto prendere occasione di vana gloria, la volle mitigare con i turchi che con 16 galere presero una galera portoghese che veniva di là con circa 260 persone fra le quali c'erano alcuni cavalieri ed il Padre André de Carvalho, fratello del capitano Generale di Mazagán e il suo compagno il fratello Belchior de Paiva e furono prigionieri finora che ci dicono essere già stati riscattati attraverso molti mezzi ed operazioni che fece la Regina, visto che il prezzo era molto alto per il fatto che erano conosciuti.

Questo testo è interessante perché fornisce dati sulla fine dell'assedio di Mazagão, numeri sulle forze in campo e sui morti, notizie del padre Gaspar Alvarez, e finalmente, forse la prima menzione della prigionia di André de Carvalho con il suo compagno Belchior de Paiva presso i turchi e dati sul prezzo del riscatto, che in generale era alto. Ovviamente, come in tutte le quadrimestri, a parte la menzione dei gesuiti, il racconto è anonimo. Ma l'aspetto più interessante riguarda il modo come veniva considerata la vittoria sui mori. Se essa fosse stata piena e completa, forse le cose sarebbero andate troppo bene. Invece il Signore Onnipotente volle mitigare la gioia del successo con la cattura di una nave portoghese e con la cattività di due gesuiti presso i turchi. Ovvero questo fatto, fonte di sofferenza, viene inserito nel più grande e giusto piano provvidenziale. Di più, le circostanze storiche della vittoria sui mori a Mazagão vengono menzionate nel testo con riferimento a feste religiose: alla settimana Santa, alla Domenica delle Palme e finalmente al giorno dell'Ascensione, a conferma appunto del piano divino che governa tutte le cose.

Un'altra lettera quadrimestre racconta che il Padre André avrebbe potuto essere liberato perché il suo riscatto era stato pagato.<sup>79</sup> Invece egli preferì che fosse riscattato un altro prigioniero, che avrebbe potuto essere pagato meno, visto che era meno famoso. E benché André, se lo avesse voluto, avrebbe potuto evadere dalle mani dei turchi, egli non volle fino a che gli altri non sarebbero stati riscattati. Questo comportamento, secondo il redattore della lettera, ha dell'incredibile.

### Le circostanze della cattura nel racconto di Carvalho

La lettera inedita che si pubblica in appendice spiega insieme, le circostanze della prigionia ed il carattere di André.<sup>80</sup>

Per quanto riguarda l'assetto formale del documento, si tratta di un autografo scritto in portoghese antico con abbreviazioni e con una ortografia del secolo XVI uno dei cui dati più rilevanti è la presenza, nel testo scritto, della vocale "ij" in luogo di "i." L'autore ha posto segni di interpunzione.

Il documento portoghese viene dunque pubblicato in appendice senza le abbreviazioni ma mantenendo l'interpunzione originale e l'ortografia del portoghese antico. Lo stile si caratterizza per una significativa ipotassi.

Quanto all'aspetto psicologico-umano di esso, André si manifesta come una persona generosa che, dovendo rendere conto della sua prigionia e delle condizioni degli altri prigionieri, si intrattiene piuttosto sul dolore, sulla sofferenza e le fatiche, nonché—e questo è un dato fondamentale—sul valore degli altri—piuttosto che su se stesso. Egli non è mai interessato a se stesso, ma parla e si preoccupa del suo compagno Paiva, ricorda il p. Gonzalez, verosimilmente Luis Gonçalves da Câmara,<sup>81</sup> sente dolorosamente la prigionia di José de Saldanha il cui riscatto antepone e preferisce al suo, e alla fine, ricorda la madre. La menzione di sua madre alla fine della lettera aggiunge un tratto ancora più umano, francamente commovente, a tutto il suo racconto di cattura, che è molto vivace.

Da dati interni alla lettera, si comprende che dovesse essere la prima che egli scriveva da prigioniero: infatti sua madre non era stata ancora informata dell'accaduto. Inoltre André racconta proprio le circostanze della cattura, segno che queste erano nuove e non conosciute a nessuno prima di allora.

Non sono note risposte a questa lettera indirizzata al p. Generale Láinez. Pertanto la sua importanza risiede nell'essere l'unico documento autografo riguardante la prigionia presso i "turchi" di Tangeri. In realtà questi turchi erano pirati mori, marocchini. Turchi è una parola generica che indica una appartenenza ad una stirpe diversa. Turchi è in alternanza nel testo con la parola "marocchini," la ciurma era marocchina.

Il 14 giugno 1563 André partì con una galea da Mazagão per l'Algarve. Siccome non stava bene e pensava che la traversata sarebbe durata un giorno, si mise in quella nave. Ma siccome la volontà divina opera con criteri diversi da quelli del giudizio umano, fu volontà di Dio che la domenica successiva siccome

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<sup>80</sup> ARSI, Lus. 51, f. 237<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> \*1519 Madeira o Abrantes; SJ 27.iv.1545 Coimbra; †15.iii.1575 Lisboa (DHCJ, I, 608-09).

il tempo era cattivo e il vento contrario, la nave prese terra presso Calez, dove all'alba, racconta André, "incontrammo dieci galee di Turchi tanto vicine che non ci potemmo difendere e nemmeno la terra ci poté ricevere poiché la ciurma era morisca. Frattanto il padrone dell'imbarcazione si gettò in mare dicendo capitano che doveva occuparsi della prora affinché remasse, e lui stesso lo avrebbe sostituito al posto di colui che si era gettato in mare. Per tanto tutti cominciarono a prendere il remo, trovandomi io con una spada, uno scudo, un elmo che mi misero in testa al suo posto perché era pericoloso. Frattanto quattro o cinque capitani che si trovavano laggiù finirono per trovare le loro armi e furono investiti da tutte e dieci le galee e con tanta rapidità che nessuno ebbe tempo di mostrare il valore delle loro persone che è davvero molto."

André, dopo la cattura, era stato privato di tutto, anche dei privilegi della Compagnia di Gesù ed era incerto se parlare con gli "eretici" che si trovavano là. Tuttavia egli si preoccupava di non pesare sulle decisioni e sul lavoro del padre Vaz. Egli riteneva infatti che fosse la regina a doversi preoccupare del riscatto e che questo dovesse essere affidato al capitano di Tangeri, suo fratello.

La lettera si chiude su alcune raccomandazioni al padre Luis González da Câmara superiore a São Antão (Lisbona), con la menzione di José de Saldanha, uomo molto onorato prigioniero con lui, e ancora Dom Lião, León Henriques, canonista,<sup>82</sup> e il fratello Paiva, che era partito con lui. André diceva di voler trattare il riscatto di Paiva poiché questi era debole e non si trovava in condizione di sopportare fatiche.

L'ultima persona che André ricorda nella lettera è appunto la madre alla quale, scrive, non sarà necessario comunicare che sono prigioniero. Egli pensava di informarla personalmente con una lettera, una volta raggiunta Tangeri.

### La morte di André de Carvalho

La testimonianza di Nadal sulla morte di André de Carvalho è probabilmente la più breve di tutte. Infatti egli scrive a Polanco a Roma da Trento il 6 e il 12 luglio 1563,<sup>83</sup> che era morto quel P. Carvalho (si noti il deittico che impone distanza, *aquel*), prima che fosse riscattato. L'unico dettaglio sulla sua morte è che egli morì per mano di mori in una scaramuccia con i cristiani.

La lettera del Mirón,<sup>84</sup> la più estesa e forse anche la più dettagliata sulla morte di André de Carvalho, conferma ancora una volta la divisione di pareri circa il suo comportamento durante la sua breve vita. Anche questa lettera autografa

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<sup>82</sup> \*1522 Ponta do Sol; SJ 30.iv.1546 Coimbra; †8.iv.1589 Lisbona (*DHCJ*, II, 1899).

<sup>83</sup> Polanco al Nadal a Trento del 6.vii. 1563 (MHSI, *Nadal*, II, 326 n. 7).

<sup>84</sup> ARSI, Lus. 61, ff. 142<sup>v</sup>-143<sup>r</sup>.

viene pubblicata in appendice rispettando l'ortografia originale e il lessico, che mescola almeno una volta, parole spagnole con altre portoghesi.

André, non potendo più ricevere aiuto dal re per il suo riscatto—c'era anche il fatto, qui non menzionato, che ne aveva rifiutato uno a favore di una persona più svantaggiata di lui—se ne andò a Tangeri per ordine del provinciale Vaz che al tempo di Mirón era morto. C'erano dunque due problemi: pagare un secondo riscatto, perché non si era ancora compiuto il tempo del secondo e liberare gli "arefenes," forse abitanti del luogo, e pagarli. Si persero dunque otto mesi senza nessun risultato. Passati questi, André scrisse una lettera al P. Provinciale lamentandosi con lui di averlo messo in quelle difficoltà.

Il parere di Mirón era che la lettera di André conteneva troppe lamentele e poca conoscenza dei meriti della sua causa e di quello che si era faticato per liberarlo.

Nel tempo in cui la lettera era arrivata, il padre Provinciale era prossimo alla fine della sua vita e così, scrive Mirón, non gli raccontammo il contenuto. Di conseguenza, Mirón stesso scriveva a André rispondendogli e consolandolo. Lo stesso egli voleva fare con i suoi fratelli.

Siccome non c'era modo di arrivare ad una conclusione e le navi non davano messaggi o lo sfiduciavano delle sue speranze, e lo stesso cardinale aveva tolto ogni illusione ai suoi parenti, André terminò la sua vita con una guerra contro la sua persona, combattendo come gli altri cavalieri per guadagnarsi il riscatto. Questo non sarebbe stato restituito, secondo come era stato scritto. Sulla base della testimonianza diretta di suo fratello, i mori lo uccisero nel giorno del ritrovamento della croce, il 2 maggio 1563, dopo che egli fu confessato ed ebbe detto la messa. Il fratello, che Mirón cita forse da una lettera ancora una volta non pervenuta, lodava molto le imprese che fece come cavaliere prima di morire e del coraggio con il quale morì, pronunciando il nome di Gesù e significando attraverso parole la sua fede e la preghiera affinché il Signore si ricordasse della sua anima e le concedesse la gloria. Pur con ciò, Mirón afferma di non poter lasciar passare questo disastro e lo scandalo che egli dette e tutto il suo affare, specialmente l'ultimo, l'uscire in combattimento con armi difensive ed offensive. Tuttavia Mirón affermava onestamente che di questo dettaglio non vi era certezza, eccetto la parola di un familiare di sua madre e le passioni che seguirono.

Questa lettera è la fonte dell'informazione giunta a Nadal, poiché è datata 2 giugno 1563, un mese dopo la morte di André.

Finito l'assedio di Mazagão, Rui de Sousa de Carvalho chiese alla regina-reggente di poter ritornare nel regno l'8 giugno 1562, portando come ragione di ciò le ferite ricevute durante l'assedio. Al suo posto fu nominato Francisco de Barros de Paiva, che prese possesso della piazza nel novembre del 1562.

La regina D. Caterina volle ridurre il numero dei soldati di Mazagão e diminuire le spese della piazza. Così limitò a 500 uomini la guarnigione e attribuì ai suoi difensori la somma di 9.051.468 reali, 6.000.000 dei quali erano destinati al salario, il resto all'approvvigionamento di viveri. La famiglia dei Carvalho riprese l'amministrazione di Mazagão nel 1564 e la conservò fino al 1607.

L'ultima menzione della morte e dell'opera di André sono contenute alla fine di una quadrimestre dell'Agosto 1563 da Évora, di Hernando Navarro.<sup>85</sup> Scrive il Navarro: "Mi dimenticavo di dire come il Padre André de Carvalho trovandosi in una città dell'Africa dove suo fratello era capitano, con motivo di trattare il suo riscatto, morì in essa. Ci dispiacque molto poiché era un uomo molto antico nella Compagnia e che dette sempre edificazione e mostra di virtù in essa. Vostra paternità per carità lo raccomandi a Nostro Signore."<sup>86</sup>

È singolare ed interessante che il Navarro si ricordi di questa menzione alla fine di una lettera che parlava d'altro e che offra una immagine completamente edificante, senza ombre (ma all'inizio del suo operato in Compagnia non era stato così), di un gesuita che venne fra i primi alla Compagnia di Gesù (muy antigo), ben lontano dagli scandali e dalle incertezze, dal fastidio che il suo comportamento di uomo nobile e libero aveva creato a Mirón.

Vagliando tutte queste testimonianze possiamo ritrovare, forse, la verità su un uomo d'azione che fu difficile nei contatti, e dare conto della complessità delle valutazioni degli altri, dei gesuiti in particolare, le loro ragioni e a volte anche la loro impossibilità di comprendere un carattere spesso passionale fuori misura, ma onesto. Insieme con questo si può ancora una volta apprendere una lezione metodologica. Occorre usare non soltanto i documenti positivi e pubblici che danno una immagine parziale dell'oggetto studiato, ma anche gli altri, quelli privati, redatti non letterariamente e non per l'edificazione dei lettori ma per la conoscenza della verità. Questa non può essere fatta conoscere a tutti indiscriminatamente (il problema e rischio del cattivo "uso" della verità allorché finisce in mani e orecchie indiscrete o nemiche).

Ciò che rimane di André, alla fine della ricognizione più scientifica su di lui, riceve luce e senso dalla frase di Giov 18,30 che racconta in questo modo la morte di Gesù: "Disse Gesù: tutto è compiuto e reclinata la testa rese lo spirito." Rese lo spirito non è certo un verbo che indica la morte (in greco: paredoken to pneuma), ma il dono dello Spirito e della Parola di vita. Così la verità del gesto che ci resta di André de Carvalho va nello stesso senso di dare, di scambiare una moneta, 2500 cruzados, che per uno possono significare forse

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<sup>85</sup> ARSI, Lus. 52, f. 57<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>86</sup> ARSI, Lus. 52, f. 57<sup>r</sup>.

la morte, o l'inizio di una nuova trattativa, ma per l'altro è la vita. Si può interpretare questo gesto come si vuole, ma la sua sostanza e la sua verità, anche alla luce di una composición de lugares che il lettore volesse fare su questo gesto di scambio, sono evangeliche, né più né meno. Di qui, e solo di qui, quel gesto "fuori misura" va oltre la storia per attingere alla trascendenza e per essere ricordato come appunto abbiamo fatto qui seguendone tutte le premesse e componenti e lasciando campo alla riflessione laddove non c'erano elementi oggettivi per giudicare.

### Appendice di Testi Inediti

I testi inediti che presentiamo in questa appendice sono i due voti semplici di André de Carvalho, rispettivamente del 1548, anteriore alle *Costituzioni*, e del 1553 del tempo delle *Costituzioni*. La loro formula è portoghese ma sono stati redatti in un modo piuttosto libero e originale. Di qui il loro interesse. Mancano purtroppo le menzioni di tempo e luogo. Infine si pubblicano due lettere conservate in ARSI, Lus. 60 e 61, già descritte nell'articolo, mantenendo la loro ortografia intatta.

#### Vota simplicia

ARSI, Ital. 58, f. 78<sup>r</sup> [cf. fig. 25].

Eu andre de carvalho<sup>87</sup> me ofreso dijamte de vosa deuijna magestade e sem nehum hamais y metijl ijgresija do que estas palauras em sij quo tem prometo prepetuamente seruijuos em obijdyemsija e pobreza e castijdade profeso ou quagijtor quando dome pera algua destas cousas os soprijores da quompaijnija quiserem aceijtar e emtao so guardar a pobreza que hos coleijgijos tem por ijsitjuijsaõ e maijs prometo a vosa diuijna magestade de nunquam aver breve nem despensão peramo saijr da quompaijnija esemdo quazo que me eu saija ou

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<sup>87</sup> Per quanto riguarda il voto del 1548, consta che dal 1546 a Coimbra c'era una formula ufficiale per i voti degli scolastici. Questa era anteriore all'estate del 1547. Di essa si conserva un esemplare dei voti di Santa Cruz ed è inoltre noto che Santa Cruz andò a Roma in questa data. Tanto la formula di Carvalho quanto quella del Santa Cruz contengono una menzione ai coadiutori come oggetto del voto di entrare nella Compagnia. Questa menzione farebbe datare la sua composizione agli ultimi mesi del 1546. Può darsi che al ricevere la notizia della costituzione di questo nuovo grado nella Compagnia, tutti rinnovarono i loro voti.

Nella formula portoghese, come si vede bene da quella di André de Carvalho, si facevano voti di povertà, castità e obbedienza fino a diventare professi o coadiutori. In questo modo gli scolari mantenevano i tre voti religiosi durante i loro studi. A causa della difficile situazione politica del Portogallo, Rodrigues riteneva che la formula dovesse continuare ad essere usata. Egli pensava di inviarla a Sant'Ignazio. Tuttavia il visitatore Torres, quando arrivò in Portogallo anni dopo, chiese un parere su di essa. La risposta di Roma venne l'8 giugno 1553: la formula era considerata "muy nueva." Si preferiva rinviare ogni giudizio ulteriore al p. Nadal. Il "voto portoghese" aveva la struttura condizionale di parte della Compagnia come i tre voti dei coadiutori. Tali voti non erano pubblici e non erano accettati dal superiore legittimo. Cf. Olivares, *Los votos de los escolares*, pp. 15-17.

despijdaõ taõ bem prometo estar obrijguado a toda a maijs uijda que me fijcar gastar pelas portarij as pesprijtaijs da quompaijnhija.

Andre de Carvalho.

ARSI, Ital. 2, f. 361<sup>v</sup>.

Eterno Deus todopoderoso eu Andre de Carvalho ainda que por todas as vias mui indino de vosso Divino acatamento confiando com tudo en vossa piedade e misericordia infinita e movido com desejo de vos servir, prometto diante da sacratissima virgem e toda ha vossa corte celestial, a vossa divina magestade Pobreza, castidade e obediencia perpetua en ha Companhia de Jesu. E prometto de entrar en ha mesma Compagnia pera nella viver perpetuamente. Entendendo todas as cousas conforme has constituicoes da mesma Compañia. Por tanto humilmente peço ha vossa Immensa Bondade e Clementia pello sangue de vosso unigenito filho Jesu Christo, que tenaes por bem de acceptar este sacrificio in odorem suavitatis e assi como me desdes graça pera desejar he offerecer isto ma deis tambem copiosa per ho comprir.<sup>88</sup>

### Epistulae

André de Carvalho a Diego Laínez

n.d.

ARSI, Lus. 61, ff. 119 <sup>rv</sup>

IHS Ma

Muy Reverendo em Christo Padre

Pax Christi

A XIIIJ de Junho partio de Mazagão a Gale São Jo pa-o Algarve,<sup>89</sup> e por andar doente e parecer que podia atravessar e hum dia me metij nela, mas como as cousas que deriba estão ordenadas socedem diferentemente, do que as o juizo humano ijmagina, ordenou ou premetio sua divijna Magestade, que ao Domingo seguinte por termos tempo contrario fossemos de mandar terra junto de Calez,<sup>90</sup> onde em amanhecendo topamos dez Gales de turquos,<sup>91</sup> he tão perto de nos que nem nos podemos defender, nem acolher a terra, porque

<sup>88</sup> La formula usata qui da Carvalho ricorda quella mostrata da Olivares (*Los rotos de los escolares*, p. 17).

<sup>89</sup> Viene qui dato il nome della nave, São Jo, forse São José e l'indicazione della rotta che avrebbe seguita. Tutto lo stile della lettera è molto vivace e diretto.

<sup>90</sup> Calez è Cadice. Il luogo in cui avviene l'avvistamento e la cattura.

<sup>91</sup> I turchi sono in realtà pirati marocchini. Turchi è dunque un nome che indica i nemici di diversa fede e collocazione geografica ampia.

a chusma es morecco, ho Patrão deitou-se ao Mar, ho capitão dizendolhe en que devija de acudir a proa a faz que remassem, e que eu ficaria em seu lugar, mandando os de Popa, felo deitandose dela ao Mar com o qual todos acabarão de levar Remo, ficando eu com huam espada em huam rrodela, e huam celada que me poserão na cabeça em seu lugar por ser perigoso,<sup>92</sup> ao qual tempo 4 ou cimque fidalgos que alij tinham acabavão de tomar suas armas, e juntamente de seremos envestidos de todas as dez galeas juntamente, e com tanta presteza entrados que não huve tempo de mostrarem elles o preço de suas pessoas que verdadeiramente he muito, finalmente nos ficamonos todos cativos, e o que acerca de nosso resgate temos entendido, não digo nesta por que se vem ca todas. Remetome a o que o portador diser a V.R. e a S.A. a que tambem escrevo; hum brevijarei o eij mister porque tudo me tomarão, e os privilegios da Companhia, porque tenho huam divijda acerca de comonjar com os Hereges que ca hã,<sup>93</sup> peço a V.R. que lhe não de nenhuma pena meus trabalhos, porque me dado muita força nelles, estaõme cortando o tempo e não seij o que digo, S.A. devija cometer nosso resgate ao capitão de Tangere, e se me mandasse sua provisão pa me o feitor Dandaluzja dar o necessario para meu mantenimiento e remedio serja bom por lós de Belez onde nos lev nao he perto, Jhs seia com V.R. ao padre Luis Gonzalez me encomendo muito e que mais sinto o trabalho de Jo de Saldanha que o meu porque he muito honrrado homem, não me esqueco do Padre... e do padre [119] Dom Lião, o Irmão Paijva trabalharei de resgatar em Tangere por ser para tamanhos trabalhos, a minha maij não sera neçessario dizerlhe que estou cativo, Vasta que fuj ter a Tangere donde escreverei largo.<sup>94</sup>

So Indigno de V.R. /Andre de Carvalho

Diego Mirón a Diego Láinez

Lisboa 2 Junii 1563

ARSI, Lus. 61, ff. 142<sup>r</sup>-143<sup>v</sup>.

2 Junii 1563 Lisboa P. Miron

De Patre Andrea de Carvallo captivo.

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<sup>92</sup> La descrizione che André fa di se stesso è quella inusuale ma comprensibile date le circostanze, di un gesuita che diviene cavaliere armato di scudo e di armi difensive.

<sup>93</sup> Il problema era appunto quello di come parlare agli "hereges," che qui indica gli infedeli. Hereges è generico, ma è in uso nei documenti della Compagnia di Gesù dal XVI secolo fino al XVIII.

<sup>94</sup> Quest'ultima parte della lettera mostra André prigioniero ma pieno di voglia di fare ed attento ai problemi degli altri. Non conosciamo tuttavia il tenore della corrispondenza privata ai parenti ed alla madre perché non ci viene documentata.



El padre André de Carvalho, despues que no pudo aver de el Rey mas ayuda para su rescate, se partio a Tangere por orden del padre provincial que esta en gloria<sup>95</sup> como V.P. aura sabido, y no le permitio que se tornasse chegar<sup>96</sup> a los Turcos, porque avia mucha probabilidad que se llevarian con el y los arefenes,<sup>97</sup> y dinero que ya le avian dado, y pediria otro rescate de nuevo, por no aver cumplido con ellos en el tiempo que quedaron y tambien quiso el padre que Andre de Carvalho estivesse alli, pareciendo que mientras no lo supiessem SS AA que pensava que se iba a los Turcos, la piedad de meterse en tal trabajo, y la probabilidad de con ello no librar los arefenes, ni los dineros que estavan dados, les moveria a que diesen mas ayuda para el rescate, lo qual pedian a SS AA con instancia ciertos parientes de André de Carvalho, y de nuestra parte tambien les ayudavan mientras furava el tiempo que el podria gastar e nel camino hasta llegar a los turcos. Gastosse este tiempo en el requerimiento, y uvosse de saber que no passara de Tangere, ni el Padre Provincial se lo permitia, ni su hermano del mismo Andre de Carvalho que es capitán de la misma ciudad le dexava, aun que el hazia instancia por irse.

Estando assi passados ocho meses, el escrivio al P. Provincial una carta quexandosse mucho de averle puesto en aquel trabajo, y que no podia sufrir las lagrimas y quexas de las mugeres, e hijos de los arefenes que allí eran moradores y que en su negocio no avian hecho cosa alguna, y todo se resolvía en palabras, y aun destas le dava pocas, si en unos navios que entonces llegavan de cá a quel puerto, no le iba recado de su rescate, a el le era forçado buscar su remedio como hijo de su padre, y no se maravillassen de oír por acá que hazia algo contra el modo de la Compañía. Venia esta carta con demasiada quexas, y poco conocimiento de los meritos de su causa, y de los que se avia trabajado por librarle.<sup>98</sup>

Al tiempo que llego la carta estava el padre Provincial cerca del termino de su vida, y no le dimos cuenta de lo que escrivia, escriviale yo respondiendole y

<sup>95</sup> Era il padre provinciale Vaz de Melo, morto il 14 maggio 1563.

<sup>96</sup> La lettera contiene qui un verbo portoghese, chegar, a testimonianza di una certa mescolanza linguistica del testo di Mirón, conseguenza del suo essere provinciale del Portogallo.

<sup>97</sup> La lettera contiene varie menzioni della parola "arefenes," che non si è potuta trovare in alcuni importanti dizionari di spagnolo e portoghese che si sono consultati. Dal contesto si comprende che indicava gli abitanti di una città, Tangeri, e che forse era di origine araba.

<sup>98</sup> Quello che colpisce nella parte finale della lettera di André è la sua generosità, il fatto che non pensasse in nessun caso a se stesso. Questo aspetto era in un certo senso negativo. Infatti, dare il denaro del riscatto a José Aires de Saldanha significava mettere la Compagnia di Gesù e il re o la reggente, in particolare, Caterina di Braganza, in una serissima difficoltà: essi avrebbero dovuto rifare tutte le trattative. In tal senso la generosità di Carvalho rischiava di essere irrazionale, troppo guidata dall'istinto, dagli slanci e non dalla necessaria prudenza.

consolandole, y lo mismo queria hazer a sus hermanos mas holgaramos que muriera como hijo de su madre e de la Compañía [142] y deseavamos procurar lo que fuesse posible el negocio aunque lo mucho que se avia trabajado en el, y poco lo que aprovechara, dexava poca esperança de acabarlo parece lo que por los navios no le iba recado, o le desconfiavan de lo que esperaba y porque ya avia el cardenal<sup>99</sup> desengañado a todos sus parientes que no le avia de dar cosa alguna, determino en la guerra con su persona peleando como los otros cavalleros de ganar su rescate, para lo que ya según el avia escrito estava certificado por cartas de los mismos arefenes, que aun que fuesse entregarse a los turcos no los dexarian ni le bolverian los dineros que de principio se dio en parte de su rescate, e según escribe el capitán su hermano, los moros le mataron dia de la invención de la santa cruz dos del presente, y aviendosse confessado y dicho la missa avia quatro horas, y alabale mucho de las hazanas que hizo como cavallero antes de morir y de la fortaleza con que dio su espiritu a Dios, nombrando el nombre de Jesús, y significando por palabras la fe que tenia y que Nuestro Señor se acuerde de su alma, y le conceda su gloria. Mucho nos desconsolo este desastre, y el escandalo que ha dado este Padre e todo su negocio especialmente en esto ultimo que avemos entendido que salia a pelear con armas defensivas y ofensivas. Y desto no tenemos mas certidumbre que avernolo dicho uno de casa de su madre y el afecto que se ha seguido. En la santa bendición y sacrificios de V.P. mucho en el Señor me encomiendo a 2 de junio de 1563. Indegno hijo.

1563 Lisboa. P. Miron 22 de Junio. Al muy R.do Padre Nuestro en X. El P. Maestro Diego Laynez Praeposito General de la Compañía de Jesús.

### Summary

Using unpublished material in the ARSI to complement published material as specified by Georg Schurhammer, S.J. in his biography of Francis Xavier, this article investigates the life and work of André de Carvalho (Alcazarquivir 1529–Tangier 1563). In so doing it highlights the difference between the historical reality of his life and the hagiographical interpretation presented in the traditional menologies of Patrignani and de Guillemy. The article argues, moreover, that de Carvalho co-authored with Francisco Henriques, S.J., an instruction on Jesuit missions in India upon his return to Portugal. It also clarifies the circumstances of his capture, imprisonment and death. In an appendix, published for the first time are de Carvalho's simple vows, his letter regarding his capture, and a letter from Diogo Mirón, S.J., regarding de Carvalho's death.

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<sup>99</sup> Henricus a Portugalia, nominato cardinale da Paolo III il 16 Dicembre 1545; Arcivescovo di Braga, 1533-1540; Archivesco di Évora, 1540-1564; Arcivescovo di Lisboa, 1564-res. 1569; muore il 31 gennaio 1580.

GABRIEL GRUBER, S.J. (1740-1805):  
NEL BICENTENARIO DELLA SUA ELEZIONE  
A GENERALE DELLA COMPAGNIA DI GESÙ

Marek Inglot, S.J.\*

Duecento anni fa, il 22 ottobre 1802, la IV Congregazione Generale della Compagnia di Gesù nell'Impero Russo, radunatasi a Polock (odierna Bielorussia), elesse il nuovo superiore generale dell'ordine: era il p. Gabriel Gruber.<sup>1</sup> Contava sessantadue anni ed era rettore del collegio di San Pietroburgo, capitale della Russia. Dopo il p. Franciszek Kareu, egli era il secondo generale della Compagnia di Gesù, da quando il 7 marzo 1801 il papa Pio VII, col breve *Catholicae fidei*, aveva approvato e confermato ufficialmente l'ordine ignaziano esistente nell'Impero Russo, ivi rimasto superstite dopo il breve di soppressione *Dominus ac Redemptor* (21 luglio 1773).<sup>2</sup> Dal 1804 l'autorità

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<sup>1</sup> Il *DHCJ* (II, 1657-1662) lo inserisce nella voce "Generales de la C.J.," tuttavia lo fa timidamente ancora, perché sotto lo stesso numero (19a-c) insieme agli altri due generali della Compagnia in Russia: Franciszek Kareu (\*10.xii.1731 ca. Orša; SJ 14.viii.1754 Vilnius; eletto vicario generale 12.ii.1799 [n.s.]; †11.viii.1802 Polock) e Tadeusz Brzozowski (\*21.ix.1749 Kaliningrad; SJ 26.viii.1765 Nesviž; eletto generale 14.ix.1805 [n.s.]; †5.ii.1820 Polock).

<sup>2</sup> L'Imperatrice Caterina II (1762-1796)—come sottolineava sempre—non permise l'estinzione dei gesuiti nel suo Stato, stimando positivamente il ruolo delle loro scuole e la loro utilità per la propria politica scolastica, alla quale—almeno nei primi anni di governo—poneva grande attenzione. Nondimeno, comunque, come si rileva da alcune sue dichiarazioni e dall'atteggiamento in tutta la politica verso il papa, la sua decisione era motivata anche dalla volontà di dimostrare la sua autonomia dal papato in primo luogo, ma anche dagli altri regnanti (e teneva molto ad avere una reputazione di monarca illuminato e indipendente nelle proprie scelte). Scriveva tra l'altro a Pio VI: "Credo certo, che nessuno mi farà la guerra per un oggetto che riguarda me sola [l'esistenza dei gesuiti in Russia], e quando ancora ciò seguisse, il che è impossibile, la Russia è in grado di far la guerra agli altri in casa loro, ma gli altri non saranno mai in stato di far la guerra alla Russia in casa

del generale si estese anche ai gesuiti nel Regno delle Due Sicilie, che erano stati approvati dallo stesso Pontefice, Pio VII, col breve *Per alias* (30 luglio 1804). Il Gruber governò l'ordine di Sant'Ignazio fino al 1805; morì nella capitale russa, dove aveva trasferito la residenza del superiore generale.

Fu il personaggio più illustre dell'ordine durante i circa cinquant'anni della sua presenza nell'Impero Russo (1772-1820)<sup>3</sup> – una presenza eccezionale nella storia della Compagnia di Gesù, soprattutto perché unica nella Chiesa, coincidendo con il periodo dell'estinzione canonica, e per il contributo (e qui il ruolo di Gruber fu impagabile) che questa parte dell'ordine ebbe nell'opera della restaurazione. I gesuiti “russi” assicurarono la continuità dell'ordine esistente prima del 1773 con quello ristabilito nel 1814.<sup>4</sup> La legittimità di questa sopravvivenza deriva principalmente dalla non-promulgazione del breve di soppressione, ma non soltanto; secondariamente essa si appoggia su una serie di atti pontifici, i quali prima tollerarono, e quindi approvarono e finalmente confermarono ufficialmente e solennemente questa sopravvivenza. Essi vi avevano continuato legalmente la loro attività fino al 1814, quando l'ordine venne ripristinato in tutto il mondo ad opera di Pio VII. Pochi anni dopo furono costretti a lasciare la Russia.

sua” (“Imperatrice Caterina II a Pio VI, 4 giugno 1783, in favore dei Gesuiti, tratta dalla Storia della medesima Imperatrice stampata a Lugano [l'anno 1779], t. VI, pag. 151,” ARSI, Russia 1001, bus. VI, doc. 14b (senza numero). Caterina dunque ritenne insussistente l'atto di Clemente XIV e a dispetto della sua volontà assicurò all'ordine dei gesuiti non solo la sopravvivenza, ma anche un autentico sviluppo.

<sup>3</sup> Quella era – fino ad oggi – la più lunga permanenza ufficiale dell'ordine in quel paese: esso vi operò fino al 1820. Conservati da Caterina II furono espulsi da suo nipote Alessandro I (1801-1825). Dal 1581, quando il primo gesuita varcò i confini della Russia (era Antonio Possevino, che in qualità di legato pontificio di Gregorio XIII, faceva parte della delegazione presso Ivan il Terribile), fino al 1772, i gesuiti sono stati più volte nell'Impero degli zar, ma erano soggiorni di breve durata. La missione più lunga è stata quella a Mosca sotto il protettorato di Pietro il Grande negli anni 1698-1719. Ritornarono ufficialmente nel 1992. Il 21 giugno 1992 fu creata la “Regione Indipendente Russa” della Compagnia di Gesù, e il 30 settembre successivo l'ordine ottenne l'approvazione ufficiale della sua esistenza da parte del governo russo. Tuttavia, dopo il decreto della Duma del 1997 sulla libertà di coscienza e di confessione, la Compagnia fu costretta a riprendere le trattative per una nuova registrazione, che ottenne il 12 settembre 2000 dal Ministero della Giustizia della Federazione Russa. I gesuiti della Regione Russa (58 secondo il catalogo 2002) sono presenti oggi a Mosca e a Novosibirsk, ed in alcune repubbliche ex-sovietiche: Bielorussia, Ucraina, Kazakistan e Kirgizstan.

<sup>4</sup> Sulla genesi e sulle vicende dei gesuiti “russi”: Stanisław Załęski, S.J., *Historia zniesienia zakonu jezuitów i jego zachowanie na Białej Rusi*, vol. II (*Historia zniesienia jezuitów i ich zachowanie na Białej Rusi*) (Lwów, 1875); e (in particolare per il loro ruolo nell'opera della restaurazione nel 1814) Marek Inglot, S.J., *La Compagnia di Gesù nell'Impero Russo (1772-1820) e la sua parte nella restaurazione generale della Compagnia* (Roma: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1997) *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae* 63.

L'eccezionalità del periodo "russo" è sottolineata anche dal fatto che questo è legato a monarchi non cattolici. Il perdurare della Compagnia di Gesù in Russia e tutta l'attività dell'ordine sul territorio dell'Impero—aggiungiamo che si tratta di un'attività impostata su vasta scala e condotta con slancio—non sarebbero stati possibili senza la benevolenza e l'appoggio dei sovrani ortodossi della Russia. L'eccezionalità riguarda infine la posizione di favore di cui godevano i gesuiti da parte dei reggenti dello Stato russo. Una valenza del tutto eccezionale ebbe la posizione del padre Gabriel Gruber presso lo zar Paolo I.

Nel presente breve saggio, oltre a commemorare l'avvenimento vogliamo ricordare questa eminente figura, paragonata dal conte Joseph de Maistre, ministro del re di Sardegna a San Pietroburgo negli anni 1803-1817, al generale Claudio Acquaviva.<sup>5</sup>

I gesuiti si trovavano in Russia nel settembre del 1772—appena un anno prima della soppressione—in seguito all'annessione della Bielorussia (cosiddetta Russia Bianca, le terre orientali del Regno Polacco) all'Impero di Caterina II. Sotto il dominio russo si trovarono così 201 gesuiti che gestivano i collegi di Polock, Vitebsk, Orša e Dünaburg, le residenze (dal 1799 collegi) di Mohilev e Mscislav, oltre a 12 case e stazioni di missione.

Grazie all'appoggio di Caterina II essi organizzarono la vita religiosa nella struttura di una provincia organizzata in maniera ordinaria (con il noviziato e l'intero ciclo di formazione), con un'autorità centrale (il vicario generale con gli assistenti) e un provinciale—in sintonia con il proprio Istituto. Questa riorganizzazione si deve alle capacità ed all'opera del superiore di quel gruppo di religiosi: il p. Stanislaw Czerniewicz, rivelatosi una figura veramente provvidenziale.<sup>6</sup> Confinati nel primo periodo al solo territorio della Bielorussia, i gesuiti già negli anni ottanta si erano aperti al mondo. I momenti di svolta decisivi di quest'opera si possono evidenziare: con l'apertura del noviziato (1780) e l'approvazione papale del loro status concessa (*vivae vocis oraculo*) da Pio VI nel 1783.<sup>7</sup> Questi avvenimenti, che riecheggiarono in tutta l'Europa,

<sup>5</sup> \*14.ix.1543 Atri; SJ 22.vii.1567 Roma; eletto generale 19.ii.1581; †31.i.1615 Roma (*DHCJ*, II, 1614).

<sup>6</sup> \*15.viii.1728 Szlamowo; SJ 16.viii.1743 Vilnius; †18.vii.1785 Stajki (*DHCJ*, II, 1028). Negli anni 1759-1768 Czerniewicz fu a Roma segretario del p. Karol Korycki, assistente polacco. Strinse allora alcune amicizie, che si dimostrarono vantaggiose durante il periodo di amministrazione dell'ordine in Bielorussia. Dal 1769 fu rettore del collegio di Polock. Nominato il 25.x.1773 superiore del gruppo di gesuiti rimasti sotto il dominio russo, nel 1774 divenne viceprovinciale dei gesuiti in Bielorussia, e il 17.x.1782 fu eletto dalla I Congregazione Generale ("Congregatio Generalis Extraordinaria") vicario generale ("Vicarium Generale perpetuum cum plena potestate Praepositi Generalis") (Inglot, *La Compagnia*, p. 47 e passim).

<sup>7</sup> Inglot, *La Compagnia*, pp. 125-36.

determinarono un aumento di richieste per la riammissione alla Compagnia in Bielorussia da parte di molti ex gesuiti provenienti da diversi paesi. Nonostante Czerniewicz mantenesse un'estrema prudenza al riguardo, pretendendo dagli aspiranti attitudini particolari, dal 1782 cominciarono ad affluire a Polock candidati sempre più numerosi, provenienti da ogni parte del continente.<sup>8</sup> Questo fenomeno permise di consolidare ed estendere la presenza gesuitica nell'Impero agevolando lo sviluppo del lavoro nelle missioni e nei collegi ed influenzando l'innalzamento del livello delle scuole. Esso anche legava l'ordine all'Occidente, contribuendo al ripristino dell'ordine fuori dello Stato Russo. Già nel 1793 i gesuiti "russi" (tre italiani riammessi negli anni ottanta), oltrepassando i confini dell'Impero, su invito del duca Ferdinando si recarono nel Ducato di Parma per intraprendere l'opera di ricostruzione della Compagnia.

Il periodo di massimo splendore dell'ordine ignaziano nell'Impero Russo e di sviluppo delle sue attività fu sotto il regno dell'Imperatore Paolo I (1796-1801) e nella prima parte del regno di suo figlio Alessandro I (1801-1825). In quel tempo esso avviò i suoi centri nella capitale dell'Impero e ricevette l'ufficiale approvazione pontificia.<sup>9</sup> Nell'anno 1814, quando l'ordine fu ricostituito in tutta la Chiesa (ed alla vigilia dell'espulsione dei gesuiti da San Pietroburgo (il 1.1.1816)—preludio all'espulsione definitiva dall'Impero decretata da Alessandro)<sup>10</sup> erano presenti in Russia 349 gesuiti (174 sacerdoti, 91 seminaristi, 84 fratelli coadiutori) e 27 novizi.<sup>11</sup> L'ordine operava in Bielorussia, a San Pietroburgo, a Riga (odierna Lettonia), gestiva le missioni nell'Est e nel Sud del territorio russo (Saratov sul Volga, Odessa, Astrachan, Mozdok nel Caucaso, Irkuck e Tomsk in Siberia); era presente anche fuori dai suoi confini (Italia, isole del mar Egeo, Inghilterra, Stati Uniti, Olanda e Belgio).

Questi risultati, naturalmente possibili solo grazie all'eccezionale consenso degli zar, sono vincolati alla figura e all'attività di padre Gabriel Gruber. Come

<sup>8</sup> I già professi venivano ammessi dopo aver fatto gli esercizi spirituali di otto giorni, gli altri dopo un anno di noviziato e trenta giorni di esercizi.

<sup>9</sup> Sui gesuiti in Russia durante questi regni: Marie-Joseph Rouët de Journal, S.J., *Un Collège de jésuites à Saint-Petersbourg, 1800-1816* (Paris: Librairie Accadémique Didier, 1922); William Alexander James, "Paul I and the Jesuits in Russia" (dottorato di ricerca all'Università di Washington, 1977); Inglot, *La Compagnia*, passim.

<sup>10</sup> Sappiamo dal p. Ivan Gagarin, S.J., che lo zar Alessandro I si pentì di aver preso questo provvedimento. Lo testimonia una lettera del gesuita allo zar Alessandro II del 5. xii. 1856 (v.s.), nella quale chiede il permesso di tornare in Russia, pubblicata da Wiktorja Śliwowska ("Iwan Gagarin w świetle nieznaných materiałów III Oddziału Własnej Kancelarii Jerności oraz korespondencji osobistej," *Slavia Orientalis* 2 [1968] 191-92).

<sup>11</sup> *Catalogus Sociorum et officiorum Societatis Jesu in Imperio Rossiaco ex Anno 1814 in Annum 1815* (Polociae [1814]). Nel 1820 erano 358.

Czerniewicz ha svolto un ruolo decisivo nell'organizzazione della provincia, così il Gruber riuscì a garantirle una inaspettata fioritura. Il suo ruolo è stato decisivo: inizialmente per conquistare il favore di Paolo, ed in seguito per guidare l'espansione dell'ordine.

Gabriel Gruber era di origine slovena. Nato il 4 maggio 1740 a Vienna, da famiglia borghese, suo padre era un armaiolo, fu battezzato il 6 maggio nella chiesa di Mariahilf con il nome di Gabriel Erhard Johannes Nepomuk.<sup>12</sup> Concluse gli studi classici, fino alla retorica compresa, nel collegio gesuita di Vienna. Ivi, quindicenne, entrò a far parte il 18 ottobre 1755<sup>13</sup> della Compagnia di Gesù. Fin dall'inizio desiderò di partire per la missione della Cina, passione che influenzò il successivo orientamento dei suoi studi. Dopo due anni di noviziato a Vienna e lo studio del latino e del greco a Leoben (1757-58), compì gli studi di filosofia e teologia a Graz (1758-60 e 1762-63, 1763-67), inoltre seguì corsi speciali di fisica, matematica e disegno, pittura, musica, medicina (chirurgia), astronomia, architettura civile e militare (Vienna 1760-61, Tyrnau 1761-62). Parlava correntemente più lingue. Nel 1766 ricevette l'ordinazione sacerdotale a Graz. Dopo la terza probazione a Judenburg (1767-68) divenne professore di meccanica e idraulica nel collegio gesuita di Lubiana. In questo periodo (1 gennaio 1772) gli fu affidata la progettazione del sistema di bonifica delle paludi nei pressi di Lubiana e la conduzione dei rispettivi lavori. Progettò e condusse i lavori di costruzione della chiesa e del collegio gesuita di Lubiana. Il 15 agosto 1773—alla vigilia della promulgazione della soppressione a Roma (16 agosto)—emise la professione solenne.

Dopo il 1773 rimase per dieci anni a Lubiana dove insegnò: disegno, geometria, meccanica e idraulica nell'antico collegio della Compagnia. Lavorò anche alla regolazione del fiume Sava. Inoltre, in quanto fisico di corte dell'imperatore Giuseppe II, fu incaricato della costruzione di navi a Trieste. Negli anni 1773-80 diresse i lavori sul canale che ancora oggi porta il suo nome (*Gruberkanal*).

Nel febbraio del 1784, passando per Praga e Varsavia, giunse in Bielorussia. Destinato a Polock vi insegnò meccanica e architettura (1784-99), e in seguito fisica sperimentale (1799-1800).<sup>14</sup> Organizzò uno studio di materie scientifiche

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<sup>12</sup> Riguardo la data di nascita e di battesimo avvaloriamo la tesi di padre Pierling (Paul Pierling, S.J.), *Gabriel Gruber et les jésuites réfugiés en Russie* [Meudon: Plamnia, 1999] pp. 29-30), anche se i cataloghi dell'ordine indicano sempre il 6 maggio come data di nascita.

<sup>13</sup> Questa data è riportata dai cataloghi della provincia austriaca; invece i cataloghi della provincia della Russia Bianca (dal 1784) riportano il 15 settembre 1755.

<sup>14</sup> Nel 1784 uscì il primo catalogo annuale della provincia della Russia Bianca (*Catalogus Personarum et Officiorum Societatis Jesu in Alba Russia ex Anno 1784 in Annum 1785* [Mohiloviae (1784)]).

e tecniche. Con l'aiuto di esperti, da lui stesso preparati, costruì, in base ad un proprio progetto, un maestoso museo fisico-meccanico, un laboratorio chimico, una biblioteca, una galleria di quadri e una sala teatrale con ricche decorazioni; realizzò personalmente gli affreschi delle sale del museo. Era un maestro nella pittura prospettica, lasciò numerosi quadri di tema religioso e di vedute del collegio. Nel 1792 si apprestava, con l'appoggio di Caterina II, a partire per la missione in Cina; ma l'iniziativa non ebbe seguito a causa delle circostanze politiche. Dal 1797 fu assistente del vicario generale<sup>15</sup> (prima di Gabriel Lenkiewicz,<sup>16</sup> poi di Franciszek Kareu), e nel dicembre 1800 divenne rettore del collegio a San Pietroburgo. Il 22 ottobre 1802 la IV Congregazione Generale a Polock lo elesse superiore generale. In qualità di preposito generale fondò le missioni di Saratov (1803), di Odessa (1804) e di Astrachan (1805). Nel gennaio del 1805, sempre vivo il desiderio di missione in Estremo Oriente, inviò in Cina tre gesuiti provenienti dalla Russia; la missione fu fermata a causa del mancato consenso della Congregazione "de Propaganda Fide." Morì a causa di uno sventurato incidente nella notte tra il 6/7 aprile 1805 (25/26 marzo 1805 [v.s.]) a San Pietroburgo.

Dal febbraio del 1799 il Gruber risiedeva, si può dire stabilmente, a San Pietroburgo. Fu inviato nella capitale dalla III Congregazione Generale (che elesse vicario generale Kareu) all'inizio del 1799, per difendere gli interessi dell'ordine e sistemare la sua situazione canonica. Si trattava di assicurargli la necessaria autonomia, ostacolando i tentativi di ingerenze nelle questioni interne, dall'arcivescovo Siestrzencewicz.<sup>17</sup> Questo prelado, figura altamente controversa e giudicata in modo univocamente negativo (in realtà troppo severo), sebbene non fosse direttamente interessato alla soppressione della Compagnia in Russia, si adoperava costantemente per sottomettersela, tentando di interferire sulle questioni interne dei gesuiti. Nell'impossibilità di ottenere questo risultato, avrebbe indotto l'Imperatore, secondo i gesuiti del tempo,

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<sup>15</sup> Dal 1782 a capo della Compagnia in Russia vi era un vicario generale che con l'approvazione pontificia (nel 1801) divenne superiore generale.

<sup>16</sup> \*15 (18).iii.1722 Polock; SJ 15.viii.1745 Vilnius; †21.xi.1798 Polock (Inglot, *La Compagnia*, p. 97 e passim).

<sup>17</sup> Stanisław Siestrzencewicz Bohusz (1731-1826), metropolita dei cattolici di rito latino nell'Impero Russo. Ordinato vescovo ausiliare a Vilnius il 3 ottobre 1773, ricevette in amministrazione la parte di diocesi che dopo la prima spartizione della Polonia passò sotto il dominio della Russia. Nominato da Caterina II vescovo (1774) e, quindi arcivescovo (1782) delle sedi da lei create, nel 1784 fu confermato da Pio VI. Vesti l'incarico di pastore dei cattolici in Russia per 53 anni (André Arvaldis Brumanis, *Aux origines de la hiérarchie latine en Russie. Mgr Stanislas Siestrzencewicz-Bohusz, premier archevêque-métropolitain de Mohilev (1731-1826)* [Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1968] Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, 4e série, fasc. 40; Inglot, *La Compagnia*, pp. 2-5 e passim).



all'espulsione dell'ordine dall'Impero.<sup>18</sup> Naturalmente la scelta del p. Gruber per questa missione non fu casuale. La sua preparazione e la sua erudizione erano già conosciute e gli avevano procurato già grande fama tra i grandi dell'Impero. Ma nonostante ciò ci vollero quattro mesi, e il gesuita dovette superare non pochi ostacoli provocati dagli intrighi di Siestrzencewicz, prima che questi riuscisse ad incontrarsi con lo zar.

Paolo I aveva incontrato in precedenza due volte i gesuiti. La prima fu durante un viaggio all'estero, nel novembre del 1781, quando li visitò insieme a sua moglie Maria Fiodorovna, a Polock. Questo era stato anche il suo primo contatto significativo con il mondo cattolico. La coppia granducale visitò la chiesa e il collegio, interessandosi alla vita degli studenti e dei professori ed ai loro metodi didattici; assistettero anche alla messa nella chiesa del collegio.<sup>19</sup> Più tardi, come regnante, Paolo fece visita ai gesuiti a Orša nel maggio del 1797 durante il suo soggiorno nelle province occidentali dell'Impero; ciò costituiva un segno di apertura nei loro confronti.<sup>20</sup>

Durante il primo incontro del p. Gruber con l'Imperatore, nel giugno del 1799, il gesuita ricevette dal monarca rassicurazioni che riguardavano sia la presenza dell'ordine in Russia che l'inviolabilità del suo Istituto. Lo zar si rivelò favorevole anche alla domanda del Gruber a proposito di una lettera da inviare al papa nella quale richiedeva il riconoscimento dei gesuiti nel proprio paese. Infatti in quel periodo Pio VI era già favorevole a concedere ai gesuiti in Russia la formale approvazione, ma solo dietro richiesta dello stesso monarca.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Ciò è palese, per esempio, nell'opera di Józef Morełowski, S.J. (1777-1845), uno degli esuli del 1820, dove accanto alle lodi del "nobile Alessandro," "grato giovane Imperatore," troviamo i tentativi di comprensione di questa inconcepibile decisione del monarca. Nella nota al suo "Canto 51" (*In occasione dell'espulsione dell'Ordine dalla Russia: Tranquillità della coscienza pulita nella sventura*) si legge: "Era comune lo scontento degli stessi russi nei confronti del primo artefice dell'espulsione dell'ordine dei gesuiti dalla Russia, il quale ha indotto con l'inganno il proprio monarca a compierla" (*Wiersze Józefa Morełowskiego*, ed. Elżbieta Aleksandrowska (Wrocław/Warszawa/Kraków/Gdańsk/Łódź: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1983) Zapomniani Poeci Oświecenia 2, pp. 111-12). In effetti Siestrzencewicz, se non ha addirittura provocato, ha sicuramente contribuito significativamente all'espulsione dei gesuiti dalla Russia.

<sup>19</sup> Agostino Magnani, S.J., a [?], Polock 17 ottobre 1781, ARSI, Russia 1003, bus. VIII, doc. 6. Magnani: \*28.viii.1746 Bologna; S.J. 12.x.1762 Novellara; †21.iv.1791 Czczersk (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy 1564-1995*, a cura di Ludwik Grzebień, S.J. [Kraków: Wydzał Filozoficzny Towarzystwa Jezusowego-Institut Kultury Religijnej, Wydawnictwo WAM, 1996] p. 399).

<sup>20</sup> Ignazio Pietrobboni, S.J., "Historia S.I. in Alba Russia," ARSI, Russia 1012, f. 36'.

<sup>21</sup> Questa fu la politica che, al fine di evitare le proteste degli ancora attivi avversari della rinascita dell'ordine, fu assunta dalla Santa Sede a riguardo del ripristino della Compagnia di Gesù: i regnanti avevano chiesto la soppressione canonica ed a loro spettava prendere l'iniziativa di richiederne il

L'intera complessa situazione dei gesuiti in Russia e le motivazioni sulla necessità dell'approvazione pontificia fu presentata dal Gruber allo zar in un memoriale a parte.<sup>22</sup> Purtroppo la situazione in cui si trovò Pio VI, negli ultimi mesi del suo pontificato, rese impossibile la realizzazione del progetto.<sup>23</sup>

Un anno dopo il Gruber era già ospite abituale alla corte dello zar. Nel luglio del 1800 il gesuita, ormai entrato nelle grazie dello zar, riuscì ad avere libero accesso in sua presenza. Uno dei suoi confratelli, padre Désiré Richardot,<sup>24</sup> riferisce:

Le conoscenze ed i talenti del p. Gruber avevano qualcosa d'enciclopedico: architetto, fisico, medico, disegnatore e pittore in tutti i generi; la sua conversazione era piena di fascino e di cultura. Più di tutto questo, l'elevazione e la solidità del suo spirito e l'affabilità del suo carattere gli avevano procurato il favore dell'Imperatore Paolo I, che amava particolarmente intrattenersi con lui. Egli l'ammetteva nel suo studio per una porta segreta, e aveva anche stabilito che il Padre seguisse la corte nel castello di Gatchina e che ricevesse il cibo come gli ufficiali della sua casa.<sup>25</sup>

Dell'influenza del Gruber su Paolo e sulle sue decisioni era a conoscenza anche Frédéric-César de La Harpe, educatore e uomo di fiducia di Alessandro I. Egli soggiornò alla corte dello zar negli anni 1783-94 e dall'agosto 1801 al maggio 1802, sotto il regno del suo allievo. Nella sua corrispondenza con Alessandro<sup>26</sup> dedica spazio anche alla Compagnia di Gesù. Anche se i gesuiti compaiono relativamente poco nelle sue lettere, le opinioni da lui espresse sono molto significative, le sue idee sono oltremodo chiare e univoche—degne dei nemici più accaniti della Compagnia di Gesù: vengono accusati di tutti i mali possibili. Basti rilevare, che non può non destare stupore trovare sotto la penna di un insigne europeo dell'epoca, anche se protestante, gli "slogans" della più

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ristabilimento (Inglot, *La Compagnia*, pp. 136-49).

<sup>22</sup> ARSI, Russia 1027, ff. 148<sup>r</sup>-149<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Pio VI morì in esilio a Valenza nella notte tra il 28 e il 29 agosto 1799.

<sup>24</sup> \*29.i.1769 Langres; SJ 24.viii.1792 Polock; †5.v.1849 Metz (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, pp. 569-70). Dal dicembre del 1800 lavorò a San Pietroburgo come predicatore francese. Conosceva quindi Gruber personalmente, dato che abitavano nella stessa casa. Lasciò dei brevi ricordi sul Gruber ("Brevis relatio de vita et obitu Patris Gruber," ARSI, Russia 1004, bus. IV, doc. 13).

<sup>25</sup> "Brevis relatio," ARSI, Russia 1004, bus. IV, doc. 13.

<sup>26</sup> *Correspondance de Frédéric-César de La Harpe et Alexandre I<sup>er</sup> suivie de la correspondance de F.-C. de La Harpe avec les membres de la famille impériale de Russie*, a cura di Jean Charles Biaudet e Françoise Nicod, 3 vols. (Neuchâtel: A la Baconnière, 1978-1980). Ricca edizione, contenente una preziosa introduzione e numerose note storico-biografiche.

scalmanata polemica antigesuitica.<sup>27</sup> Gabriel Gruber è l'unico gesuita "russo" che de La Harpe menziona per nome. Lo conobbe, anche se non personalmente, durante il suo secondo soggiorno a San Pietroburgo. Non nutriva per il gesuita grande simpatia, sebbene riconoscesse la sua grandezza. Alla notizia della sua elezione a generale dell'ordine, scriveva sul 4 gennaio 1803, scosso e preoccupato, allo zar: "Ci preoccupa questa elezione del padre Gruber," ma sottolineando la giustezza della scelta: "Quest'uomo era infatti degno del generalato della Compagnia."<sup>28</sup> Cosa intende con le parole "essere degno del generalato della Compagnia" lo spiega in una nota nella lettera allo zar del 19 dicembre 1803: "Questo gesuita, degno per la sua ambizione dei fondatori dell'Ordine, era inviato a San Pietroburgo per guadagnare la benevolenza di Paolo I, sul cui spirito, aveva ottenuto influenza."<sup>29</sup> La perdetto, per aver voluto farne una prova maldestra."<sup>30</sup>

Anche lo storico russo contemporaneo Natan J. Ejdelman ricorda, nella sua monografia,<sup>31</sup> i contatti tra lo zar russo ed i gesuiti, la lettera dello zar a Pio VII con la preghiera di ristabilire l'ordine dei gesuiti e "il famoso gesuita Gruber, che ha svolto un ruolo eccellente a corte durante gli ultimi mesi del regno di Paolo."<sup>32</sup> In riferimento alla posizione eccezionale di cui il Gruber godeva, Ejdelman cita l'opinione allora corrente:<sup>33</sup> "Definendo la disposizione delle forze nel momento della caduta di Rostopčĭn,<sup>34</sup> l'ambasciatore austriaco Locatelli elenca (il 25 febbraio 1801) tra le 'persone più influenti di primo rango'

<sup>27</sup> Marek Inglot, S.J., "Alessandro I di Russia, Frédéric-César de La Harpe e i gesuiti," in *Fede e libertà. Scritti in onore di p. Giacomo Martina S.J.*, a cura di Maurilio Guasco, Alberto Monticone e Pietro Stella (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1998) pp. 165-92.

<sup>28</sup> *Correspondance*, II, n. 156.

<sup>29</sup> Nel 1804 aggiunge ancora che il Gruber "avait obtenu un grand crédit auprès des grands et à la cour" (*Correspondance*, II, n. 179, nota di de La Harpe).

<sup>30</sup> *Correspondance*, II, n. 165.

<sup>31</sup> *Gran' riekor* (Moskva: "Mysl," 1982).

<sup>32</sup> Ejdelman, *Gran' riekor*, p. 79.

<sup>33</sup> Ejdelman, *Gran' riekor*, p. 233. Così anche secondo un altro storico russo Michail J. Heller, nella sua monumentale storia dell'Impero Russo, Gruber era persona di fiducia dello zar, e solo lui aveva diritto di presentarsi al monarca senza essere annunciato (*Istorija Rossijskoj Imperii*, 3 vols. [Moskva: Izd-vo "MIK," 1997]; trad. polacca: *Historia Imperium Rosyjskiego* [Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 2000] p. 473).

<sup>34</sup> Fiedor Vasilievič Rostopčĭn (1763-1826), generale, ministro degli affari esteri di Paolo I, prima della sua morte cadde in disgrazia, fu governatore di Mosca nel 1812.

Kutajsov,<sup>35</sup> Pahlen,<sup>36</sup> e anche il gesuita Gruber, i favoriti di 'secondo rango' Gagarin,<sup>37</sup> Oboljaninov,<sup>38</sup> Naryškin,<sup>39</sup> Stroganov.<sup>40</sup>

Nella prima mattinata del 23 (11 [v.s.]) marzo 1801, più di dieci ore prima della tragica morte di Paolo I, Gruber attendeva (come ogni giorno?) di essere ricevuto in udienza dallo zar. Secondo Heller, doveva consegnargli l'ultima redazione del progetto della riunificazione delle Chiese, che Paolo avrebbe dovuto approvare, ma essendo l'Imperatore occupato con altri affari, rimandò l'incontro col gesuita.<sup>41</sup> Nello stesso momento, secondo il racconto di Ejdelman, "Pahlen di ora in ora ha più timore di un qualche impedimento [nel piano di assassinio dello zar]. Il Generale-governatore teme il gesuita Gruber, avente rapporti fin troppo stretti con lo zar [corsivo nostro], che attende l'udienza dopo il rapporto di Pahlen. Ricordiamo che alcuni diplomatici già confrontano l'influenza di Gruber con quella di Kutajsov. È indubbio l'intento dei gesuiti e del papa di appoggiare Paolo, bendisposto verso di loro. Per questo Pahlen prolunga volutamente il rapporto, stancando il monarca, che ormai affaticato, non ha più voglia di intraprendere altre conversazioni. Il Gruber si allontana e Pahlen continua a vigilare sulla salvaguardia del piano segreto."<sup>42</sup> (Nessuno degli avversari della Compagnia di Gesù ha osato—in questo caso—accusare i gesuiti di aver partecipato all'attentato alla vita del monarca, neppure de La Harpe!)

Anche Giovanni Antonio Benvenuti, rappresentante del papa alla corte imperiale russa in qualità di auditore, in una lettera al Segretario di Stato il card. Ercole Consalvi, si esprime sul Gruber in termini simili:

Il P. Gruber pe' i suoi talenti e cognizioni è consultato intorno alle belle arti, alle fabbriche, macchine e utensilj necessarj alle manifatture, commercio, etc. Con ciò è entrato in grazia del sovrano e de' principali Signori, che hanno la maggior influenza nel governo. La stima che si è acquistata per mezzo de'

<sup>35</sup> Ivan Pavlovič Kutajsov (1759-1834), maggiordomo di Paolo I.

<sup>36</sup> Piotr Aleksiejevič von der Pahlen (1744-1826), governatore militare di San Pietroburgo nel 1798.

<sup>37</sup> Pavel Gavrilovič Gagarin, principe, marito della favorita di Paolo I.

<sup>38</sup> Piotr Khrisiantovič Oboljaninov, procuratore generale.

<sup>39</sup> Aleksandr Lvovič Naryškin, maresciallo di corte di Paolo I.

<sup>40</sup> Pavel Aleksandrovic Stroganov (1774-1817), generale, favorito di Caterina II.

<sup>41</sup> Heller, *Historia Imperium*, p. 473. Sulla questione dell'unione delle Chiese durante il regno di Paolo, cf. Marie-Joseph Rouët de Journal, S.J., "Paul I<sup>er</sup> e l'unione des Églises," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 54 (1959) 838-63.

<sup>42</sup> Ejdelman, *Gran' riekor*, pp. 267-68.

suoi talenti e della sua condotta ridonda in vantaggio dell'Ordine intero, e si crede che sia per essere infinitamente utile allo Stato per tutte le cose suddette ed insieme per le scuole e l'educazione, se diverrà più numeroso e se il Papa l'approverà. Fra le altre cose si crede utile per il commercio della Cina. Il Papa quindi rischierebbe molto opponendosi alla domanda [d'approvazione dei gesuiti]. Quanto alla Russia, sarà certamente utile al cattolicesimo locale.<sup>43</sup>

E conclude in un'altra lettera: "Gruber può tutto. Ciò è al di sopra di ogni espressione, vede e parla col Sovrano quando vuole, ed è pienamente ascoltato."<sup>44</sup> Quindi il Gruber godeva innegabilmente di stima e considerazione nella corte di Paolo I.<sup>45</sup>

Lo storico gesuita polacco Stanisław Załęski afferma che alla formazione di una opinione così favorevole verso i gesuiti ha contribuito, insieme all'indubbia influenza dello stesso Gruber, anche la lettura di un "libro sulla setta illuminista che rivelava [...] gli scopi antimonarchici e antisociali della setta. Come antidoto di queste sette e dottrine sovversive si indicavano i gesuiti, non lesinando meritate lodi alla loro opera, cioè nel campo dell'educazione pubblica. Paolo divorava avidamente le frasi e le verità di questo libro." E—continua, non senza una certa dose di esagerazione—"Ai gesuiti riservava un rispetto e un onore quasi religiosi, e non avendo equilibrio sia negli scatti d'ira che nella benevolenza, desiderava vedere in un batter d'occhio la Russia disseminata di scuole e collegi gesuiti."<sup>46</sup> Dalla relazione di Richardot sappiamo che lo zar "ha assunto un'atteggiamento molto favorevole alla Compagnia" dopo aver letto il libro *Louis XIV détrôné avant d'être roi* di Liévin-Bonaventure Proyart (London, 1800) e l'opera di Augustin de Barruel, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme*, 4 vols. (London, 1797-1798).<sup>47</sup>

Questi incontri e conversazioni tra il Gruber e lo zar costituiscono un punto di svolta decisivo nelle relazioni che il monarca ebbe nei confronti dei gesuiti,

<sup>43</sup> Benvenuti a Consalvi, San Pietroburgo 3 settembre 1800, in Marie-Joseph Rouët de Journal, S.J., *Nonciatures de Russie d'après les documents authentiques. V. Intérim de Benvenuti 1799-1803* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1957) Studi e Testi 194, pp. 28-30.

<sup>44</sup> Benvenuti a Consalvi, San Pietroburgo 30 novembre 1800, in Rouët de Journal, *Intérim de Benvenuti*, pp. 54-57.

<sup>45</sup> Vedi anche Kazimierz Waliszewski, *Le fils de la Grande Catherine Paul I<sup>er</sup>, empereur de Russie. Sa vie, son règne et sa mort 1754-1801. D'après des documents nouveaux et en grande partie inédits* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1912) pp. 243-45, 501, 604-05.

<sup>46</sup> Stanisław Załęski, S.J., *Jezuici w Polsce. V. Jezuici w Polsce porozbiorowej. 1773-1905*, parte I (1773-1820) (Kraków: Drukiem i Nakładem Drukarni W. L. Anczyca i Sp., 1906) p. 245.

<sup>47</sup> "Brevis relatio," ARSI, Russia 1004, bus. IV, doc. 13.

determinando gli orientamenti della loro opera, la loro stessa presenza nell'Impero e il futuro dell'intero ordine. Infatti è in questo periodo che Paolo I, passando dalle dichiarazioni ai fatti, concretamente compì i passi necessari per assicurare all'ordine la tranquilla esistenza e gli affidò nuovi incarichi. A questo scopo, tornando all'iniziativa di un anno prima, intraprese le trattative volte ad ottenere il consenso pontificio per i gesuiti in Russia. L'approvazione era necessaria per l'accettazione di ex gesuiti che erano indispensabili per le nuove opere che lo zar aveva deciso di affidare loro. L'11 agosto 1800, in una lettera personale a Pio VII, Paolo pregava il papa di riconoscere ufficialmente la Compagnia di Gesù presente nell'Impero:

Mio Santissimo Padre!

Il Reverendo Padre Gruber della Compagnia di Gesù, avendo mi significato, che i membri di questa Società desiderano essere riconosciuti da Vostra Santità, ho io creduto prestarmi ad intercedere per questo Ordine, per cui ho un attaccamento particolare, una formale sanzione da Vostra Santità, sperando di non fare colla mia istanza un passo inutile . . .<sup>48</sup>

Risale allo stesso periodo l'idea d'incaricare i gesuiti dell'istruzione nei territori occidentali dell'Impero. Lo zar intendeva affidare ad essi l'Accademia di Vilnius e tutti gli istituti scolastici in Lituania, Volinia e Podolia.<sup>49</sup> In questo vedeva uno strumento efficace per la difesa dello status quo; secondo la definizione del Gruber per "mettere quelle province al riparo delle corgiure rivoluzionarie."<sup>50</sup> Il 22 agosto 1800, lo zar incaricò il p. Gruber di compiere una visita d'ispezione all'Accademia di Vilnius e a tutto il sistema d'istruzione in Lituania. Il gesuita fece ritorno nella capitale all'inizio di ottobre, e lo zar, già nello stesso mese, emise una serie di disposizioni sulla base delle quali affidava ai gesuiti l'istruzione in Lituania e l'amministrazione della chiesa parrocchiale di

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<sup>48</sup> Copia in ARSI, Russia 1004, bus. VI, doc. 1.

<sup>49</sup> L'approccio dei gesuiti all'istruzione era caratterizzato da un attento e particolare impegno; vi dedicavano le migliori forze, poiché proprio i loro collegi rappresentavano il motivo principale della loro permanenza nell'Impero. Il più importante centro scientifico e educativo era il collegio di Polock: in tutte le scuole di Polock nel 1796 si formavano 244 giovani, e 441 nel 1811. Le scuole medie, fino alla filosofia compresa, erano gestite nei collegi di Dünaburg, Vitebsk e San Pietroburgo; fino alla retorica compresa—in quelli di Orša, Mohilev, Mstislav, Romanov e Užvald. A Czeczersk, Kraslav ed in alcune missioni sul Volga, nel Caucaso e sul Mar Nero vi erano le scuole inferiori. Nel 1796, in tutte le scuole dell'ordine studiavano 726 studenti, e nel 1815—circa 2000. Nei programmi d'insegnamento si dava ampio spazio alle scienze esatte: matematica, architettura, fisica e chimica. In tutti i collegi si introdusse l'insegnamento delle lingue straniere, innanzitutto del francese e del tedesco. Le lezioni erano tenute in latino e, dal 1802, in russo. Presso ogni collegio esisteva anche il convitto dei nobili (nel 1805 vi abitavano circa 220 giovani).

<sup>50</sup> Gruber a Giuseppe Marotti, San Pietroburgo 23 novembre 1800, ARSI, Hist. Soc. 210, ff. 184<sup>v</sup>-185<sup>r</sup>.

S. Caterina a San Pietroburgo con il permesso di aprirvi scuole.<sup>51</sup> Invece il 21 novembre Paolo scriveva al vicario generale il p. Kareu: "Mi rallegro di questo, che chiamandovi nei miei Stati e procurandovi una solida sistemazione sono stato utile a un Ordine rispettabile come il vostro, che ha avuto sempre per base e per fine la propagazione dei principi salutari che tendono a emendare i costumi e che sono ugualmente utili sia alla società che ai singoli. Sia certo che io sono e sarò sempre pronto a dare alla vostra Compagnia e a voi in particolare prove sicure della mia benevolenza."<sup>52</sup>

All'inizio di dicembre giunsero nella capitale, unendosi al Gruber, Gaetano Angiolini,<sup>53</sup> il già menzionato Désiré Richardot, Georg Rottensteiner<sup>54</sup> e Józef Kamiński<sup>55</sup> (sostituito nel marzo dell'anno successivo da Tadeusz Hattowski<sup>56</sup>) in qualità di predicatori e catechisti per i fedeli di lingua—rispettivamente—italiana, francese, tedesca e polacca, che costituivano la maggioranza della comunità cattolica di San Pietroburgo. All'inizio dell'anno 1801 giunsero sul Neva altri tre futuri insegnanti della scuola parrocchiale, e due fratelli coadiutori.<sup>57</sup>

Nel febbraio fu inaugurato il collegio. La scuola, che dopo tre mesi contava trenta allievi, con l'inizio del nuovo anno scolastico ne annoverava già più di cento, e con l'apertura di nuove classi circa 200. Inizialmente, dato che non vi era alcuna retta di pagamento, era frequentata principalmente dai figli dei cattolici più poveri, ma l'accesso era esteso anche ai giovani non cattolici. Il regolamento ed i programmi d'insegnamento erano uguali a quelli di tutti i collegi della Bielorussia. L'istruzione durava sei anni: si cominciava dalle basi con lo studio della lingua russa e latina per terminare con la filosofia e teologia.

<sup>51</sup> *Polnoje Sobranije Zakonov Rossijskoj Imperii s 1649 goda*, vol. XXVI (1800-1801), ([San Pietroburgo], 1830), gli *ucate* del 12/24 e del 18/30 ottobre 1800 (19 597 e 19 608).

<sup>52</sup> ARSI, Russia 1004, IV, bus. 1, doc. 14.

<sup>53</sup> \*27.xi.1748 Piacenza; SJ 17.x.1765 Novellara; †17.xi.1816 Roma (*DHCJ*, I, 169-70; Inglot, *La Compagnia*, pp. 179-91).

<sup>54</sup> \*3.v.1766; SJ 1.vii.1789 Polock; †19.i.1808 San Pietroburgo (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 580).

<sup>55</sup> \*18.iii.1763 Bielorussia; SJ 14.i.1780 Polock; †29.iii.1813 Riga (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 265).

<sup>56</sup> \*22.i.1768 Bielorussia; SJ 1.ii.1780 Polock; †1.xii.1807 Josephthal (Saratov) (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 211).

<sup>57</sup> Sui gesuiti a San Pietroburgo cf. Rouët de Journal, *Un Collège de Jésuites*; Inglot, *La Compagnia*, pp. 108-11. È molto interessante il diario del collegio che comprende il periodo dal 20 novembre 1800 fino al 21 gennaio 1815 (una copia di questo è conservata in ARSI, Coll. Gaillard, 31), e le lettere del p. Gruber a F. Kareu (ARSJ, Russia 1004, bus. I).

Nel gennaio del 1803 i gesuiti aprirono a San Pietroburgo un convitto per i giovani nobili, che dopo tre anni fu trasformato in Collegium Nobilium. Il rettore dall'inaugurazione alla chiusura, avvenuta nel 1816, fu sempre il p. Andrzej Czyż.<sup>58</sup> Dal 1807 il collegio aveva uno staff pedagogico separato ed un proprio programma d'insegnamento.<sup>59</sup> Vi abitavano sempre 60-70 convittori provenienti dalle classi più alte della società russa. L'istruzione durava sei anni, ma vi era la possibilità di completare gli studi con la filosofia e il diritto nella settima classe. Si dava molto spazio all'educazione religiosa: ai giovani di religione ortodossa era garantito un sacerdote ortodosso (pope) come catechista e la partecipazione alla liturgia ortodossa.

I gesuiti lasciarono una forte impronta nella società della capitale russa. La chiesa di S. Caterina e le loro scuole attiravano persone dei più alti ranghi, permettendo così ai religiosi—grazie alle scuole in particolare—di allacciare contatti con l'aristocrazia russa. Il diario della casa religiosa annota scrupolosamente le visite dei padri fuori dal collegio, riporta anche i nomi delle personalità più importanti che rendevano visita alla casa dei gesuiti. Gli ambasciatori accreditati a San Pietroburgo erano quelli che comparivano più spesso; il più noto era Joseph de Maistre, "grande amico dei gesuiti e anima dell'ambiente cattolico della capitale."<sup>60</sup> Passava lunghe ore in conversazioni col Gruber e i suoi confratelli. Il conte aveva l'abitudine di partecipare ogni domenica alla prima messa (alle ore 7.00) celebrata sempre da p. Gruber, per trattenersi dopo con il gesuita. La chiesa e la casa dei gesuiti erano visitate anche dai russi; alcune dame della buona società risiedevano addirittura nella casa di proprietà dei gesuiti! Quest'influenza, che i padri esercitavano sui grandi di San Pietroburgo porterà un giorno ad una spaccatura in seno alla società della capitale tra i bendisposti ed i loro avversari.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> \*27.xi.1763 Russia Bianca; SJ 13.viii.1783 Polock; †23.iv.1816 Polock (*Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach*, p. 114).

<sup>59</sup> "Plan d'éducation au Pensionnat des nobles," in Rouët de Journal, *Un Collège de Jésuites*, pp. 104-09. Abbozzato dal Gruber nell'autunno del 1802, questo programma sottolineava l'inscindibilità della formazione intellettuale da quella spirituale. Nel primo punto afferma: "La foi et la morale sont les bases inébranlables de tout gouvernement et société, et c'est pourquoi aussi elles sont le principal but de l'éducation chrétienne. L'évangile est le premier livre que les hommes doivent connaître d'abord, et sur lui se fondent principalement tout le travail des élèves de ce collège. En des études fréquentes et ininterrompues ils expliquent et dévoilent les devoirs de l'homme chrétien vivant en société et impriment dans le coeur de l'enfant la nécessité de les accomplir, veillant énergiquement à tout cela, et les pratiquant dans des sentiments de devoir envers Dieu et envers les hommes. Les élèves restent continuellement sous l'oeil d'un ou plusieurs maîtres vigilants; même pendant la nuit ils ne négligent pas les moyens de vigilance pour prévenir tout désordre possible."

<sup>60</sup> Rouët de Journal, *Un Collège de Jésuites*, p. 98.

<sup>61</sup> Marie-Joseph Rouët de Journal, S.J., *Une Russe catholique. Madame Swetchine. D'après de nombreux documents nouveaux* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, [1929]) p. 104.



I gesuiti non riuscirono, invece, ad occuparsi dell'istruzione in Lituania. Coscienti da una parte dell'importanza di quest'opera, e consapevoli dall'altra della limitatezza delle proprie forze, chiesero allo zar di rimandare al 1 maggio 1801 l'avvio dell'opera. L'improvvisa morte dell'Imperatore, nel marzo del 1801, mise fine a tutti i preparativi ed interruppe i progetti. Esattamente quattro anni dopo, a causa di uno sfortunato incidente (il fumo di un incendio e la conseguente agitazione provocarono un violento attacco d'asma che si rivelò fatale) morì il generale Gabriel Gruber.

Il p. Gruber ebbe un ruolo provvidenziale non solo per quanto riguarda le questioni del suo ordine nell'Impero Russo—questioni di massima importanza per il suo sviluppo e per il suo futuro in tutta la Chiesa—ma anche per l'intera questione cattolica nell'Impero e per le relazioni della Santa Sede con i governanti russi. Quest'aspetto venne più volte ed in vari modi sottolineato dai messi pontifici a San Pietroburgo, di cui era un collaboratore molto vicino, se non il più intimo.<sup>62</sup> Il Segretario di Stato card. Ercole Consalvi contava, specie nelle questioni più delicate, sulla collaborazione, sul talento e sull'influenza del Gruber alla corte di Paolo. Il ruolo del gesuita fu decisivo riguardo al mantenimento delle relazioni diplomatiche tra Vaticano e Impero (che rischiavano di essere interrotte nel maggio del 1799) e nelle iniziative della diplomazia vaticana tesa ad ottenere l'unità delle Chiese. La totalità dell'opera di Gruber fu, ancora una volta, percepita da Benvenuti che sostiene: "Ha vasti progetti tendenti all'estensione del suo Ordine, che se in punto o in parte riescono saranno infinitamente utili alla nostra religione."<sup>63</sup>

Il successore del Gruber, p. Tadeusz Brzozowski, nei primi anni riuscì a mantenere i successi ottenuti dal predecessore (ciò che ebbe l'espressione più significativa nell'elevazione del collegio di Polock al grado di Accademia, nel 1812), ma non si rivelò capace di svilupparli. Retto, accessibile a tutti, comprensivo ed indulgente, pio, teneva molto ad assicurare l'osservanza religiosa, l'alto livello dell'educazione e la solida formazione dei giovani religiosi. Tuttavia, in una situazione di mutamento che si mostrava ostile all'ordine, e con un crescente numero di oppositori, al p. Brzozowski mancava la versatilità, la scienza, ed anche una squisita prudenza e una certa astuzia (così necessarie nella

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<sup>62</sup> Molti particolari sul Gruber ed il suo ruolo nella globalità delle relazioni tra la Santa Sede e la Russia si trovano nella corrispondenza dei rappresentanti del papa alla corte degli zar della Russia. Cf. Marie-Joseph Rouët de Journal, S.J., ed., *Nonciatures de Russie d'après les documents authentiques. Nonciature de Litta 1797-1799* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1943); *Nonciatures de Russie d'après les documents authentiques. V. Intérim de Benvenuti 1799-1803* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1957); *Nonciatures de Russie d'après les documents authentiques. Nonciature d'Arczzo 1802-1806*, 2 vols. (Roma: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1922-1927).

<sup>63</sup> Benvenuti a Consalvi, San Pietroburgo 4 marzo 1803, in Rouët de Journal, *Intérim de Benvenuti*, p. 447.

realità russa), che permisero al Gruber di esercitare un profondo influsso nella capitale russa. Nelle circostanze in cui la Compagnia si trovava in Russia, durante gli anni del suo generalato, ci sarebbe stato bisogno—come osserva de Maistre scrivendo ad Antonio Gabriele Severoli, nunzio a Vienna negli anni 1801-17—di personalità del livello dell'Acquaviva o del Gruber.<sup>64</sup>

### Summary

As is well known, the Society of Jesus, with its rules and Institute intact, continued to exist in Russia after its universal suppression by Pope Clement XIV on 21 July 1773. With the approval of the Tsarina Catherine II (the Great), Jesuits there established familiar administrative structures: a vicar general with assistants, and a provincial. The vicar general assumed the position and authority of a general in 1801 with official approval from Pope Pius VII. Gabriel Gruber was the second Superior General of the Society in Russia. Elected in 1802, he served until 1805. A man of many and varied talents and abilities, he was a confidante of Tsar Paul I with whom the Jesuit apparently had more influence than many diplomats and courtiers. Gruber strengthened the Society's position in Russia and sent Jesuit missionaries into other parts of the vast empire and even into China. Many ex-Jesuits throughout the world associated themselves with the Society of Jesus as it prepared itself for its anticipated restoration.

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<sup>64</sup> de Maistre a Severoli, San Pietroburgo 1816, in Joseph de Maistre, *Œuvres complètes*, 14 vols. [Lyon: Librairie Générale Catholique et Classique, 1884-1893] XIII, 383).

# ROBERT PERSONS—REVIEW ARTICLE

Victor Houlston\*

The history of scholarship on the life and works of the famed early English Jesuit Robert Persons (or Parsons) is strange but not inexplicable.<sup>1</sup> During his lifetime he was admired, feared, vilified and honoured, but never ignored. Perhaps no other Englishman of the Elizabethan-Jacobean period attracted so much abuse in the polemical press, nor wielded so much influence in Rome. Later in the seventeenth century a concerted effort was made by the English Jesuit Christopher Grene,<sup>2</sup> to get his voluminous papers in order, as if to facilitate a learned assessment of his career. Yet of all the famous contemporary English Jesuits: Edmund Campion,<sup>3</sup> Robert Southwell,<sup>4</sup> John Gerard,<sup>5</sup> William Weston<sup>6</sup> and Henry Garnet,<sup>7</sup> he was the last to become the subject of a full-length biography, and that was only in 1990.

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<sup>1</sup> \*24.vi.1546 Nether Stowey; SJ 4.vii.1575 Rome; †15.iv.1610 Rome (*DHCJ*, III, 3103).

<sup>2</sup> \*1629 Kilkenny; SJ 7.ix.1658 Watten; †11.xi.1697 Rome (Geoffrey Holt, S.J., *The English Jesuits 1650-1829: Biographical Dictionary* [London: Catholic Record Society (=CRS), 1984] CRS 70, p. 106).

<sup>3</sup> \*25.i.1540 London; SJ 26.viii.1573 Bmo; †1.xii.1581 London (MHSI, *Mon. Ang.*, II, 255).

<sup>4</sup> \*x or xii.1561 Horsham St. Faith; SJ 17/18.x.1578 Rome; 21.ii.1595 London (MHSI, *Mon. Ang.*, II, 483). See Christopher Devlin, S.J., *The Life of Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr* (London: Longmans, 1956).

<sup>5</sup> Alias John Thompson. \*4.x.1564 Etvall; SJ 15.viii.1588 Rome; †27.vi.1637 Rome (*Mon. Ang.*, II, 503-04). Gerard's autobiography, edited by Philip Caraman, S.J., was published as *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (London: Longmans, 1951).

<sup>6</sup> \*c. 1550 Crundale (Kent); SJ 5.xi.1575 Rome; †14/19.iv.1615 Valladolid (*Mon. Ang.*, II, 525; *DHCJ*, IV, 4028). Philip Caraman, S.J., edited Weston's memoirs with the title *The Autobiography of an Elizabethan* (London: Longmans, 1955).

<sup>7</sup> \*1555 Heanor; SJ 11.ix.1575 Rome; †3.v.1606 London (*Mon. Ang.*, II, 325). Philip Caraman, S.J., wrote his biography: *Henry Garnet (1565-1606) and the Gunpowder Plot* (London: Longmans, 1964).

That a historical personage so clearly significant should be neglected so long was partially due to the successful creation of a "black legend" which made it difficult for Catholics to integrate him into a historiographical tradition that tended to portray the early English Jesuits heroically. The black legend, instigated by an unholy alliance of Protestant scaremongers and Catholic would-be loyalists at the turn of the sixteenth century, was perpetuated, albeit in more considered terms, by the first wave of modern historians at the turn of the nineteenth, casting Persons as the villain of the internal conflicts of the English Catholic Reformation. Such was the basic interpretation entrenched by T.G. Law's entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1895). Law had edited the papers relating to the so-called Archpriest Controversy from the Petyt manuscripts at the Inner Temple, and his view of Persons was coloured by his unsympathetic reading of the Jesuit's participation in that controversy. He concluded: 'He was impetuous and self-willed, and moreover—as [Oliver] Manareus,<sup>8</sup> the Flemish provincial of the society, who knew him well, testifies—he was subject to 'inveterate prejudices,' and therefore could be 'easily deceived.'"

Although Law too easily gave credence to Mannaerts, who was himself inveterately prejudiced against Persons, he had enough discernment to dismiss as "worthless" the vituperative collection of insults masquerading as a biography written by Bodley's librarian, Thomas James, in 1605. Nevertheless he was dependent on the incomplete documentation supplied by Henry More's *Historia Provinciae Anglicanae Societatis Jesu* (St Omer, 1660),<sup>9</sup> Daniello Bartoli's *Dell'istoria della Compagnia di Gesu* (Rome, 1658-73)<sup>10</sup> and the *Church History of England* (Brussels, 1737-42), written by a man who called himself Charles Dodd (namely Hugh Tootell)—and later annotated with memorable prejudice by M.A. Tiemey. Law was also familiar with Richard Simpson's biography of Campion (1867; revised 1896),<sup>11</sup> but recognized that real progress awaited the editing of the papers and correspondence. This task was undertaken by two remarkable Jesuit archivists, first John Hungerford Pollen<sup>12</sup> and (later) Leo Hicks. Pollen edited several important manuscripts for the Catholic Record Society under the

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<sup>8</sup> \*1523 Douai; SJ ix.1551 Paris; †28.xi.1614 Tournai (*DHCJ*, III, 2495).

<sup>9</sup> \*c. 1587 probably Leytonstone (London); SJ 19.xi.1607 Louvain; †8.xii.1661 Watten (MHSI, *Mon. Ang.*, II, 413; *DHCJ*, III, 2741). Sections of his *Historia* have been translated and edited by Francis Edwards, S.J., as *The Elizabethan Jesuits* (London: Philimore, 1981).

<sup>10</sup> \*12.ii.1608 Ferrara; SJ 10.xii.1623 Novellara; †13.i.1685 (*DHCJ*, I, 360).

<sup>11</sup> *Edmund Campion: A Biography* (London, 1867); revised edition (London, 1896).

<sup>12</sup> \*2.ix.1858 London; SJ 7.ix.1877 Roehampton (London); †28.iv.1925 Roehampton (*DHCJ*, IV, 3172).

general title "Memoirs of Father Robert Persons" (1905/6, 1907),<sup>13</sup> while Hicks<sup>14</sup> published the *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons to 1588* (1942)<sup>15</sup> and made some progress towards an edition of the remaining correspondence. Another useful contribution to the editorial project was that of Jos Simons, who edited and translated selections from the voluminous manuscript *Certamen Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, Persons's compilation of English church history (1965).<sup>16</sup>

The work of Pollen and Hicks allowed for a more even-handed assessment of Persons's career against the background of the complexities of his predicaments, although Hicks himself adopted too distinctively partisan a stance. In his introductory account of Persons's life, and in a series of articles dealing with Persons's political involvement in France, Spain and the English Succession, he developed a character of a man of integrity and vision surrounded by unscrupulous manipulators, not least Sir Robert Cecil. Hicks read Persons's letters, books and manuscript works appreciatively, and wrote with vigour, but his determination to clear his subject of all charges led him to dismiss Persons's alleged authorship of *Leicester's Commonwealth* (rightly) and the *Conference about the Next Succession* (wrongly, I believe) and to put too favourable a construction on the years of the Guise connection, 1582-85.

The next Jesuit to write extensively on Persons was Thomas Clancy, S.J., who shared with Hicks a relish for Persons's satirical wit. His *Papist Pamphleteers: The Allen-Persons Party and the Political Thought of the Counter-Reformation in England, 1572-1615* (1964) was a magisterial analysis of political polemic.<sup>17</sup> Clancy reviewed each of the major themes of controversy, succinctly identifying the contribution of each of the participating authors; his approach revealed both the resourcefulness and limitations of Persons's arguments within the context of the larger debates. As a lucid and insightful introduction to the controversial scene of the late sixteenth century Clancy's work is unsurpassed; students of the subject are also well served by the immensely detailed and helpfully annotated

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<sup>13</sup> John Hungerford Pollen, S.J., ed., "The Memoirs of Father Robert Persons," in *Miscellaneu II*. (London: CRS, 1906) CRS 2, pp. 12-218; "Father Persons' Memoirs (Concluded)," in *Miscellaneu IV* (London: CRS, 1907) CRS 4, pp. 1-161.

<sup>14</sup> \*22.ii.1888 Dundalk; SJ 7.ix.1904 Roehampton (London); †14.iii.1968 Boscombe (*DHCF*, II, 1922).

<sup>15</sup> Leo J. Hicks, S.J., ed., *Letters and Memorials of Father Robert Persons, S.J.* Vol. 1 (to 1588) (London: CRS, 1942) CRS 39.

<sup>16</sup> Jos Simons, ed., *Certamen Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (Assen: van Gorcum, 1965).

<sup>17</sup> Thomas H. Clancy, S.J., *Papist Pamphleteers: The Allen-Persons Party and the Political Thought of the Counter-Reformation in England, 1572-1615* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1964).

bibliographies of Peter Milward, S.J.,<sup>18</sup> and A.F. Allison and D.M. Rogers.<sup>19</sup>

The development of a truly black-and-white evaluation of Persons's political and ecclesiastical career really began with John E. Parish's *Robert Parsons and the English Counter-Reformation* (1966).<sup>20</sup> Parish admired Persons's achievement as a writer, especially what he called the "defence of popular sovereignty" in the *Conference about the Next Succession*, the *Memorial of the Reformation of England* and the *Reply to Coke's Reports*. In this judgement he coincidentally agreed with Clancy who believed that the application of history to contemporary debate was Persons's forte. But Parish was concerned also to counter the Hicks tendency to treat Persons as the special victim of anti-Jesuit prejudice: he pointed out that many contemporary Jesuits, including Southwell, Weston and Garnet, suffered similar attacks. He characterised several crucial episodes in Persons's career as duplicitous, most notably the claim that the Jesuit missionaries of 1580 knew nothing of Nicholas Sander's 1579 expedition to Ireland until they reached the French coast in May of 1580. Parish's skeptical comment was: "If this was true, Persons was one of the least informed Englishmen in Europe" (13).

According to Parish, there were also definite shifts, if not a deliberate shiftiness, in Persons's polemical stance. Noting that he adopted successive personae, from Philopater to Doleman to N.D., Parish detected some opportunism in the varying tones adopted towards Elizabeth: satirical, respectful, moderate, compassionate, and so forth. Peter Holmes's *Resistance and Compromise: The Political Thought of the Elizabethan Catholics* (1982),<sup>21</sup> which attempted a chronological analysis of recusant political thinking as opposed to Clancy's thematic approach, similarly identified successive movements in the dominant mood from resistance to compromise and back to resistance again. Not overly concerned with questions of personal integrity, Holmes made somewhat exaggerated claims for Persons's significance as a political theorist, based on the assumption (exactly contrary to Hicks) that the Jesuit had written both *Leicester's Commonwealth* and the *Conference about the Next Succession*. His assessment was that Persons's was the most significant contribution to English thought, apart from Richard Hooker, between Sir Thomas More and Thomas Hobbes. Persons's

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<sup>18</sup> Peter Milward, S.J., *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London: The Scholar Press, 1978) and *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London: The Scholar Press, 1978).

<sup>19</sup> A.F. Allison, and D.M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640*, 2 vols. (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1989–94).

<sup>20</sup> John E. Parish, *Robert Parsons and the English Counter-Reformation* (Houston: Rice University Press, 1966) Rice University Studies, vol. 52.

<sup>21</sup> Peter Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise: The Political Thought of the Elizabethan Catholics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

shares also rose, rather fortuitously, during the 1980s as new historicist literary critics, anxious to dissociate themselves from E.M.W. Tillyard's loyalist interpretation of Shakespeare, trawled Elizabethan literature for evidence of an anti-absolutist tradition. An exception to this rule—as to virtually every other—was the ever-inventive A.L. Rowse, who dismissed the *Conference* as a clever piece of special pleading, in his *Eminent Elizabethans* (1983).<sup>22</sup> He did, nevertheless, commend Persons as one of the most intriguing of Elizabethan writers, famously rebuking C.S. Lewis for omitting him from his *History of English Literature of the Sixteenth Century*.

The interpretations of Clancy, Parish, Holmes and Rowse depended for the most part on the close reading of Persons's more prominent polemical works. A more recent wave of scholarship has been engaged in assimilating a great deal of documentary evidence, much of it difficult to collate because it was dispersed in archives throughout Europe and written in Italian, Spanish or Latin. One can see this as a welcome response to E.E. Reynolds's lament, in his eminently sound and readable *Campion and Parsons: The Jesuit Mission of 1580-1* (1980), that there was as yet no comprehensive study of Persons's life.<sup>23</sup>

During the 1990s the fruit of these researches appeared in the form of two documentary biographies: *Robert Persons 'El Architrador'* by Frederico Eguiluz (1990)<sup>24</sup> and *Robert Persons: The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit* by Francis Edwards, S.J. (1995),<sup>25</sup> an archive-based study of early Jesuit polity by Thomas M. McCoog, S.J.,<sup>26</sup> *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541-1588: 'Our Way of Proceeding?'* (1996), John Bossy's 'The Heart of Robert Persons' (1996),<sup>27</sup> a significant re-reading of Persons's political activities immediately after his flight from England in 1581, and my own critical edition of Persons's most widely-disseminated work, *The Christian Directory* (1998), with its extraordinary bibliographical and textual history. In the same period, but without taking

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<sup>22</sup> A.L. Rowse "Father Parsons the Jesuit," in *Eminent Elizabethans* (London: Macmillan, 1983) pp. 41-74.

<sup>23</sup> E.E. Reynolds, *Campion and Parsons: The Jesuit Mission of 1580-1* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1980).

<sup>24</sup> Frederico Eguiluz, *Robert Persons 'El Architrador': Su vida y su obra (1546-1610)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1990).

<sup>25</sup> Francis Edwards, S.J., *Robert Persons: The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit, 1546-1610* (St Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1995).

<sup>26</sup> Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1541-1588: 'Our Way of Proceeding?'* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996) *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought*, vol. 60.

<sup>27</sup> John Bossy, "The Heart of Robert Persons," in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, ed. Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996) pp. 141-58.

the contemporary archival researches into account, two other substantial contributions to Persons studies were published: an analysis of the rhetoric of recusant prose, Ceri Sullivan's *Dismembered Rhetoric* (1996),<sup>28</sup> and a study of the political writings, *Robert Parsons & English Catholicism, 1580-1610* by Michael L. Carrafiello (1998).<sup>29</sup>

Neither Eguluz nor Edwards offers a startling new interpretation of Persons's career, but they flesh out the details of his day-to-day activities and correspondence, providing the full context for the decisions he made and the books he threw into the confessional fray. Eguluz, working almost entirely independently in Spain, and Edwards, based in London and Rome, can both be described as cautious apologists. In his title, Eguluz uses the term *El Architráidor* ironically, while Edwards shows little sympathy in his treatment of Persons's arch-enemies, Charles Paget, Thomas Morgan, John Cecil, John Fisher/Fixer and the various appellant delegations, using such allusive phrases as "blest pair of sirens" and "faith unfaithful kept him falsely true." Edwards's biography is too burdened with detail to allow a very convincing portrait of Persons the man to emerge: he contents himself with the conclusion that "His vocation was the mission, his avocation politics."

The elusiveness of Persons's character is the theme of John Bossy's contribution to the Campion Hall centenary volume, *The Reckoned Expense*. Unwilling either to accept or merely invert the hand-me-down contrast between Campion and Persons, the one charismatic and glamorous, the other blunt, scheming and inflexible, he burrows into as yet unedited correspondence with a view to probing his subject's more obscure activities and his state of mind in 1582-85, when Persons was implicated in successive Guise-Spanish plans for an invasion of England. Characteristically worrying away at the evidence before him to find an unexpected solution to a puzzle, Bossy conjectures that Persons had in 1583 seriously entertained a proposal by George Gifford for an assassination attempt on Queen Elizabeth (pp. 148-51). This rather sensational suggestion naturally places a large question mark next to Persons's judgement and integrity, and has been vigorously repudiated by Edwards: Persons consistently denied having anything to do with assassination plans. Bossy's guess is based on a cryptic phrase in a tortuous sentence of a Latin letter from Claudio Acquaviva,<sup>30</sup> if the passage in question does indeed allude to Gifford, it may

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<sup>28</sup> Ceri Sullivan, *Dismembered Rhetoric: English Recusant Writing, 1580 to 1603* (Madison/Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1995).

<sup>29</sup> Michael L. Carrafiello, *Robert Parsons & English Catholicism, 1580-1610* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1998).

<sup>30</sup> \*14.ix.1543 Atri; SJ 22.vi.1567 Rome; electus 19.ii.1581; †31.i.1615 Rome (*DHCJ*, II, 1614).



prove nothing more than that Persons had been sounding out Father General, rather than endorsing the plan. Whatever the case—and we can never know for sure—Bossy's interest in the correspondence between Acquaviva and Persons has generated the two most important themes of current scholarship: Persons's nervous and volatile character, subject to alternating bouts of optimism and gloom, and Acquaviva's mentoring of his somewhat excitable Jesuit friend.

The correspondence in question is contained in a collection of papers known as the Fondo Gesuitico in the ARSI. Some of the letters provide variant readings of those edited by Hicks in 1942; some are entirely new. Thomas McCoog has used this source to bring out an edition of the Persons-Acquaviva correspondence so that all of Persons's letters up to 1588 are now readily accessible.<sup>31</sup> The detailed annotation clarifies many of the issues raised, and the lack of an English translation, inconvenient though it is, will at least ensure that scholars read these letters, if at all, with great care and attention to nuance. In his earlier book, which bore the quizzical sub-title "*Our Way of Proceeding*?", McCoog sought to place Persons's career within the wider context of Jesuit policy, and he too noted that Persons was subject to a degree of disciplining. Unfortunately this takes the story only to 1588,<sup>32</sup> so that the analysis covers the English Mission of 1580/1, the sojourn in the Low Countries from 1582-85, and the period in Rome from 1585-88—leaving more or less untouched such episodes as the founding of seminaries in Spain, the troubles at the English College, Rome, the Archpriest controversy and the Gunpowder Plot. In a subsequent article, "The English Jesuit Mission and the French Match, 1579-1581," McCoog has suggested that the mission may have been timed to coincide with negotiations over the possible marriage of Elizabeth and François, Duke of Anjou, which, if it had come off, might have allowed more scope for Jesuit activities.<sup>33</sup>

Both McCoog and Bossy testify to the Persons enigma: whatever ideological standards one applies, he was certainly not blameless, nor was he a mere opportunist, as his detractors over the centuries have tended to suggest. McCoog puts it succinctly when he concludes: "His desire to liberate his compatriots from religious persecution—and indeed, from eternal damnation, the inevitable consequence, it was believed, of heresy—led Parsons to consider various strategies and, eventually, to play an important role in the formation of

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<sup>31</sup> Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., ed., "Robert Parsons and Claudio Acquaviva: Correspondence," *AHSI* 68 (1999) 79-182.

<sup>32</sup> I have been assured that a second volume covering the rest of Elizabeth's reign is well underway.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas M. McCoog, S.J., "The English Jesuit Mission and the French Match, 1579-1581," *Catholic Historical Review* 87 (2001) 185-213.

coalitions aimed at Elizabethan England" (266). The operative phrase here is "various strategies," for Persons was never wholly committed to one plan of action rather than another; as circumstances changed, he was always willing, as his epitaph put it, to throw himself into the midst of danger, ready to expend all his energy in the cause.

What McCoog's book makes clear, and what a patient study of Persons's published writings also reveals, is that political action, though it excited him with the prospect of an early Catholic restoration in England and all the opportunities for a more effective apostolate that such an eventuality would afford, was only intermittently uppermost in his mind. His deepest interest was in the formation of Christian character through reflection (what was then called "consideration") and instruction. This is what made him so vigorous in pursuing the educational enterprise. To understand this, three recent publications provide important clues. One is Michael Questier's *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580–1625* (1996),<sup>34</sup> which places Persons's *Christian Directory* within the context of patterns of conversion. Questier addresses the contention of Christopher Haigh that the Jesuit Mission was disastrous to English Catholicism by neglecting the traditional sources of faith in favour of an elitist religion of the heart. Haigh oversimplifies: a reading of the background, genesis and revision of the *Christian Directory* shows how much Persons was aware of the need for "continuity" among the faithful. My own edition of the work (1998)<sup>35</sup> attempts to provide reliable information of this kind, which should counter any simple identification of Jesuit and Puritan spirituality: such as that made by Brad Gregory in his article on the Puritan Edmund Bunny's revision of the work (1994).<sup>36</sup> It needs to be borne in mind that the *Christian Directory* was being written and revised precisely during the period of Persons's most frenetic political activity, 1582–85, so it is particularly useful to have, now, an edition of his correspondence with Acquaviva, which gives much insight, however tantalising, into the issues and emotions Persons was trying to work through at this time under the wise guidance of Father General. What we await is a reliable edition of the post-1588 correspondence, a task left uncompleted by Leo Hicks.

It is a pity, therefore, that Michael Carrafiello, in his *Robert Parsons and English Catholicism, 1580–1610*, seeks to reduce the complexities of Persons's inner and

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<sup>34</sup> Michael Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

<sup>35</sup> Victor H. Houlston, ed., *The Christian Directory (1582): The First Booke of the Christian Exercise, appertayning to Resolution* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998) *Studies in the History of Christian Thought*, vol. 84.

<sup>36</sup> Brad S. Gregory, "The 'True and Zealouse Service of God': Robert Parsons, Edmund Bunny, and *The First Booke of the Christian Exercise*," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994) 238–68.

outer struggles to a consistent strategy of political activism. He seizes on a dubious piece of evidence from the early correspondence to deduce that Persons was committed to an invasion plan virtually from the start of the 1580 mission.<sup>37</sup> Similarly, he draws a neat line of causation from Persons's *Conference about the Next Succession* to the Gunpowder Plot; in so doing echoing the bravura of A.L. Rowse. His account makes lively reading, and he is erudite and plausible in his explication of the political theory embodied in the *Conference*, but in the end his portrait of Persons, rather like the falsely identified portrait on the cover of his book, is based on too little evidence, or on evidence misapplied.

Because Persons's career was so varied and active, vital information on and interpretation of its facets are to be found in numerous studies of related figures and topics: Michael Williams on the English colleges at Rome and Valladolid, Albert Loomie on the Catholics in Spain, Anthony Kenny on Balliol College, Thomas Freeman on John Foxe, and so forth. As scholarship moves forward on all these fronts, one can hope for a more comprehensive assessment of Persons's life and works to emerge. I have tried to take account of as much of this scholarship as possible in my assessments of the so-called *Philopater* (*Responsio ad edictum*),<sup>38</sup> the *Conference about the Next Succession* (2000),<sup>39</sup> and the *Treatise of Three Conversions* (chapter forthcoming). One of the main obstacles, of course, is the sheer mass of his writings, both in print and manuscript. As many readers have testified, his style is witty, direct and vigorous. But controversial writing tends to be rhetorically prolix and argumentatively opportunistic. One has to trawl through hundreds of pages for a few splendid treasures. Consequently, analysis of his published output tends to be partial or superficial. Carrafiello read less than half of Persons's oeuvre. Even Ceri Sullivan, in her specialised and knowledgeable investigation into recusant rhetoric, was content to establish a few generic links and stylistic peculiarities. Nevertheless, her approach does point us in the right direction: the apostolate of writing.

Sullivan observes that a great deal of what she calls recusant prose, but would be better termed a corpus of recusant reading matter, took the place and had to perform the office of the absent, remote or infrequent Roman priest. She usefully analyses these works, including several of Persons's, as catechetical or

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<sup>37</sup> Carrafiello and McCoog have argued over these points in reviews of each other's works and letters to the editor. See *Catholic Historical Review* 83 (1997) 805-06; 84 (1998) 302-04; 84 (1998) 774-75; 85 (1999) 344-45, 695-96. Their exchange received further coverage in Stefania Tutino, "Il cattolicesimo elisebettiano: note sulla storiografia recente," *Storica* num. 17 (2000) 80-84.

<sup>38</sup> Victor Houlston, "The Lord Treasurer and the Jesuit: Robert Persons's Satirical *Responsio* to the 1591 Proclamation," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 32 (2001) 383-401.

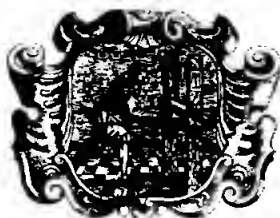
<sup>39</sup> See Victor Houlston, "The Hare and the Drum: Robert Persons's Writings on the English Succession, 1593-6," *Renaissance Studies* 14 (2000) 233-48.

formative; that is, aiding in instruction or discipline of holy life, formation of character, and so on. Persons, who spent much of his time writing letters of guidance and encouragement, would certainly have thought of his published works in this way. Yet Sullivan draws too easy a distinction between the edifying and polemical, with the result that she is constrained to compare Persons unfavourably with Southwell and Garnet. For example, she berates him for lack of gentility in invoking the saints (expunged from Foxe's Calendar) to fight on his side, a villainous abuse of venerable practice (she thinks), akin (one might be tempted to suggest) to Hamlet's determination to use the Day of Judgement to complete his revenge on Claudius.

If we are to read Persons's many volumes with profit, it seems to me crucial to accept that they were written in the midst of many competing pressures, consequently flavoured by conflicts the justice of which it would be quite unsuitable for us to pronounce on, even if we were able. This makes them more interesting and multi-layered, less easy to categorise. When Persons wrote the *Christian Directory*, he tried to separate spirituality from politics; but even there the pressure of the politics of the Jesuit mission is to be felt. This is not to suggest that spirituality and politics are the same thing, or that one can simply be explained in terms of the other. It is only to affirm that Persons deserves the respect we accord to any author whose idiom and style command attention: a willingness to register the tensions without reducing the works to one-dimensional examples of one pet theory or another about post-Reformation English Catholic history.

### Sumario

Desde hace tiempo los eruditos han conocido la importancia de Robert Persons (o Parsons) en general por la historia Isabeliana, y específicamente por la historia de la Post-Reforma del Catolicismo inglés. Sin embargo, su biografía no se escribió hasta 1990. El autor examina y evalúa las recientes interpretaciones de este polémico jesuita.



## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773.* Von Gauvin Alexander Bailey. (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1999. S. xii, 310. \$65.00/£45.00. Hardcover.)

Das Phänomen des islamistischen Extremismus zeigt in der jüngsten Vergangenheit, wie sehr die Gestaltung menschlichen Zusammenlebens von grundsätzlichen Entscheidungen innerhalb der Religionen abhängt. Darf im Namen Gottes eine nach der Einsicht der jeweiligen Religion „gottgewollte“ Ordnung durchgesetzt werden? Sind die im strengen Sinn Gläubigen sogar dazu verpflichtet? Bis hin zum Opfer ihres Lebens? Verlangt Gott das Opfer menschlichen Lebens? Oder bedeutet im Namen Gottes zu handeln grundsätzlich eine Option für Gewaltlosigkeit, für den Dialog mit dem anderen, für Anerkennung des anderen als gleichwertigen und gleichberechtigten Gesprächspartner?

Wer der Überzeugung ist, dass sich die Macht Gottes in der gewalttätigen Überwindung widergöttlicher Mächte offenbart, wird als bedingungslos Glaubender eine Option für Gewalt vertreten. Wem sich die Macht Gottes darin zeigt, dass inmitten aller Bedrohung und durch alles Scheitern hindurch die Gestaltung eines Raumes gelingt, wo menschliches Zusammenleben in Freiheit und Gerechtigkeit möglich ist, der wird eine Option der Gewaltlosigkeit treffen.

Die Geschichte und die jüngste Vergangenheit zeigen, dass beide Optionen innerhalb der großen monotheistischen Religionen vertreten werden. Die verheerenden Auswirkungen der Option für Gewalt durch Anhänger des militanten Islam beherrschen das gegenwärtige Weltgeschehen. Was bedeutet es, im Namen Gottes zu handeln?

Die breit angelegte Studie von Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Assistent Professor

für die Kunst der Renaissance und des Barock an der Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, über „Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America 1542-1773“ bekommt in diesen Zusammenhängen ihre aktuelle Bedeutung. Denn das alte Motto der Jesuiten „Alles zur größeren Ehre Gottes“ besitzt in der gegenwärtigen Situation eine ganz ungeahnte Brisanz. Die antiquiert scheinende Formel für einen totalen Einsatz verlangt eine Entscheidung.

In der 1540 von Papst Paul III. bestätigten Gründungsurkunde der Jesuiten ist zwar von einem „Kriegsdienst für Gott“ die Rede. Die gleich anschließende Konkretisierung zeigt aber, dass dieser Dienst durchwegs gewaltfrei und friedlich zu verstehen ist: öffentliche Predigten, Vorträge, Geistliche Übungen, Liebeswerke, Unterweisungen von Kindern und einfachen Menschen im Christentum, geistliche Tröstung der Gläubigen durch Beichtthören usw. Der grundsätzlichen Option für eine gewaltfreie Begegnung, für Gerechtigkeit, für Dialog, für die Anerkennung fremder Kulturen sind die Jesuiten treu geblieben. Von der 34. Generalversammlung wurde diese Option vor kurzem erneut bestätigt und aktualisiert.

Im Zusammenhang ihrer Tätigkeiten hatte für die Jesuiten die Pflege und die Förderung der Künste große Bedeutung. Bailey bietet mit seinem Buch einen ausgezeichneten Überblick über die Entwicklungen in Japan, China, am Hof der Mogul-Kaiser in Indien und unter den Guaraní in den Reduktionen im heutigen Paraguay. Er stützt sich dabei vielfach auf eigene Forschungen. Seine persönliche Kenntnis der Orte und der Originale und seine ausgewogene Darstellung, die eine Sicht der Ereignisse aus unterschiedlichen Perspektiven zulässt, verleihen dem Buch eine große Frische und Weitsicht. Neben den Berichten von Jesuiten werden im gleichen Umfang außereuropäische Quellen zitiert. Das Buch ist selber Zeugnis für eine Haltung der Offenheit und der Wachheit gegenüber anderen Kulturen, wie sie Bailey im Vorgehen der Jesuiten findet.

Grundsätzliches Anliegen des Buches ist es, eine erste Interpretation jener Mischkunst zu bieten, die aus dem Kontakt unterschiedlicher Kulturen mit Europa am Beginn der Neuzeit entstanden ist. Bailey geht es darum, die Geschichte einer Begegnung von Kulturen zu schreiben. Er sieht die in den Jesuitenmissionen entstandene Kunst als das Ergebnis einer globalen Partnerschaft mit dem anderen, dem Fremden. Diese Haltung der Jesuiten blieb nicht unwidersprochen, weder von Seiten der fremden Kulturen, noch von Seiten der Kirche. Die Unterdrückung der Christen in Japan, das Scheitern des Projekts der Inkulturation in China, die Vertreibung der Jesuiten aus den Reduktionen sind Beispiele dafür. Dass der eingeschlagene Weg der richtige war, erweist sich in unserer Zeit.

Bei aller zugegebenen Sympathie für die Jesuiten behält Bailey eine Distanz

zu seinem Gegenstand, die einen kritischen Blick möglich macht. Er weist hin auf Mängel und Einseitigkeiten der Begegnungen. Er ermöglicht dadurch dem Leser, sich ein eigenes Urteil zu bilden.

Die Darstellung des künstlerischen Dialogs bleibt in der Regel beim Aufzeigen formaler Annäherungen an das andere stehen. Das Verständnis von Stil als einer Einheit von Inhalt und Form wäre hier noch zu vertiefen. Für weitere Arbeiten auf diesem Feld bietet das Buch sowohl mit der Fülle seiner Informationen als auch durch die Art und Weise der interpretierenden Darstellung eine ausgezeichnete Grundlage. Es zeigt, welchen Reichtum eine Begegnung von Kulturen hervorbringen kann. Es zeigt auch, dass diese Begegnung stets gefährdet ist und immer neu erkämpft werden muss. Bailey hat eine Kunstgeschichte von überraschender Aktualität geschrieben.

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*Philothea von Johannes Paullin. Das Jesuitendrama und die Geistlichen Übungen des Ignatius von Loyola.* Von Barbara Münch-Kienast. [Studien zur Literatur und Kunst 7.] (Aachen: Shaker Verlag, 2000. S. 378, A1-A91. € 44,50. Paperback.)

Die Exerzitien des Ignatius von Loyola prägen die Spiritualität der Gesellschaft Jesu. Deshalb fragen sich viele, welchen Einfluß sie auf die Kunst und Literatur der Jesuiten ausgeübt haben. Eine Antwort darauf versucht die vorliegende Dissertation zu geben, die unter der Leitung der Professorin und Expertin für Jesuitenliteratur, Barbara Bauer, in Marburg verfaßt wurde. Nach einer Einleitung, in der die Quellenlage und der Ansatz der Arbeit erläutert werden, skizziert die Autorin den kulturgeschichtlichen Hintergrund des behandelten Jesuitendramas und stellt dessen Verfasser und Komponisten, Johannes Paullinus, vor, der mit bürgerlichem Namen Silbermann hieß, in München Rhetorik unterrichtete und als Inspektor die Studienstiftung Domus Gregoriana leitete. Um die Beziehungen zwischen dessen "Philothea" und den Geistlichen Übungen des Ignatius aufzuzeigen, stützt sich Münch-Kienast auf das kommunikative Modell von Roland Barthes, der mit seiner semiologischen und strukturalistischen Methode die Exerzitien als multiplen Text untersuchte, darin einen vierfachen Schriftsinn entdeckte und den Exerzitanten nicht als passiven Leser, sondern als Produzenten des Exerzitien-Textes bestimmte. Anhand dieser Vorgaben analysiert die Autorin in den folgenden Kapiteln den Text des Meditationsdramas und den von Paullin dazu verfaßten Kommentar, um den vierfachen Schriftsinn herauszuarbeiten und die Einflüsse der Geistlichen Übungen zu verdeutlichen. Die sorgfältigen, ins Detail gehenden Untersuchungen geben einen Einblick in die Arbeitsweise Paullins und erleichtern das Verständnis seines Dramas, in dem er jedem Zuschauer "seine

eigene Seele vorstellt, wie sehr sie von Gott geliebt wird, und die es nicht so sehr im öffentlichen Theater zu sehen, als vielmehr auf der geheimen Bühne des Herzens genau zu betrachten gilt, in keiner anderen Absicht, als daß er (der Zuschauer) gleichsam in einem Spiegel sieht, wie mit ihm in seinem ganzen Leben nicht anders durch Gott verhandelt wird und wurde, als wie es mit Philothea auf der Bühne geschieht." (A 20) Als Jesuit ließ sich Paullin bei der Ausarbeitung zweifellos von den eigenen Exerzitien Erfahrungen leiten, die deshalb in der Philothea immer wieder aufscheinen. Zu dieser einfachen und naheliegenden Erkenntnis gelangt Münch-Kienast nach detailreichen und langwierigen Analysen, die trotz ihres Scharfsinns letztlich nicht überzeugen, weil sie die Geistlichen Übungen zu einseitig als rationalen Denkprozeß auffassen. Dieses Verständnis übernimmt die Autorin von Barthes, mit dessen strukturalistischer Methode sich zwar der Text des Exerzitienbuches, aber nicht der religiöse Weg des Exerzitanten in den Geistlichen Übungen untersuchen und erklären läßt. Anhand der gewonnenen Erkenntnisse entwickelt Münch-Kienast abschließend eine Theorie des jesuitischen Meditationsdramas, erläutert die Bedeutung von Selbstfindung und Rolle im barocken Theater und verweist schließlich auf die Identifizierung der Philothea mit dem Weiblichen, obwohl dies von Paullin nicht beabsichtigt war. Die gründliche Untersuchung ergänzen ein umfangreiches Literaturverzeichnis und vier Anhänge, in denen die Aufführungen der Philothea, deren Quellen sowie die Vorworte zur Leseausgabe und den Stimmbüchern veröffentlicht werden. Trotz einiger Ungenauigkeiten in der Darstellung jesuitischer Spiritualität und der ungewohnten Abkürzungen biblischer Bücher ist die Arbeit ein gelungener Versuch, den Einfluß der Exerzitien des Ignatius von Loyola auf ein Jesuitendrama zu verdeutlichen.

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*Preaching Wisdom to the Wise: Three Treatises by Roberto de Nobili, S.J., Missionary and Scholar in 17th-Century India.* Translated and introduced by Anand Amaladass, S.J., and Francis X. Clooney, S.J. [Series I: Jesuit Primary Sources in English Translation, num. 19.] (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2000. Pp. xxi, 345. \$29.95. Paperback.)

Robert de Nobili, (born at Montepulciano, Tuscany in September, 1577; entered the Society of Jesus in 1597, at Naples; and died at Mylapore, in 1656) arrived at Goa on 20 May 1605. After a short stay at Cochin and the Fishery Coast, he was sent in November of 1606, to Madurai to study Tamil. Within a year he had acquired a complete mastery of Tamil, Telugu, and Sanskrit languages. He became an Indian *sannyasi* in the habits of food and dress. His knowledge of Tamil, Sanskrit and Telugu, allowed him easy access to approach the high caste people to bring them to the light of Christ and, thus, elevate the



social status of the Catholic Church which was considered to be an untouchable (*Paranghi*) religion. Thus de Nobili S.J. was a greater luminary in the field of appreciative adaptation of Indian Culture. He pointed out to his superiors that "religious" faith should not be confused with "civil" customs. To be Christian does not require one to eat beef, to drink wine, to wear sandals made of leather, and so to become outcasts in Indian society. So he decided to live separately; he adopted the saffron dress and wooden clogs; abstained from meat, fish, eggs and wine; marked his brow with sandal paste and wore the sacred thread across his breast as the Brahmins did.

As a member of the Italian nobility, de Nobili declared himself a member of the *raja* caste (*kshatriya*). He was determined to penetrate into the ancient Aryanised Tamil culture of Madurai, the proud citadel of Hinduism in South India, not as a *Parangi*, but as a Brahmin *sanyasi*. Once he had steeped himself in the ancient wisdom of the Indian culture he began explaining, perhaps reformulating, Christianity in terms and thought-patterns more in accordance with the genius of his adopted country.

From the very beginning de Nobili's work met with stiff opposition, both from the Hindus of Madurai, and even more so, believe it or not, from local missionaries and ecclesiastical authorities in Europe. But he was supported by his own Jesuit superiors in Rome and his bishop, Francis Roz of Cranganore. Finally, Pope Gregory XV gave his approval to this practice, and so it flourished and brought to Christianity thousands of high caste as well as low caste Hindus.

De Nobili wrote extensively, not only Tamil but also in Sanskrit, the language of the culture at that time. He translated or composed many prayers and several longer works, especially an abridgment of Christian Doctrine and a life of Our Lady, in Sanskrit verse. Nearly all of these productions, however, were lost during his imprisonment in Madurai (1639-41). His principal work in Tamil was his *Larger Catechism*, in four books, printed after his death. It is a course of theology adapted to the needs of India. In addition he wrote: *The Inquiry into the Meaning of "God," The Dialogue on Eternal Life, The Science of the Soul, A Disproof of Transmigration, A Manual of Rules of Perfection*, numerous hymns, and several small instructions. He translated into Telugu several of his Tamil works, among them two small catechisms. In both Tamil and Telugu he enriched the vocabulary with the addition of several appropriate Christian terms. It is from this treasury of European-influenced, but Indian literature, that *Preaching Wisdom to the Wise* draws.

*Preaching Wisdom to the Wise* is divided into two parts. Part I deals with a biographical sketch of Roberto de Nobili, and an overview of the three of his works translated in Part II. Part I concludes with an assessment of de Nobili by the two translators and a note on the text and translation. Part II gives the

actual translations of the three documents: *Report Concerning Certain Customs of the Indian Nation* is one of his works translated from Latin; *The Dialogue on Eternal Life* and *The Inquiry into the Meaning of "God"* are both translated from Tamil. A short bibliography and index follows.

Many students of inculturation and mission history interested in the early pioneering work of de Nobili do not have access to his original writings as they are written in Tamil or Latin. In general, the Latin works of de Nobili gives more of his knowledge of Indian customs and Hinduism, and so may be of greater interest to Western orientalist than to Indians. But Latin is often not an accessible language for these scholars, nor, for that matter, for the Tamil scholars in India. Thus, having the first work, *Report Concerning Certain Customs of the Indian Nation*, translated into English is of considerable value. It is, however, de Nobili's books in Tamil that give scholars an inkling into his actual attempts at adaptation to communicate the Christian faith into the language of the people. It is there that one sees the fine qualities of de Nobili as missionary and scholar in evidence. Of course not all students of mission history can afford to learn the Tamil necessary to access these texts. Thus the translations provided by Amaladass and Clooney give some understanding of the nature of de Nobili's attempts. To translate all de Nobili's Tamil works into English would not be so purposeful without editing them with good footnotes to Hinduism and history of the time of de Nobili. The effort of the translators for these first two Tamil works remains a *desideratum* for all the other books of de Nobili in Tamil. Such a work if it were to be continued will not diminish in any way the great contribution already made in this field by Fr. Savarimuthu Rajamanickam. His publications in Tamil and in English of the works of de Nobili remain definitive for the de Nobili scholar.

The translators, given their good knowledge of Tamil, expertise in Sanskrit, as well as their familiarity with Hinduism, have done an excellent work. Their fine introduction and translation of the three texts provide English readers access to this important encounter of two cultures. I would have liked it more if the translators had given also the original titles in Latin and Tamil within brackets. This would have allowed easier referencing to the original language editions. While many Tamil scholars may brush aside de Nobili's contribution, saying that it is outdated and no longer relevant, this is a superficial attitude that refuses to recognise the continuity of a tradition that grows.

The assessment of de Nobili in Part I by the two translators is fair, balanced and helpful, and contains no exaggeration. The bibliography is good though limited. There are some omissions in the bibliography, particularly Tamil and other Indian-language books; nevertheless, the limited bibliography serves the purpose of the book.

This is a book on de Nobili with a felicitous title: *Preaching Wisdom to the Wise*

at this moment of Church history is a bold act of scholarship. Anand Amaladass and F.X. Clooney, both Jesuits, approach this multi-cultural coin from two sides: Amaladass studies and teaches Indian Philosophy at Chennai, while Clooney addresses comparative religions from his position at Boston College. Thus this is a book that will certainly be of interest to students of inculturation in the history of missions; no matter from which point of view they come. In India, one hopes that it will reestablish de Nobili among Tamil scholars as a legitimate model of the encounter between Eastern and Western cultures.

Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu

Thomas Reddy, S.J.

*Education in Zambia. Catholic Perspectives.* By Brendan Carmody, S.J. (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 1999. Pp. xxii, 195. 6 mapas, 8 láminas. N.p. En rústica.)

Brendan Carmody, jesuita irlandés llegado a Zambia en 1972, traza la historia del aporte de la Iglesia Católica al desarrollo de la educación en dicho país durante más de un siglo (1891 a 1996). El autor, profesor de Estudios Religiosos en la Escuela de Educación de la Universidad de Zambia, desarrolló su investigación durante cerca de diez años. Se consulta una vasta documentación, principalmente los Archivos Nacionales de Zambia, los Archivos de la Compañía de Jesús en Lusaka, Londres y Dublín, archivos diocesanos locales, además de los archivos de los Misioneros de Africa (Padres Blancos) en Lusaka y Roma. Para el periodo más reciente, se completa el estudio con 200 entrevistas (a misioneros, antiguos profesores, exalumnos y administradores de la educación católica), 2 amplias encuestas a un universo de 3.000 personas, y otras 5 encuestas menores.

El estudio abarca tres periodos cronológicos que corresponden respectivamente al régimen de la British South Africa Company (BSAC, 1891-1924), al del gobierno colonial (1924-1964) y a la post-independencia (1964-1996). Para cada uno de ellos, el autor se plantea preguntas clave: ¿Cuál fue el aporte de las instituciones escolares al crecimiento de la Iglesia en Zambia? ¿Actuaron libremente los alumnos, o se socializaron sin pretenderlo en la nueva religión? ¿Se llegó a una auténtica *conversión*? El acento quiere centrarse en la relación entre conversión y escuela. Aplicando diversos paradigmas teológicos (Bernard Lonergan) y sociológicos (Robin Horton, Humphrey Fisher) al contexto africano, el autor trata sugerentemente de clarificar los elementos que intervienen en el proceso de conversión. Sin embargo, no cabe duda que el estudio es preponderantemente histórico.

En el primer periodo, se describen los comienzos de la Iglesia Católica en la Misión del Zambeze y los métodos de evangelización seguidos. Del concepto inicial de "aldeas cristianas" —cercano en muchos aspectos a las reducciones

del Paraguay—, los primeros misioneros pasan poco a poco al de la escuela como instrumento privilegiado de anuncio del evangelio. Se analiza el diferente enfoque de jesuitas y Padres Blancos en la evangelización. Estos últimos, con clara tendencia a poner el acento en la catequesis y en la pastoral directa; más inclinados los jesuitas a potenciar la escuela. No todos los jesuitas en verdad, puesto que Joseph Moreau, el pionero de la misión de Chikuni, nunca vio con buenos ojos la escuela, que, a su juicio, desarraigaba a los campesinos de su ambiente. Asistimos a los primeros escarceos del debate sobre lo que hoy llamaríamos *inculturación* del evangelio. Escuela y desarrollo agrícola y económico no están en contradicción con anuncio del evangelio y bautismo. Subyacentes a todo ello, laten en el fondo determinados modelos de teología.

En el segundo periodo—la era colonial—, las nuevas orientaciones misioneras de los Papas dan un nuevo impulso a la escuela, concebida como pieza clave en el crecimiento de la Iglesia local y la formación del clero nativo. El hecho coincide con un cambio de política en el gobierno de Rodesia del Norte, que favorece decididamente la creación de una extensa red escolar. Con el apoyo del gobierno, la Iglesia Católica crea un sinnúmero de escuelas primarias y funda Escuelas Normales de Maestros, entre ellas la famosa “Charles Lwanga” de Chikuni, que debe su impulso al jesuita checo Maximilian Prokoph. La expansión escolar tendrá un impacto innegable en el plano tanto educativo como misionero del país. El 30% de las escuelas primarias están en ese momento en manos de la Iglesia Católica, mientras el número de conversiones va en aumento. No tarda en presentarse un forcejeo entre gobierno e Iglesia por el control de las escuelas. La Iglesia Católica da un paso más y entra en el terreno de la educación secundaria. Para los jesuitas, ésta se convierte en un instrumento único para la promoción del liderazgo católico. No faltarán, no obstante, las voces críticas sobre la relación entre educación y catequesis, así como acerca del sentido profundo del proceso de conversión. Por otra parte, el autor se pregunta hasta qué punto las escuelas sirvieron como instrumento de liberación o de domesticación. La referencia a la pedagogía de Paulo Freire es patente.

En esa etapa, la educación católica contribuye de manera indiscutible al progreso y desarrollo del país. Sin embargo, el compromiso de la Iglesia Católica con el surgimiento de un nuevo sistema político y social aparece muy tibio. El autor analiza de manera penetrante la posición de la Iglesia Católica ante los cambios que se dan en el país en vísperas de la independencia. De una neutralidad inicial y de una aceptación del *statu quo*, la Iglesia pasa a una tímida crítica a la administración colonial, hasta llegar a asumir paulatinamente posiciones más definidas y valientes ante la situación dominante. El papel jugado por la educación católica y quienes se formaron en ella no es ajeno a este proceso.

En cuanto al tercer periodo—el que sigue a la independencia—, el autor analiza los agitados acontecimientos que jalonan el camino recorrido por la educación católica. La Iglesia Católica se muestra dispuesta a colaborar con el gobierno, respondiendo a las necesidades educativas del país que acaba de acceder a la independencia. El influjo del Concilio Vaticano II se deja sentir. En 1974, en una decisión muy discutida, la Iglesia Católica entrega las escuelas primarias al gobierno. No mucho después, la Iglesia Católica tiene que resistir a las corrientes socialistas y nacionalizadoras del gobierno, y, junto con otras Iglesias, pelea por hacer sentir su presencia en los contenidos del currículo. Una vez más, la educación es el terreno de confrontación entre las tendencias encontradas que quieren marcar el rumbo del país.

Al final del periodo estudiado, la educación católica sigue comprometida en su tarea evangelizadora, aunque con rasgos muy distintos de lo que fuera un siglo atrás. Desde la escuela primaria hasta la Escuela Normal de Maestros, la educación de la Iglesia Católica goza de un merecido prestigio en Zambia y desempeña un papel de primer orden en el desarrollo del país. Una escuela que ha ganado en pluralismo, ecumenismo y espíritu de cooperación—como señala el autor—, pero que sin duda alguna ha perdido autonomía y cuya identidad católica corre peligro de esfumarse.

El autor concluye con interesantes reflexiones sobre la Iglesia Católica y la educación en Zambia en el momento actual. No deja de llamar la atención la referencia a las Comunidades Cristianas de Base, de corte latinoamericano, como medio eficaz para revitalizar la pastoral. Centrándose de nuevo en el tema de la conversión, el autor se pregunta hasta qué punto la educación católica forma cristianos, y qué es lo que diferencia a una escuela católica de otra que no lo es, en un país en que los católicos son hoy cerca del 28% de la población. Analiza una serie de retos, entre ellos la necesidad de una mayor coordinación de las instituciones educativas con las parroquias, y el esfuerzo por lograr mayor presencia de los pobres en los establecimientos de la Iglesia. Concluye abogando por una educación liberadora en la línea de la justicia, que contribuya al proceso de consolidación de la democracia.

El trabajo incluye una selecta bibliografía y un buen índice. Observemos solamente cierto número de errores en la transcripción de las citas en francés. El libro de Brendan Carmody constituye una investigación concienzuda y bien documentada, indispensable para el estudio de la educación en Zambia y de la historia misionera de la Iglesia Católica en dicho país. Representa además un valioso aporte a la reflexión histórica sobre el concepto de *misión*, el proceso de *conversión*, y acerca del papel que en ellas corresponde a la educación.

Curia Generalizia, Roma

Gabriel Codina, S.J.

*William J. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin, 1841-1921: No Uncertain Voice.* By Thomas J. Morrissey, S.J. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000. Pp. x, 404. £30.00. Hardback.)

William Walsh was one of modern Ireland's foremost ecclesiastical statesmen: one of the builders of the modern Irish nation. He became Archbishop of Dublin in 1885, just as Charles Stewart Parnell was leading his nationalist parliamentary party to the very gates of self-government. As he died in 1921, Sinn Féin had brought southern Ireland to the brink of independence. Along the way, Walsh played a major role in delivering land ownership to tenant farmers and a state university for Catholics. And this was in addition to his first job of overseeing the ever-expanding organisation and property of the Church itself. No better subject, then, for a full scholarly biography.

Thomas Morrissey has produced a clear, thorough and thoughtful account that will undoubtedly remain the biography of record for a long time to come. More than that though, he charts Walsh's character as well as his career. His portrait of a bright, ambitious, hard-nosed and quick-tempered workaholic is vivid and rings absolutely true. He was in many ways typical of the self-made nationalists of his era: enemies of privilege and patriotic go-getters. The Church was the central institution of his nation and one of the main avenues of social mobility for bright young Catholics in Victorian Ireland. Journalism and politics were two of the others, and Walsh was to find both irresistible throughout his life.

Walsh (born 1841) was the son of a Dublin watchmaker and an early protegee of Paul Cullen, the iron Cardinal who led the Irish church in the formative decades following the great famine of the 1840s. His intellectual talents shone at Maynooth College where he quickly became Professor of Theology and one of the hierarchy's chief policy wonks. As an adviser to the Bishop of Ossory (Cullen's nephew) he threw himself into a series of controversies and debates on land and education—twin obsessions of the middle class. He rose quickly through the academic ranks (suppressing a student rebellion for good measure) to become first Vice-President, then College President. This, the well-travelled fast track to the episcopacy (ten other Theology Professors were made bishops between 1878 and 1895), culminated for Walsh in the prize archdiocese of Dublin.

From this, the unofficial premiership of the hierarchy, Walsh played an integral part in nationalist campaigns for Home Rule and against landlords. This involved him in confrontations with the Conservative government and with the Vatican, which was uneasy at his open politicking. From this period come two reports usefully quoted by Morrissey. Wilfred Scawen Blunt met Walsh in 1886 and found "a young fellow of 42, a very unmistakable Irishman, short, plain-featured, quick-witted, alert, and without pretension . . . His dignity sits loosely

on him and the gravity of his position seems a burden. He jumps up while speaking and runs about, calls to his chaplain or servant, and has a telephone which he works himself." The image of Walsh working the phones suggests a later incarnation as a union or studio boss. Such was the impression he made on Monsignor Persico, a Papal envoy who arrived the following year. He saw Walsh as dangerously politicised and lacking in "pastoral spirit"; "he has imposed himself on the bishops" by virtue of his popularity and "woe to the bishop who does not think like the Archbishop of Dublin."

Walsh's political life naturally became intertwined with that of Parnell. In fact he was instrumental in clearing his name over accusations of collusion in assassination before turning against him over his adulterous relationship with Katherine O'Shea. Contrary to myth, the Church did not bring him down and Walsh was not personally malicious, but his subsequent reputation (among Parnellites) as a back-stabber would prove impossible to shake.

After the cyclonic 1880s, Walsh withdrew somewhat from politics, and the book slows down as well. However, Morrissey uses this opportunity to sketch sympathetically Walsh's everyday life—which inevitably revolved around work, interspersed with stress-related breakdowns. After 1912, Walsh was drawn back into public life, first by the 1913 lock-out by Dublin employers of their unionised employees, and then by the rising revolutionary tide. Included is a nice chapter on his household and the 1916 rising.

My only real criticism of this useful and conscientious book is its lack of critical judgement. Morrissey has much of interest to relate (and provides enough background information to keep it easily intelligible to non-specialists) but he feels little desire to investigate or explain. I would like to know a lot more about the bishops as a group and about Walsh's management of Church property and personnel. The Irish Catholic Church was enormously powerful. I would like that fascinating combination of democratic and authoritarian power analysed, and no one embodied it like William J. Walsh.

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Peter Hart

*Seminaria diecezjalne w Polsce prowadzone przez jezuitów od XVI do XVIII wieku* [Diocesan Seminaries Administered by Jesuits between the 16th and 18th Centuries]. By Ludwik Piechnik, S.J. [*Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Jezuitów Polskich (Studies and Materials from the History of Polish Jesuits)* Vol. 6.] (Kraków: Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna "Ignatianum," 2001. Pp. 282, 16 illustrations. 21.50 Paperback.)

The recently published volume of writings by Professor Ludwik Piechnik S.J., which is devoted to Polish diocesan seminaries managed by the Jesuits, is

of a unique kind, and that for a variety of reasons. It differs from his hitherto publications but at the same time is related to his mainstream interests.

The difference lies in that so far Piechnik's research activity has been focused on pedagogical and educational work that was initiated and carried out by the Jesuits themselves, i.e. work that was in a way independent from the Church authorities (colleges, academies, publications). Piechnik's most outstanding achievements are of course the four-volume monograph on the university of Wilno (nowadays Vilnius, Lithuania), published 1983-90, as well as synthesising articles that survey the special character of the Jesuit pedagogical method (collected and published in one volume entitled *Z dziejów szkolnictwa jezuitckiego w Polsce* [From the History of Jesuit Schools in Poland], Kraków, 1994). But the new volume is the fruit of forty years of, so to speak, collateral research. Piechnik's first article which deals with the Kalisz seminary and the whole of which, by the way, treats of the Jesuits, was published in *Nasza Przyszłość* [Our Past] in the year 1964; some others were written with a view to include them in the most recent book.

"Collateral" does not necessarily mean "incidental." Piechnik, who based his research on in-depth source queries (which often allowed him to reject the fallacies that had been deep-rooted in specialist literature), sometimes arrived at conclusions that took even him by surprise, so he felt the need to justify the presented results: "The reader of my study can gain the impression that the history of the Polish diocesan seminaries under the Jesuit management is an interlacement of misunderstandings and disagreements between the chapter canons and the Jesuits. But it must be noted that legal documents were the ones that were the most carefully stored and frequently they are the only ones that are extant. A historian is bound to use them because there are no other documents that could provide information about decades of ordinary, regular, everyday life: twenty decades in the case of the Braniewo seminary. Such a situation must pose a threat of the one-sidedness of the presented picture" (p. 19). Of course this apt proviso must be kept in mind. Nevertheless, the reading generally leaves one with a clear perception that the diocesan seminaries managed by the Jesuits constitute an example of their pedagogical failure and, anyway, definitely of their lost campaign for the Polish Catholic priest (not only in respect to dioceses, as seminaries were frequently taken over from the Jesuits by the Lazarists, the Piarists or administered by the canons, in the last case often with mediocre results). The Jesuits wanted the Polish Catholic priest to be primarily an intellectual versed in ideological debates, whereas the canons and partly the bishops saw him rather as the parish priest, who would chiefly take care about current pastoral affairs, of which the fundamental ones were regarded liturgy, church singing and the ability to keep parish books. Symptomatic in this aspect is a 1584 letter, mentioned as early as in the introductory remarks, written by the Jesuit Stanisław Rożański (brother to the bishop of



Kujawy, Hieronim Rożański) to Father General Claudio Acquaviva, which concerned the controversy between the Jesuits in Poznań and the chapter canons. The long letter, in which Rożański supports the cause of the canons (cf. pp. 82-83), is supplemented by him with the following observation: "I consider it proper to inform Your Reverence at the same time that a common mistake is committed here; and I daresay that it is actually a mistake to educate seminary clerics in all branches of science, due to which they turn intellectuals with academic degrees rather than parish priests, and they will be happier to lecture in university halls than to manage parishes" (p. 16). So much for the letter, which is commented upon by Piechnik in the following manner: "In the subsequent part of the letter Rożański warned that if the Jesuits would not change their curriculum, the Society was going to lose the support of those who expected everything from it (*qui omnia a Societate expectant*). The Jesuits did not change the curriculum. Rhetoric, dialectic and polemical theology, which included lectures on dogmas and those parts of the biblical text that were questioned by non-Catholics, were, besides moral theology, the principal subjects" (pp. 82-83). Eventually Piechnik concludes: "The fact that these very subjects were emphasised accounted for the formation of a unique kind of priests, close in character to the Jesuits: they were prepared to deliver polemical sermons, to take part in disputes, to defend their faith. At that time, in particular in some parts of Poland (Warmia, Pomorze, Żmudź) precisely such priests were needed. But when the offensive of the Reformation broke, the ideal of the priest as a defender of faith lost its immediate significance, became obsolete. There appeared a need for pastoral work, for devoted parish priests who could teach the truths of faith, who were prepared to administer the Sacraments, manage the parish, etc." (pp. 82-83).

I quoted these excerpts, perhaps too extensively, since they seem to be of utmost importance in the understanding of the essence of the controversies that had arisen in various educational institutions run by the Jesuits. Whenever a seminary survived from its establishment till the suppression of the Society in 1773, it had to be attributed to extraordinary conditions. Such was the case of the Sandomierz seminary, where it was only the determination of the Jesuits and the guarantees included in a special document issued by the founder, Rev. Michał Leopoldowicz, that allowed them to preserve their independence from the chapter and the bishop in the management of the seminary. A similar case was the Braniewo seminary, because of the delicate circumstances of Catholicism in Warmia (in the vicinity of the Protestant Prussia, which entailed the constant necessity to confront a different denomination). In the remaining cases, sooner or later there occurred tensions between the Jesuits and the canons or the bishop. Of course, it was not always the curriculum that was the core of the controversy; the causes, though equally valid for the Jesuits, were often much more mundane, such as the financial standing (cf. note about the

Wilno seminary: "The principal difficulty, which ultimately made the Jesuits give up the management of the seminary, was the unfavourable financial condition," p. 101), or the hardly warranted conduct of the bishop (as, for instance, in Kalisz, where Bishop Wawrzyniec Gembicki, *nota bene* educated by the Jesuits, suddenly changed his stance and relieved the Jesuits of the management of the thriving seminary in Kalisz; cf. pp. 144-48). It is worthwhile to quote also the questions posed by the author of the monograph: "In the history of the Kalisz seminary and its liquidation there are some unclear and mysterious points. Why did Primate Gembicki change his attitude towards the Jesuits so suddenly? Had his extraordinary kindness been insincere? Why did the Jesuits so fiercely defend their right to manage the seminary, although it had very few students and the management involved nothing but trouble? Lastly, why did the chapter so consistently strive to take away the seminary from the Jesuits, though it could not level any substantial charges?" (p. 149).

The author does not provide unambiguous answers because possibly there are none; however, the suggestions that are put forward are interesting as they touch upon the peculiar controversy of the century: the one between the Society of Jesus and the university of Kraków. Due to its importance in the history of education in Poland, I think it should be mentioned here: "The answer to all these questions can be found only in the general change of atmosphere that surrounded the Jesuits. A great deal altered within thirty years [i.e. between 1590 and 1620]. The controversy between the Society and the university affected the matters in Kalisz. The Jesuits wanted to open a university in Poznań and a college in Kraków. This spurred the professors of the jeopardised university, its graduates and supporters into action. Additional factors were litigation over real estate and the disparaging attitude of the Jesuits towards the university in Kraków. Gembicki, perhaps not by intent, became involved in the game of which he might be not entirely aware; he tried to withdraw from it by promising the provincial he would not do anything without prior consent of the General, but the chapter forestalled him and acted without consulting him. The majority of the chapters backed the university. No wonder: the canons were usually its graduates, hence the animosity of the chapter towards the Jesuits under Karnkowski, and its open hostility under Gembicki" (p. 149).

The cited passage on the assessment of the conflict in Kalisz is typical of the tone of the whole book. Professor Ludwik Piechnik is too well acquainted with the sources so as not to realise the complexity of human affairs. He does not partially defend the Jesuits; he tries to understand the arguments of their adversaries. What remains to be offered is a sad conclusion: it was the level of education of the Polish clergy that fell victim to the controversy. But on the other hand it is true that the Congregation of the Missions (Congregatio Missionis) was able to answer the needs of the chapters in a more satisfactory

way. Piechnik admits it himself: "As regards the majority of the seminaries, the chapters accused the Jesuits that they neglected to educate their alumni in the skills that were just as well necessary in parish work: rituals, singing, the Church calendar, methods of teaching the catechism and delivering sermons, etc. Undeniably they were right to a degree" (p. 262). This is how he comments upon the education provided in the seminaries of the Congregation: "In the Włocławek seminary the Lazarists undertook the tasks that were considered of less importance by the Jesuits but that are of major importance for ministry in parishes" (p. 263.) Perhaps this is why the followers of St. Vincent de Paul had more propitious relations with the chapters than the followers of St. Ignatius Loyola: "The Jesuits complained about some chapters: in their opinion they hampered their work by limiting their independence, about which the Jesuits were very anxious. The relations between the Lazarists and the chapters were amiable" (p. 263).

All in all, the reading of this book on the diocesan seminars in Poland that functioned under the aegis of the Jesuits not only proves it to be a rich source of facts (at times involving the reader as much as a well-penned detective story) on the history of in-house life of various circles within the Catholic Church. It can also considerably change the oversimplified, schematic picture of Polish Catholicism, as perceived through the prism of confessional contention. Thanks to the monograph by the Jesuit historian we can observe, as if *in statu nascendi*, the controversy over the quality of Polish Catholicism, carried out not in the conflict and fight with other denominations or religions but within the same camp. On the one hand, we see the internationally active order, attracted to Western or perhaps rather Roman, post-Tridentine models of Catholicism, the ones that grew more profound and more engaged in the ideological debate about man. On the other hand, we see that the chapters and at least some bishops (as there were some who supported the Jesuits' efforts wholeheartedly) were concerned to educate efficient parish managers. Certainly the latter kind of priest was needed, but regretfully so few of the former kind were educated. In this context one can remember the well-known thesis of Professor Tazbir on the sarmatisation of Polish Catholicism. The issue of how much seminary education was subject to that process should remain a research thesis. Tazbir himself maintains, probably not without reason, that the Jesuits themselves underwent that process, which may be confirmed by the supposition that the opinion of Stanisław Rożański, a Jesuit who thought the chapters right, was not exceptional even among the Jesuits.

To conclude, it should be remembered that the decree on seminaries, issued on 15 June 1563 during the 23rd session of the Council of Trent, originated thanks to a notable contribution on the part of the Jesuits. Their influence on the education of European elites is a point of spirited scholarly debate. The study of Professor Ludwik Piechnik is an important statement in this debate.

And it is meant, as frequently and modestly stressed by the author, to indicate a plethora of problems rather than to be his last word on the subject. It is worthwhile to pick up the suggestions that are scattered throughout this work so as to obtain a fuller and therefore truer picture of our pedagogical past. Just one more final note is that Father Ludwik Piechnik is finishing another book, this time devoted to the history of the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*. We are very much looking forward to receiving the volume.

House of Writers, Kraków

Stanisław Obirek, S.J.

*Collegj a forma di seminario: Il sistema di formazione teologica nello Stato di Milano in età spagnola.* By Simona Negruzzo. (Brescia: Editrice La Scuola, 2000. Pp. 535. € 38,74. Paperback.)

I would like to begin this review with a confession: I wish I had written this book. For sheer breadth of scope and depth of analysis, comparative as well as focused on individual cases, it is a monumental achievement. Simona Negruzzo has proven herself a rising star in the history of education, post-Tridentine reform, and the Duchy of Milan in the early modern period.

Negrizzo's main thesis is that, despite the lack of a coordinated program to integrate the various educational institutions in each diocese in the region, the colleges of religious orders, University of Pavia, cathedral schools, and diocesan seminaries actually worked as a system of education. On first blush, this seems hard to swallow: given, for example, the tensions between Jesuits and diocesan seminaries in the Duchy, or the differences in educational methods between Somaschi and Jesuits, both of which she discusses, the concept of system does not readily come to mind. However, through a careful and comprehensive study of the relationships among the schools not only in terms of shared *maestri*, or even shared space, but also in the minds of the bishops who cooperated with or worked against the schools to produce the next generation of educated secular priests, Negruzzo convincingly supports her thesis. She developed the thesis, she states, in order to understand not merely the young men educated in Lombardy, but also to understand whether there was, in fact, an educational impact of the Catholic Reform. No one of the schools was self-sufficient; not one was able to create the change which the church hierarchy desired. For example, diocesan seminaries depended on other schools to provide basic training in languages before entrance, and to complete the theological training after seminary studies were finished. The question, therefore, is not whether or not there were interdependencies—surely there were, in the Duchy of Milan as well as in other regions on the Italian peninsula—but whether or not these interdependencies effected significant change in priests and parishes.

Each chapter considers a diocese in the region; Milan receives the most in-

depth treatment, for obvious reasons, but smaller areas are by no means neglected. Although research on individual dioceses has been conducted in the last few decades (examples include Thomas Deutscher's work on Novara and Peppino Giarda's on Vigevano) and research on both the region of Milan and the religious orders, particularly the Jesuits, remain a staple for scholars of Early Modern Catholicism (among which are the venerable Xenio Toscani, Elena Brambilla, John O'Malley and Luce Giard), the lion's share of Negruzzo's book is new primary-source research. The most important institutions she considers are the University of Pavia, the schools operated by the Jesuits, Somaschi, and Barnabites, and the diocesan seminaries. These different institutions were often at odds with each other. The religious orders each had their own educational plans, all variations on the theme of *Ratio studiorum*, and they competed with each other and sometimes with the University for the theology students. In Milan itself, Carlo Borromeo wanted a clerical education program, at first including the Jesuits and later, after some problems including an accusation of laxity from the archbishop, with the Oblates, capable of producing degrees, which also put him into conflict with the University of Pavia. The Jesuits considered the University competition, whereas the Somaschi and Barnabites cooperated with it. The Jesuits and Somaschi were rivals in Como, as were the Jesuits and Barnabites in Alessandria; indeed, in the latter diocese, the Barnabites never managed to open a school, based both on the preference of the city for the Jesuits and the scarcity of resources. However, cooperation was not entirely unknown. Members of religious orders often taught in (or even administered) diocesan seminaries and of course at the University; in Tortona, collaboration between the older religious orders and the newer institutions was significant; and in the tiny new diocese of Vigevano, with only four parishes, cooperation between the bishops and civic administrators was fairly easy.

Not all dioceses in Lombardy had equal levels of educational development, of course. For example, the religious education of clergy in Como depended very much on the religious orders as the diocesan seminary there was founded quite late. The seminary in Cremona was opened in 1566, but was so poor that it could neither house all of its students or maintain consistent teaching until the Jesuits opened a college in 1600. In many areas, candidates for the priesthood were forced to undertake the kind of *peregrinatio* often associated with medieval universities. This fact leads Negruzzo to a second apparently surprising conclusion: in remote parts of the Duchy, the education of clergy was "more dynamic and varied" than in Milan itself. Again, the statement bears careful consideration and is clearly true. Outside of the most organized and most urbanized diocese in Lombardy, and particularly in the late sixteenth century, away from the watchful eyes of the Borromeos, diocesan educational institutions cooperated less with each other. Thus, each student in areas like Como was exposed to different programs and methods of study. While the

caliber of that education might have been lower in Como, its content and methodology was certainly more flexible.

In addition to the schools themselves, Negruzzo explores the diocesan visitation records to determine the impact of this new system of education. Because of variations from diocese to diocese, both in institutions and record-keeping, synthetic statements are difficult to make. Some findings in particular bear mention, however. Although, given my research on different seminaries in Tuscany, I was not surprised to see how few students attended classes in seminaries—a maximum of 25 in any one diocese—I was frankly astonished to see that as many as 10% of priests in Novara studied nine years in a seminary. By contrast, in Fiesole between 1646 and 1675, only 41% of the secular clergy spent any time in a seminary, and of that group, 18%—which is to say only about 7.4% of the whole—spent even three years. Clearly, the statistics she provides for the Duchy of Milan are of great interest, as they both help broaden the understanding of that region and allow for such comparisons.

Negrizzo concludes with a chapter which I wholeheartedly support: simply because seminaries did not, in practice, conform to the ideals of the Council of Trent, we cannot argue that they were without any value. Resistance within the dioceses, whether inertia, lack of money, or active blocking of change, account for some of the problems within the “system” of education she describes, yet it was not a failure.

In sum, this is a model for future studies of diocesan and regular clerical education, one which will prove particularly useful not only for specialists in the religious orders of the Catholic Reformation, but also for those who wish to make comparisons between older and newer orders, between universities and colleges, and between regular and secular priests. It is exhaustively researched as well as clearly and sensitively written, and I recommend it highly.

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Kathleen M. Comerford

*The Politics of Ritual Kinship. Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy.* Ed. Nicholas Terpstra (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Pp. xi, 317. \$75.00. Hardback).

Among the institutions of cultural and religious life in late medieval and early modern Europe, confraternities present us with a series of special conceptual challenges. While they were often conceived as autonomous lay organizations that promoted charitable giving and/or patronage in the name of particular social or occupational groups, or as vehicles for popular devotion, in the wake of Tridentine reform efforts from the mid- sixteenth century, confraternities also came to be viewed as potential tools for religious reformers pursuing wide-

ranging agendas. Nicholas Terpstra, who has written insightfully about confraternal activity and poor relief in sixteenth-century Bologna (and beyond) and contributes a fine discussion of confraternal organization and work with abandoned children to this volume, brings together fifteen, mostly fascinating, essays by an impressive selection of scholars. In their totality, these essays demonstrate the many paradoxes marking confraternal organizations, their wide-ranging activities, and the web of relationships that linked the laity, secular authorities, and Catholic Church personnel.

While the essays in this volume cover a broad geographical sweep of early modern Italy (though only one essay considers southern Italy), and consider confraternal activities in rural and urban, as well as Catholic and Jewish religious contexts, Terpstra intends each study to address the common theme of ritual kinship as a central expression of religious piety, social organization, and power politics within the confraternities and in early modern Italian society. One of the central tensions addressed throughout the volume is the shifting and often ambiguous relationship between lay groups defending traditional ritual practices and social identities and ecclesiastical authorities hoping to "use" these confraternal organizations for their own reform purposes. Wisely, most of the authors here eschew simplistic characterizations of confraternities as transparent tools of ecclesiastical authorities (be they reforming bishops like Carlo Borromeo in Milan, or new religious orders like the Jesuits) seeking to impose social discipline, choosing instead to demonstrate the nuances of each institution, and the careful processes of negotiation that marked local cases.

Christopher Black, the highly-respected author of an important monograph study of Italian confraternities (1989), starts off the volume with a useful historiographical essay that reminds readers of the growth and vitality of confraternal studies in the recent period and of the previously under-explored areas of lay religiosity that have been brought to light by this work. Suggesting that we now know a great deal more about such questions as who belonged to early modern confraternities, how these organizations sought to intervene in resolving social conflict, the role of secular and ecclesiastical political patronage, ritual practices, and confraternal sponsorship of the arts, Black points to the need for additional research to understand better the complex gender and social class dimensions of confraternal organization and activity, regional variations, and the changing face of these institutions across the early modern period.

Jennifer Fisk Rondeau, Giovanna Casagrande, Anna Esposito, and Lance Lazar all put questions of gender and/or regulation of sexuality center stage in their investigations of confraternal activities and identities in Tuscany, Umbria, and Rome, respectively. Rondeau makes a suggestive case for the central problematic of homosociality as both a key feature of the ritual kinship of late medieval confraternal organizations in Tuscany and as a source of social

tension. For her part, Casagrande assesses the degree to which women's *presence* in late medieval and Renaissance Umbrian confraternities actually translated into meaningful participation in the full range of activities (not to mention governance) in which the congregation's members were engaged. Turning to the Roman context, Anna Esposito looks at the confraternities as the site of familial strategies for asserting social identity and carving out a space of influence within a highly stratified political milieu. She argues that while Roman women faced some of the same limitations to their formal roles within these organizations as their sisters elsewhere in Italy, they seem to have carved out a meaningful niche for themselves in Rome to a greater degree than in other locales. While Elliott Horowitz' essay on Jewish confraternal piety in Ferrara does not focus primarily on gender issues, his assessment of changing membership and agendas in this Emilian city's Jewish confraternal organizations during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries reinforces the idea of a linkage between a congregation's shift toward a primarily spiritual (as opposed to charitable) orientation and the increasing exclusion of women from its ranks.

While several authors examine the regulation of sexuality and the gender dimensions of confraternal activities within primarily lay-inspired institutions (indeed, nearly every essay deals with questions of gender, at least peripherally), Lance Lazar examines reform efforts by Jesuit-sponsored confraternities that targeted marginal populations in early modern Rome such as prostitutes, Jews, and Muslims. Following up on Esposito's essay, Lazar highlights the significant (if always somewhat circumscribed) organizational space created for elite women in these religiously-sponsored confraternal organizations, noting for example that refuges like Casa Santa Marta symbolized "not only the reform of women, but also reform by women" (141). Unlike later Jesuit congregations, Lazar rightly notes, these early Roman confraternities maintained a great deal of autonomy from the order's administrative control, while also setting a standard for similar Jesuit/lay institutions in the future.

The often delicate balance between lay and ecclesiastical power and initiative, and the impact of this changing relationship on confraternal activities and identity, is explored in essays by Mark A. Lewis, Danilo Zardin, and Konrad Eisenblicher. Following on Lazar's discussion of early Jesuit congregations in Rome, Lewis provides an intriguing and nuanced picture of the Society of Jesus' variety of approaches to confraternal activity in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Kingdom of Naples. Arguing against depictions of Jesuit-led congregations as tightly controlled from above, Lewis contends that Jesuit confraternities in Naples followed a "layered development": building upon pre-existing confraternal orders by ideally reshaping them in a distinctly "Jesuit" image; creating their own lay confraternities in order to pursue desired reforms; and initiating Marian congregations with more direct ties to Jesuit leadership and the Society's prerogatives. In all but the last case, Lewis maintains, it does



not appear that the Jesuits were able to maintain tight control over these institutions, even if that was their intention.

Moving northward from Naples, Danilo Zardin evaluates the degree of ecclesiastical control over lay confraternities in one of the showplaces of Tridentine reform efforts: late sixteenth-century Milan. In this excellent analysis of Borromean efforts to direct the energies and orientation of Milanese confraternities, Zardin convinces the reader that even in highly-centralized and articulated archdioceses such as Milan, the Catholic Church's reforms "could not eliminate the diversity of traditions and pluralistic system of lay associations which actually they sought to reinterpret" (209). Rather, traditional forms had significant staying power, even when confronted by disciplinary regimes such as Borromeo's.

As Konrad Eisenblicher's strong investigation of the suppression of confraternal activities in eighteenth-century Florence demonstrates, conflicts among ecclesiastical authorities, between secular and ecclesiastical spheres of influence, or a changing ideological climate, could have deleterious effects on lay confraternities. When secular governments felt most insecure, Eisenblicher shows, they sought to clamp down on confraternities' very existence. As long as secular and ecclesiastical authorities both appeared to gain by their continued vitality (as they did during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), by contrast, the confraternities might flourish. In the eighteenth century, however, a complex of forces combined to render the confraternities once again vulnerable to the whims of authorities. Where members of the clergy and ecclesiastical elites might have defended the confraternities in earlier times from secular attack, by the latter half of the eighteenth century, the Church sought to side with those forces arrayed against perceived corruption and participated in the suppression of lay confraternities.

Overall, the quality of these disparate investigations of late medieval and early modern Italian confraternities is quite good. While not all authors in this volume address the central problematic of "ritual kinship" to an equal degree, by using a range of effective methodological approaches, and informed by careful readings of available evidence, the contributors enrich our understanding of the complex nature of lay charitable and pious activities and identities on the brink of the modern age.

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Jennifer D. Selwyn

*Un generale fra le milizie del Papa. La vita di Claudio Acquaviva scritta da Francesco Sacchini della Compagnia di Gesù.* By Alessandro Guerra. (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2002. Pp. 295. € 20.66. Paperback.)

The first half of this volume (pp. 9-162) is a scholarly and well annotated survey of the career of Father General Claudio Acquaviva, incorporating much recent research. The difficulties which beset both Acquaviva personally and the Society institutionally between 1581 and 1615 are examined with care. The unresolved problems within the Society itself, not least in relation to the Spanish province, left at the death of Father General Everard Mercurian are naturally discussed. But a relevant stress is also placed on the relative youth of Acquaviva (\*1543) and his relative juniority in the Society (which he entered in 1567) at the time of his election as Father General. This extended historical introduction to the volume also makes clear how difficult were the circumstances encountered by Acquaviva when, while still more junior, he was put in charge of the Neapolitan province, before being summoned to head the Roman province and subsequently succeeding Mercurian. As the first Italian to direct the Society, Acquaviva might be thought to have the potential benefits of being of aristocratic birth and of coming from the territories of the Spanish king. But in addition to the continued dissent among Spanish members of the Society, and contested relations within Spain between Jesuits and the Inquisition, Father General Acquaviva also had to face the coolness, towards the Society even if not so specifically at a personal level, of Clement VIII, once he had become pope in 1592. The introduction naturally stresses how little the life of Acquaviva written by Francesco Sacchini (\*10.xi.1570 Paciano; SJ 8.x.1588 Rome; Secretary of the Society from 1619; †16.xii.1625 Rome [DHCJ, IV, 3458]) refers to the difficulties in Spain, or in France, or in Venice, or elsewhere, or indeed the major doctrinal disputes involving the Society and its opponents, marking this Generalship and producing the challenge to Acquaviva's own authority represented by two extraordinary General Congregations, in 1593-4 and 1608, except in the most general terms and allusions. Instead, it is proposed, the "Life" (which the introduction relates to the Society's own history writing) from its conception immediately after Acquaviva's death was intended as an essentially devotional exercise, for the purposes of edification.

The Italian text of the "Life" is reproduced (not, one can deduce in certain instances, entirely without error) from the Roman manuscript in the second half of the volume (pp. 165-290, in a smaller fount). The purpose of edification is indeed clear, with the suggestions (noted in the introduction) of miraculous elements in Acquaviva's life, parallels with lives of other saints (and of Ignatius himself) and of his virtually saintly qualities. Nevertheless something of the aristocratic capacity for caustic understatement comes through in remarks attributed to the Father General, which shed light on the emphatic allusions to the tribulations which he patiently endured from opponents both within and without the Society. Some modern historians tend to qualify the degree to which any early modern cleric valued the priestly role of saying Mass, but the stress on Acquaviva's devotion in this regard is at very least indicative of the

nature of the piety expected among the intended audience or readership. Practical activities of the Society, charitable and educational, are also given prominence, in a reminder of the Society's internal disputes, even after Mercurian's death, over its true purpose and identity. The status of the Society as a religious order is emphasised, even by a rare reference (except to a few popes and prelates) to a secular priest, who is effectively ridiculed. The publication of this "Life" is certainly most valuable.

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A.D. Wright

*Orfeo nelle Indie. I gesuiti e la musica in Paraguay (1609-1767)*. Da Johann Herczog. (Galatina [Lecce]: Mario Congedo Editore, 2001. Pp. 276. €23.24. Hard-back.)

Come Orfeo, che grazie alla sua lira ed alla benevolenza di Persefone, ebbe la speranza di riportare alla vita Euridice, Herczog, con il suo attento studio alla musica delle riduzioni del Paraguay, ci riporta indietro di secoli in un mondo, anche per molti addetti ai lavori, sconosciuto.

Con scarsi e frammentari fondi documentari, relativi al Settecento ed a zone limitate di un territorio ben più vasto, già nella presentazione è lui stesso ad avvisare il lettore dei problemi incontrati affrontando questo argomento (p. 7). L'intento di questa ricerca, percorrendo un secolo e mezzo di storia (1609-1767), è quello di ricongiungere sotto un unico denominatore la tradizione specificatamente musicologica con le ricerche più propriamente storiografiche. Analizzando la struttura di questa monografia notiamo una prima premessa storico-politica del fenomeno riduzione cui segue una parte biografica dedicata ai maggiori musicisti del periodo preso in esame. La parte introduttiva (p. 11-21) offre un rapido, eppure dettagliato, excursus dell'arrivo dei gesuiti, della fondazione delle prime riduzioni (p. 14) e dell'introduzione della musica come elemento fondante nel processo di evangelizzazione dell'indio. Come è a molti noto il compito della musica—che non è fenomeno statico ma creazione di movimento e continuità—è anche quello di determinare uno status globale inalterato e scevro da elementi estranei al contesto che si vuole predisporre per la definizione di una nuova società. Il suo significativo impatto culturale di fatto la candida a forma metalinguistica privilegiata. Riteniamo, infatti, che nell'America Spagnola sia stata utilizzata anche come strumento di evangelizzazione e civilizzazione (p. 245). Il lungo e lento processo verso l'instaurazione del concetto di società civile la vede protagonista indiscussa nella comunicazione tra due interlocutori che si esprimono con lingue diverse. La musica, essenzialmente movimento nel tempo, configura anche l'entità globale di un repertorio europeo esportato nel Nuovo Mondo. Per questa ragione i missionari scelti per questa delicata missione dovevano tra l'altro avere anche spiccate attitudini

musicali, che dovevano poi tradursi in pratica nella gestione ed organizzazione di un complesso apparato di strumenti e persone con carattere cosmopolita (p. 16).

La musica, che cammina a fianco della storia, subisce di questa gli eventi, raccorda ed influenza gli uomini e la loro cultura, determina i cambiamenti. Per questo, come Herczog ci dice: "Il crollo della cultura musicale delle riduzioni coincide perfettamente con l'espulsione della Compagnia di Gesù dalle colonie spagnole nel 1767," ed ancora, a proposito della diffusione della cultura musicale nelle riduzioni scrive: "Estinte queste, anche tale cultura cessò di esistere" (p. 135). Armani e Konetzke rappresentano la bibliografia essenziale di riferimento privilegiata nell'introduzione.

A nostro parere ritorna utile sottolineare che la musica stupisce, impressiona, diviene quel metalinguaggio di cui si parlava sopra perché uniforme e collega due mondi separati. Degli inizi di questo contatto l'autore parla e cita documenti nella prima parte del volume (p. 25-31). Seguono profili biografici di: Jean Vaisseau, Louis Berger, Piero Comentale e Claude Royer (p. 33-46). Sempre rimanendo nell'ambito delle biografie ampio spazio è dedicato a quella di Anton Sepp (p. 57-82). La figura di questo importante cantante e musicista—meno brillante come compositore (p. 60)—acquista all'interno del discorso di Herczog uno spazio privilegiato. Dell'uomo, dell'artista, del gesuita traccia un profilo significativo e significativo per la comprensione di un mondo generalmente più vasto di quello ristretto alle riduzioni ed alla musica di queste: ad esso dedica generose descrizioni, aneddoti e citazioni. Un'attenzione particolare meritano le traduzioni, curate dall'autore, delle lettere di Sepp che, oltre a rafforzare il valore documentale del testo, ci offrono la coeva storia delle riduzioni. È sempre a Sepp che si deve la costruzione di un organo (p. 69) e l'ideazione e la realizzazione di un presepe (p. 73), ci arrivano le "lezioni" del Sepp tramite due opere principali: *Relazione* e *Continuazione*.

Un posto non meno importante e significativo è riservato al compositore italiano Domenico Zipoli (p. 83-95). Figura emergente nel panorama musicale generale delle riduzioni, prima di giungere oltreoceano il percorso artistico ed umano di Zipoli è accompagnato da diverse rinunce, induzioni, spostamenti (non solo da una città all'altra dell'Italia ma anche da un "maestro ad un altro"). Sulla base di quanto riportato nei Cataloghi Segreti della Provincia del Paraguay, conservati nell'ARSI, l'autore propone un'interpretazione che riguarda il rapporto che Zipoli ebbe con i propri compagni, la sua crescita intellettuale e musicale, la sua attività religiosa e spirituale (p. 88-90). Le sue doti musicali vennero molto apprezzate e lasciarono un segno profondo tra gli indios delle riduzioni. Molti i cronisti del tempo che evidenziarono ed apprezzarono i risultati cui Zipoli era giunto: la capacità di replicare le sfarzose feste barocche europee in terra d'America giustificavano la sua presenza nelle più importanti

cronistorie del tempo (p. 91-92). In questo panorama l'attività musicale è strettamente dipendente e legata a quella missionaria, il grande spazio e la libertà concessa al compositore è parte integrante e di primaria importanza per la gestione della vita nelle missioni.

Ci piace qui sottolineare un aspetto riguardante la grafia musicale. Nel Settecento Rousseau diede alla notazione contributi importanti nelle voci di interesse musicale redatte per l'*Encyclopédie* (1749) e nel *Dictionnaire de musique* (1767) che pubblicò in proprio. Gli indios delle riduzioni erano semplici esecutori di un programma pensato, ideato e realizzato da europei. Il problema relativo alla semiografia musicale risulta, invece, evidente presso quelle cultura primitive che dovettero uniformare ed integrare il proprio posseduto con il "nuovo," fronteggiando il problema dell'etnocentrismo. Il discorso musicologico si inserisce in un campo di osservazioni antropologiche e sociologiche, nell'ambito dei meccanismi della creatività. La funzione, la norma ed il valore estetico divengono "fatti sociali." Nel caso delle riduzioni il repertorio musicale, almeno nei primi anni, veniva direttamente spedito dall'Europa (p. 67-68) ed anche in seguito, quando fu composta sul posto, era ad essa "somigliante" perché doveva rispondere ad un modello europeo concepito come universale.

Il Settecento musicale paraguaiano sembra essere per i gesuiti il palcoscenico d'elezione dell'Assistenza della Germania, a tal proposito non è faziioso se l'autore insiste su padri di area e lingua tedesca: Martin Schmid (p. 97-106), Johann Messner (p. 106-09), Florian Paucke (p. 109-20). Di ciascun compositore oltre a fornire dati biografici Herczog riporta testi e traduzioni di lettere e resoconti. Importantissimo il materiale citato, non tutto edito; ma tutto conservato in ARSI. La morte prematura di alcuni dei musicisti e la soppressione dell'Ordine (1767) ci forniscono una documentazione indiretta.

Lo spirito romantico europeo, che vide nella musica la sua massima espressione in Germania, sembra avere in America un'anticipazione. Il totalitarismo Ottocentesco, lo spirito di abnegazione verso un ideale sentito come giusto e prioritario, indusse questi illustri musicisti ad investire sugli indios e a catturarne l'interesse.

Si aggiungono ai profili biografici dei musicisti biografie di alcuni cronisti del tempo: José Cardiel, José Manuel Peramás, Jaime Ignacio Oliver, Julian Knogler e Martin Dobrizhoffer che chiudono il capitolo (p. 124-133).

In questa prima parte si incontrano (p. 88-89) otto pagine di tavole a colori relative a chiese gesuitiche, prevalentemente in Bolivia, strumenti e spartiti musicali. Gli strumenti musicali utilizzati dagli indios prima dell'arrivo degli europei erano prevalentemente: flauti semplici, primitivi strumenti a percussione, sonagli di zoccolo di cervo (p. 141), sonagli di zucca, membranofoni, timpani (p. 145-46).

Se si volesse tracciare una linea virtuale di separazione tra le due parti del volume è arrivando a questa seconda parte che dovremmo farlo.

In "Idioma autoctono e sincretismo l'autore," dopo una premessa metodologica sullo stato della musica e della sua pratica, introduce più dettagliatamente sulla funzione che rivestiva nel contesto culturale pre-evangelizzato, sulle pratiche rituali e mitologiche ad essa collegate e sulle mutazioni significanti che furono apportate dai "conquistadores." Le relazioni inviate in Occidente, tese ad aggiornare sullo stato delle missioni e sulla crescita culturale e sociale degli indios, si mostrarono più generose nel 1700 rispetto a quelle spedite nel 1600. I testimoni più rappresentativi sono gli stessi gesuiti che nel corso del XVIII secolo, sulla scia razionalistica-enciclopedista, si dilungarono a relazionare, nella fitta corrispondenza con l'Europa, sullo stato della musica e della vita quotidiana senza evidenziare una particolare visione etnomusicologica (p. 142). Volendo concentrare il nostro interesse sulle pratiche musicali sperimentate dai missionari esse mostrano non solo e non tanto la capacità degli indios ad eseguire repertori a loro estranei quanto piuttosto l'attitudine e l'interesse dei coloni a vedere nella forma musicale europea una delle vie privilegiate preposte per il dialogo con gli evangelizzandi.

L'area dell'antica Provincia del Paraguay, pur comprendendo un territorio molto vasto, era tuttavia caratterizzata da molteplici aspetti eterogenei (p. 140). Questa premessa vale ad introdurre un concetto chiave a cui il nostro autore dedica l'intero capitolo (p. 140-64). La musica incaica era quella a cui la tradizione indigena pre-coloniale faceva in parte riferimento. Ad essa erano assimilati melodie e strumenti e la difficoltà a stabilire l'identità ritmica della musica indigena derivava anche dal "forte carattere rituale" e dalla "grande quantità di danze religiose e cerimoniali," che rendevano sacri anche gli strumenti utilizzati per l'esecuzione (p. 141-42). Torna a noi utile qui parafrasare Lévi-Strauss (*Il mito e il significato*) quando afferma che non si può né si deve considerare la storia delle culture precolombiane separata dalla mitologia, ma piuttosto una continuazione di questa. La documentazione riguardante questa tesi è prevalentemente concentrata nelle lettere e relazioni degli osservatori gesuiti: Lozano, Cardiel, Dobrizhoffer (p. 143 e s.). L'omogeneità delle popolazioni descritte (Guaraní, Chiquitanos e Moxos) ci permette di evidenziare elementi significativi relativi alla pratica musicale e alla danza rituale (p. 148-62).

Il repertorio delle fonti musicali giunto fino a noi ha subito gravi e significative mutilazioni (p. 165), sebbene l'opera di Zipoli, che compose musica *in situ*, appare come la meno penalizzata. Il ruolo altamente educativo che i gesuiti attribuivano alla musica è testimoniato da una abbondante bibliografia. Nel paragrafo "I gesuiti e la musica" e nei seguenti (p.166-220) trovano spazio personaggi di estremo interesse storico come: Vaisseau, Berger, Sepp, Paucke. Zipoli da solo occupa le p. 187-201 è comunque difficile definire spazi auto-

nomi per ciascun compositore. Herczog con un abile ed armonioso intrecciarsi di racconti interseca queste figure facendo emergere un discorso unico che è sempre quello della musica e che giustamente ha il predominio su tutto.

Dell'attitudine alla danza ci riparla ancora (p. 221-43); nella documentazione consultata da Herczog sembra non esserci un riferimento preciso alla musica, ma sembrano esserci piuttosto dettagli riguardo la coreografia e le descrizioni tematiche delle rappresentazioni sceniche, che, fungendo da complemento significativo alla rappresentazione, attingono alla tradizione coreografica francese (p. 225). Le testimonianze di Sepp, Berger, Cardiel, Xarque attestano un'affermata tradizione di danza processionale spagnola in uso nelle riduzioni mentre il silenzio riguardo il repertorio musicale induce Herczog a dedurre che: "Tale riservatezza sembra di nuovo confermare che la relativa tradizione fosse orale e pertanto al di fuori del giudizio estetico di un esperto della tecnica compositiva" (p. 230).

La fine di questa recensione vuole essere, in questa ultima parte, un ritratto intatto delle conclusioni dello stesso autore (p. 244-59) per questo ci congediamo con alcune citazioni dello stesso: "La fortuna della musica europea nella natura intatta delle Indie per quasi due secoli è da guardare quale caso privo di riferimenti comparabili partendo dal dato che musicisti e fruitori [...] prendessero le mosse da una realtà culturale dell'età della pietra fino alla conquista di un'arte sonora estranea ed evoluta" (p. 244). A proposito delle conversione dell'indio al cristianesimo Herczog riporta il passo di Schmidt: "Gli stessi indiani non ancora convertiti vengono attirati con la musica molto più facilmente dai boschi e dalle caverne, e conservati negli insediamenti perché non scappino poi, come ha insegnato già l'esperienza" (p. 245). Riguardo l'attitudine degli indios per la composizione l'autore conclude: "Tutto ciò non vieta che i casi singolari musicisti indigeni potessero dedicarsi alla composizione, ma le testimonianze negative sulla loro creatività restano inequivocabilmente chiare, e per di più diffuse da gesuiti le cui cognizioni e attendibilità permettono di escludere ogni dubbio in proposito (p. 247).

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Nicoletta Basilotta

*Franz Xaver. Patron der Missionen. Festschrift zum 450. Todestag.* Ed. Rita Haub und Julius Oswald, S.J. [Reihe Jesuitica 4.] (Regensburg: Schnell et Steiner, 2002. S. 378. 46 Farb- und 28 s/w-Abbildungen. € 34,90. Hardback.)

Vor 450 Jahren starb der heilige Franz Xaver (1506-1552), Mitbegründer des Jesuitenordens und Pionier der neuzeitlichen Weltmission. Aus diesem Anlass erschien eine umfangreiche Festschrift, in der 15 internationale Wissenschaftler nicht nur das Leben des Heiligen beleuchten, sondern auch seine spätere Verehrung und das Weiterleben seiner Sendung bis in die Gegenwart. Franz

Xavers Werk und seine Wirkung sind kaum zu überblicken. Die Artikel der Festschrift werfen einzelne Schlaglichter aus ganz unterschiedlichen Blickwinkeln auf dieses weite Feld; sie ergeben zusammen so etwas wie eine umfassende Vita, einen Abriss vom Leben und von der Verehrung des Heiligen.

Zu den einzelnen Artikeln: Die Herausgeberin Rita Haub gibt als Einleitung einen kurzen Überblick über des Leben und die Wirkung von Franz Xaver; der Mitherausgeber Julius Oswald SJ beschreibt prägnant Franz Xavers enges Verhältnis zu Ignatius von Loyola. Die Kunsthistorikerin Maria Cristina Osswald nennt die frühen Biographien bis zur Heiligsprechung von 1622, skizziert das skurrile Schicksal seiner Reliquien und beschreibt die Entstehung einer verbindlichen Ikonographie des Heiligen. Zwei Autoren schildern Franz Xavers Missionstätigkeit in Japan: Angela Fischer-Brunkow beschreibt die Kulturbegegnung und die Missionsmethoden aufgrund der Briefe des Heiligen, während Rafael Capurro diese durch japanische Überlieferungen ergänzt und die Begegnung informationstheoretisch interpretiert. Claudia von Collani erzählt nach alten Berichten von den Wallfahrten zum Grab Franz Xavers auf der Insel Sancian vor der Küste Chinas, wo im Jahre 1700, in einer kurzen Phase der Toleranz, eine Grabkapelle errichtet wurde. Ein neulateinisches Franz-Xaver-Epos von Niccolo Partenio Giannettasio SJ (1648-1715) wird von der Philologin Elisabeth Klecker analysiert: das Epos folgt dem Vorbild von Vergils Äneis, doch für den von Gottesliebe beflügelten Heiligen gibt es keinen Konflikt zwischen Pflicht und Neigung, so dass er Äneas' Heldentum und Didos Liebe in einer Person vereinen kann. Die Bedeutung von Franz Xaver als Vorbild für die deutschen Jesuiten beschreibt die Historikerin Julia Lederle aufgrund der Bewerbungsschreiben und Reiseberichte der Missionare. Paul Begheyn SJ listet die Spuren der Franz-Xaver-Verehrung in Holland auf: Reliquien in jesuitischen Niederlassungen, Bücher, Berichte von Wundern, Theaterstücke, Gedichte, Kirchenlieder und Kunstwerke. Weitere Artikel sind der Verehrung des Heiligen in einzelnen ausgewählten Kirchen gewidmet: Die Jesuitenkirche St. Michael in München, anfänglich noch ohne Heiligenbilder, wurde erst nach der Kanonisierung von Franz Xaver (1622) mit Seitenaltären, Reliquien und prächtigen Silberkelchen ausgestattet, die Bernd Paal SJ eingehend beschreibt. Der Kunsthistoriker Josef Imorde durchleuchtet die Licht-Metaphorik von Franz Xaver als "Leuchte des wahren Glaubens" in zwei Darbietungen in der "Leuchtenstadt" Luzern: im Triumphzug anlässlich der Ernennung von Franz Xaver zum Stadtpatron (1654) und im Theaterstück zur Weihe der neuen Jesuitenkirche (1677, mit vollständig abgedrucktem Programmheft). Dasselbe Luzerner Schauspiel war nach Ansicht der Theaterwissenschaftlerin Margret Dietrich das direkte Vorbild für die Fresken von 1756 in der Franz-Xaver-Kapelle bei Morschach im Kanton Schwyz. Eine Besonderheit der Dresdner Hofkirche waren seit 1721 die mehrstimmigen "Litaniae Xaverianae" mit Orchesterbegleitung zur achttägigen Feier des Heiligen im



Dezember; der Musikwissenschaftler Gerhard Poppe analysiert eingehend Kompositionen, Aufführungspraxis und sozialen Hintergrund, ausserdem legt er den Text der Litanei und den Katalog aller bekannten Kompositionen vor. Zwei kürzere Artikel schlagen schliesslich die Brücke in die Gegenwart: Der Jesuit und Indologe Hubert Hänggi begibt sich mit Hindus auf eine beschwerliche Wallfahrt, beschreibt einfühlsam ihre Glaubensformen und -inhalte und plädiert für einen interreligiösen Dialog, der bereit ist, die grundsätzliche Verschiedenheit der Religionen zu akzeptieren. Als Abschluss porträtiert der Seelsorger Armin Zürn den heiligen Franz Xaver als Sterbepatron und Sterbebegleiter, der auch heutigen Gläubigen Beistand und Trost spenden kann, und dessen Einstellung zu Sterben und Tod noch immer vorbildlich ist.

Zahlreiche, fast durchwegs farbige Illustrationen zeigen Franz-Xaver-Darstellungen aus fünf Jahrhunderten und drei Kontinenten, darunter einzelne in den Artikeln beschriebene, allerdings ohne erkennbare Ordnung, mit ungenügenden Legenden und ohne Querverweise zwischen Text und Bild. Sehr hilfreich ist das Personen- und Ortsregister am Ende des Buches. Alles in allem handelt es sich um eine gelungene Artikelsammlung. Die Überschneidungen und Widersprüche zwischen den Aufsätzen schaffen einen Dialog zwischen ganz unterschiedlichen Wissenschaften, die sich mit dem Leben und Werk des großen Missionars beschäftigen, und betonen so seine globale Bedeutung.

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Eckart Kühne



MONUMENTA HISTORICA SI 152

Charles Libois, S.J.

MONUMENTA PROXIMI-ORIENTIS

V

ÉGYPTE

(1591-1699)

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Le troisième volume sur l'Égypte, le cinquième dans la série *Monumenta Proximi Orientis*, couvre le dix-septième siècle (1600-1699). Il montre comment la Compagnie de Jésus s'est progressivement intégrée dans les réalités égyptiennes. Les deux volumes antérieurs présentaient des activités ponctuelles des Jésuites: des visites au patriarche copte, parfois des séjours comme esclave ou comme voyageur de passage. Le troisième volume manifeste un intérêt plus durable de la Compagnie pour l'Égypte. Une grande partie est consacrée aux efforts pour entrer en Éthiopie. Quatre jeunes Jésuites, s'étant offerts pour les missions, sont choisis pour explorer des chemins inconnus qui permettront—espère-t-on à Rome—apporter des réconforts à la mission éthiopienne, anémique, en absence de l'arrivée de nouveaux missionnaires. Cette tentative tourne court mais l'idée, disons le rêve, n'est pas de tout abandonnée. Lorsqu'à la fin de siècle de nouvelles possibilités semblent s'ouvrir, la Compagnie s'installe en Égypte et envoie de nouveau des éclaircisseurs. Cette installation devient petit à petit permanente, au prix de nombreux efforts, de plusieurs décès, de disputes, aussi véhémentes que tragi-comiques, avec l'ordre de saint François, qui, déjà installé de longue date en Égypte, cherche aussi à forcer la citadelle d'Éthiopie.



## JESUIT HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

### INSTITUTUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU

#### *DICCIONARIO DE HISTORIA DE LA COMPAÑÍA DE JESÚS*

##### Una reflexión historiográfica

Luego de muchos años de trabajo ha llegado a buen fin el *Diccionario de Historia de la Compañía de Jesús* publicado por la Pontificia Universidad de Comillas (Madrid) y editado por el Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús (Roma). Es el fruto maduro de un proyecto ambicioso donde han colaborado unos setecientos autores. Esta enciclopedia representa, hasta ahora, la empresa editorial, de cuño ignaciano, que ha reunido la mayor cantidad de autores jesuitas. Ha sido un gran esfuerzo coordinar todos estos trabajos, mantener actuales sus contenidos y sus bibliografías a lo largo de casi treinta años de labor. Fue una ardua tarea que implicó vencer recelos e individualismos para concertar voluntades e ingenios en esta obra de gran envergadura. Pero no todos sus autores son jesuitas, otros hombres y mujeres han participado a este reto. Signos de los tiempos. Desde hace años, la investigación sobre la historia de la Compañía de Jesús ocupa fuerzas ajenas a la Compañía lo cual implica una riqueza a la vez que plantea nuevos desafíos.

Esta obra, por tanto, no es sólo del Instituto Histórico, si bien cobró forma en su seno, es obra de toda la Compañía. Esto se manifiesta en la amplia y generosa colaboración que suscitó entre las provincias que destinaron fuerzas y medios a su realización junto con la voluntad del entonces Prepósito General, R. P. Pedro Arrupe<sup>1</sup> que destinó los fondos necesarios para hacerla posible. En la correspondencia que se conserva entre los que fueron los responsables de la

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<sup>1</sup> \*14.xi.1907 Bilbao; SJ 15.i.1927 Loyola; elegido General 22.v.1965; †5.ii.1991 Roma (DHCJ, II, 1697).

edición con los miembros del Instituto, con distintos superiores mayores o con los colaboradores, podrán rastrearse los criterios que lo animaron, las tensiones que implicó su ejecución o los cambios y las adaptaciones a la que tuvo que someterse esta compleja redacción.

El *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús* es un instrumento indispensable, inevitable, para quien quiera adentrarse por las sendas de los jesuitas y su historia. En las páginas de este *Diccionario* abundan lo que la historiografía tradicional, aún aquella jesuítica, llamaría *historias menores*. Junto a los caminos reales que normalmente presentan los historiadores: las vidas de santos jesuitas, de los papas y príncipes que tuvieron que ver con la Orden, de los padres generales, de los famosos maestros, el *Diccionario* es, además de esto, un derroche de vidas pequeñas hechas por hermanos coadjutores, por misioneros desconocidos, por confesores y por maestros de escuela. Quizá sea este uno de los mayores méritos de sus páginas: rescatar del olvido a estos gigantes que han dejado poca o ninguna huella en la documentación oficial y que han escapado a los menologios oficiales. Junto con este esfuerzo por recoger la historia sencilla y silenciosa de tantos hombres hay que enunciar las otras dos grandes virtudes de este trabajo: la abundancia de sus fuentes primarias, que abren miles posibles pistas para el investigador, y la gran cantidad de datos sobre personas, temas y naciones en las que la Compañía ha actuado.

La ocasión de presentar esta obra a la comunidad científica es también una oportunidad para abrir una reflexión historiográfica sobre el modo con el cual se ha escrito la historia de la Compañía de Jesús y cuáles podrían ser las nuevas líneas a seguir en los próximos años.

La imponente producción historiográfica de la Compañía de Jesús puede seguirse en las ciento ocho columnas que se presentan en el décimo volumen de la *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* de Carlos Sommervogel.<sup>2</sup> Da la impresión que la Orden, a través de este gran esfuerzo por contar la propia historia hubiera querido dar forma a ese sentimiento atávico según el cual el olvido es peor que la muerte. De aquí, el hacer memoria, recordar y contar la propia historia como búsqueda de la propia identidad y origen, para defenderse de los ataques de aquellos a quienes se consideraba enemigos, contar, en definitiva, para que otros se entusiasmen con la empresa de Ignacio y sus compañeros. Entre las grandes presentaciones de conjunto cabe recordar el *Chronicon* de Juan Alfonso de Polanco (1547),<sup>3</sup> la *Historia Societatis* de Niccolò Orlandini (1615),<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> \*8.i.1834 Strasbourg; SJ 2.ii.1853 Issenheim; †4.v.1902 Paris (DHCJ, IV, 3607).

<sup>3</sup> \*24.xii.1517 Burgos; SJ 1541 Roma; †20.xii.1576 Roma (DHCJ, IV, 3168).

<sup>4</sup> \*10.iv.1553 Florencia; SJ 7.xi.1572 Roma; †17.v.1606 Roma (DHCJ, III, 2924).

continuada luego por Francesco Sacchini,<sup>5</sup> los escritos de Daniello Bartoli,<sup>6</sup> Joseph de Jouvancy<sup>7</sup> (1709) y Giulio Cesare Cordara (1750).<sup>8</sup> A estas historias generales se suman las historias de los colegios, de las distintas provincias y los relatos acerca de las misiones. Esta historiografía ya de por sí abundante de los siglos XVI al XVIII se vio aún más enriquecida con la producción histórica a partir de la restauración de la Orden en 1814.

Cuatro generalatos fueron particularmente significativos para la labor historiográfica de los jesuitas. Se trata de los gobiernos de los PP. Anton Maria Anderledy (1887-1892),<sup>9</sup> Luis Martín García (1892-1906),<sup>10</sup> Franz Xaver Wernz (1906-1914)<sup>11</sup> y Włodzimierz Ledóchowski (1915-42).<sup>12</sup> Entre sus escritos se encuentran preciosas indicaciones que dieron notable impulso al quehacer histórico. En sus sucesores, en cambio, se nota la ausencia de directivas historiográficas, en parte quizá por haber entendido que los desafíos eran otros, en parte debido a una crisis o desconfianza hacia la historia que puede tener su origen en una cierta manipulación que de ella se hizo en modo acrítico.

Gracias a la edición de las *Memorias*<sup>13</sup> del P. Luis Martín es posible conocer los criterios que tuvo el entonces general de la Orden respecto a la investigación histórica. Fue Luis Martín quien exhortó a uno de los historiadores oficiales a que la historia se escribiese con sus luces y sombras para que no se constituyera en un panegírico de hombres o situaciones.<sup>14</sup> A esta indicación de gran actualidad puede sumarse la instrucción dada por el P. Wernz a aquellos que se encontraban avocados a escribir la historia de distintas asistencias y provincias

<sup>5</sup> \*10.xi.1570 Paciano; SJ 8.x.1588 Roma; †16.xii.1625 Roma (*DHCJ*, IV, 3458).

<sup>6</sup> \*12.ii.1608 Ferrara; SJ 10.xii.1623 Novellara; †13.i.1685 Roma (*DHCJ*, I, 360).

<sup>7</sup> \*14.ix.1643 Paris; SJ 1.ix.1659 Paris; †28.v.1719 Roma (*DHCJ*, III, 2157).

<sup>8</sup> \*17.i.1704 Alessandria; SJ 20.xii.1618 Roma; †6.iii.1785 Alessandria (*DHCJ*, I, 950).

<sup>9</sup> \*3.vi.1819 Berisal; SJ 5.x.1838 Brig; elegido Vicario General con derecho de sucesión, 24.ix.1883; †18.i.1892 Fiésole (*DHCJ*, II, 1675).

<sup>10</sup> \*19.viii.1846 Melgar de Fernamental; SJ 13.x.1864 Loyola; elegido General, 2.x.1892; †18.iv.1906 Roma (*DHCJ*, II, 1676).

<sup>11</sup> \*4.xii.1842 Rottweil; SJ 5.xii.1857 Gorheim; elegido General, 8.ix.1906; †19.viii.1914 Roma (*DHCJ*, II, 1682).

<sup>12</sup> \*7.x.1866 Loosdorf; SJ 24.ix.1889 Stara Wies; elegido General, 11.ii.1915; †13.xii.1942 Roma (*DHCJ*, II, 1687).

<sup>13</sup> *Memorias del P. Luis Martín, general de la Compañía de Jesús (1846-1906)*, ed. José Ramón Eguillor, S.J., Manuel Revuelta, S.J., Rafael María Sanz de Diego, S.J., 2 vol. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1988) BIHSI 47, 48.

<sup>14</sup> *Memorias*, II, 804.

de la Compañía:

[. . .] en primer lugar se liberen de todos los preconceptos de las opiniones y afectos de partido y mucho más de esa inclinación o pereza mental, de la cual nace aquella difusa credulidad por la cual nos inclinamos, sin un examen profundo, a una serie de lugares comunes provenientes de personas con cierta autoridad o simplemente temerarias. Por lo tanto no cesen de dudar de este tipo de afirmaciones sino se comprueban con argumentos ciertos.<sup>15</sup>

Según el P. Wernz de la lectura y relectura de las fuentes primarias el investigador obtendrá dos beneficios: vencer la *pigritia mentis* y al mismo tiempo aprenderá a dudar de los mitos y de los lugares comunes, enemigos acérrimos de la investigación histórica.

Sin duda el impulso que dieron estos PP. generales a las ciencias históricas estuvo, en muchos casos, condicionado por el ambiente de la restauración decimonónica, por aquello que se conoce con el nombre de “ideología de la cristiandad” y luego por las ideologías emergentes a fines del siglo XIX y principios de XX.

El fuerte conflicto ideológico, las persecuciones a las que la Compañía estuvo sometida en los primeros decenios del siglo XX condicionó el lenguaje del entonces general de la Compañía, Włodzimierz Ledóchowski que fundó el Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús en febrero de 1932 para confutar las calumnias acerca de la historia de la Orden.<sup>16</sup> Este lenguaje beligerante se hizo presente cuando el mismo general creó, en el mismo año, un secretariado en la Curia General de Roma ad *Societas impugnacionis fovendo*, esto es un centro con el que colaborarían todas las provincias de la Compañía para refutar y desmentir lo que los jesuitas de entonces entendían eran falsedades y difamaciones.<sup>17</sup> Por lo tanto, un instituto de investigaciones históricas que defendiera el buen nombre de la Orden en el pasado y un secretariado que hiciera lo mismo en el presente. En definitiva, dos instituciones similares y conexas ya que muchas de las críticas que se movían por aquellos años del siglo pasado echaban sus raíces en viejas polémicas. En este sentido, no fue una casualidad que el primer director de este Secretariado fuera el P. Luwig Koch,<sup>18</sup> autor del *Jesuiten Lexikon*<sup>19</sup> que podría ser considerado como una especie

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<sup>15</sup> “Instructio ad praeparandam et enarrandam historiam Societatis Iesu per Assistentias vel Provincias,” *Acta Romana* 1 (1911) 81-95.

<sup>16</sup> *Acta Romana* 6 (1930) 578.

<sup>17</sup> *Acta Romana* 7 (1932-34) 131-32; 149-50.

<sup>18</sup> \*28.v.1878 Ladenburg; S.J. 1.x.1897 Feldkirch-Tisis; †1.xi.1935 Múnich (*DHCJ*, III, 2207).

<sup>19</sup> *Jesuiten-Lexikon. Die Gesellschaft Jesu einst und jetzt* (Paderborn: Bonifacius-Druckerei, 1934).

de antecesor del *Diccionario*. Según Koch, en la Curia General de Roma se encontraban abundantes documentos y una buena biblioteca que podían constituir el arsenal defensivo para contrarrestar los ataques.<sup>20</sup>

Se puede rastrear la idea de un diccionario entre aquellas iniciativas indicadas por el P. Ledóchowski para celebrar el aniversario de la Compañía de 1940.<sup>21</sup> En una carta de 1935 el P. General indicó la necesidad de elaborar una serie de tres clases de obras: trabajos de calidad científica que deberían concluirse en quinquenio preparatorio, otros de alta divulgación y finalmente una serie de iniciativas de corte popular. El programa del entonces General era algo más que ambicioso para realizarlo en sólo un lustro. Ledóchowski solicitó la finalización de las historias de las asistencias, la redacción de un compendio de historia de la Compañía en uno o al máximo dos volúmenes, según los modelos de los PP. Enrico Rosa,<sup>22</sup> Joseph Brucker<sup>23</sup> y de James Brodrick.<sup>24</sup> Además, un manual de historia de la Orden, una bibliografía histórica, una nueva edición de la *Synopsis historiae Societatis*, que vio la luz sólo en el 1950, y un *Atlas Societatis*. Con la colaboración de la facultad de misionología de la Pontificia Universidad Gregoriana se prepararía un manual de historia de las misiones antiguas y nuevas.<sup>25</sup> Con la facultad de derecho canónico de la misma universidad se realizaría una historia del derecho propio de la Compañía. A todo esto se agregarían diversos estudios sobre los ministerios propios de la Compañía, sobre la devoción del Sagrado Corazón y las Congregaciones Marianas, vidas de santos jesuitas y una biografía de los PP. Generales. Entre las obras de divulgación previstas se piensa a la redacción de un *Lexicon*, de personas, lugares y cosas, como el que había hecho el P. Koch en alemán, pero que fuera temáticamente más amplio y que debería ser editado en varias lenguas. Y si fuera posible una película sobre la vida de San Ignacio, como la que se había hecho, por aquellos años, sobre la vida de Don Bosco.

De alguna manera, el *Diccionario* responde a muchas de estas inquietudes. Ciertamente que los tiempos han cambiado. Aquellas ideologías que, por una parte conmocionaron la historia de la Iglesia y de la misma Compañía, pero que por otra dieron lugar a una extraordinaria producción historiográfica ya no soplan con el vigor de entonces. Quien se arriesgue a pensar la producción

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<sup>20</sup> *Acta Romana* 7 (1932-34) 150.

<sup>21</sup> *Acta Romana* (1935-38) 136-45.

<sup>22</sup> \*17.xi.1870 Selve Marcone; SJ 11.x.1886 Chieri; †26.xi.1938 Roma (*DHCJ*, IV, 3410).

<sup>23</sup> \*7.v.1845 Wintzenheim; SJ 22.ix.1860 Issenheim; †26.iv.1926 Enghien (*DHCJ*, I, 558).

<sup>24</sup> \*26.vii.1891 Athenry; SJ 1.ix.1910 London; †26.viii.1973 Wokingham (*DHCJ*, I, 551).

<sup>25</sup> Otras indicaciones sobre esta iniciativa en *Acta Romana* 8 (1935-38) 753-57.

historiográfica como una torre para defender desde allí el buen nombre de la Compañía no sólo será considerado con razón anacrónico sino que también su trabajo perderá rigor científico. Habiéndose extinguido el furor de las polémicas quizá haya llegado el tiempo de dedicarse a reflexionar sobre los paradigmas que han determinado y determinan la producción historiográfica acerca del pasado de la Compañía de Jesús. Los paradigmas que organizan la complejidad de la realidad acompañarán siempre al investigador. Pero eso será importante reconocerlos, saber que existen, que pueden ser modificados, que pueden entrar en diálogo con otros paradigmas y que no son la realidad misma sino el modo de construirla y organizarla. Este modo de proceder hará que la investigación y sus resultados sean más humildes y quizá más fragmentarios a la vez que dinámicos y abiertos al diálogo y a la crítica.

Si el *Diccionario de Historia de la Compañía* es un esfuerzo para organizar una realidad compleja no es posible pensar ingenuamente que no haya en él un modo de organizar las cosas. En este sentido será oportuno considerar si hay entre sus páginas resabios de esa visión de la historia como *arsenal defensivo*. Al mismo tiempo hay que reconocer que no es posible encasillarlo en una sola corriente de pensamiento de modo que pueda ser considerado como fruto de un único corte historiográfico. Esta imposibilidad, entre otras cosas, radica en la extensión de la obra, cuatro mil páginas distribuidas en cuatro volúmenes, por la cantidad y diversidad de los autores y de los temas y por el importante número de años que implicó su redacción.

Para contemplar la existencia y el funcionamiento de diferentes paradigmas en esta enciclopedia, pueden tomarse como ejemplo algunas voces significativas. Una de ellas es la voz correspondiente al "antijesuitismo."<sup>26</sup> El desarrollo de este argumento merece una calificación excelente por la enjundia de datos y por el análisis diacrónico del tema. En la introducción a este artículo, se afirma que se consideran en él sólo aquellos escritos que caen fuera del discurso racional, esto es, que no están basados en datos verificables, teológicos o de sentido común. Indirectamente esto implica afirmar que el *antijesuitismo* es algo irracional lo cual podría dar lugar a pensar que hubo un *jesuitismo* y que éste, por exclusión, tuvo que haber sido racional. Luego el artículo presenta los escritos más celebres en esta materia, desde los *Monita Segreta* del ex jesuita Jerónimo Zahorowski<sup>27</sup> hasta las obras de Eugène Sue o de Vinçenzo Gioberti pasando por las *Lettres provinciales* de Blaise Pascal. Pero, este panorama podría dejar la impresión que estos escritos obedecen de alguna manera a una intencionalidad común y participan a la misma comunidad literaria. Desde otro

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<sup>26</sup> *DHCJ*, I, 178-89.

<sup>27</sup> \*c. 1518 junto a Vladimir-Volynski; SJ 28.vi.1599 Cracovia; dis. 6.viii.1614; †13.x.1634 Kamionka (*DHCJ*, IV, 4064).



paradigma uno ojo atento debería preguntarse, cuáles son los “datos verificables” de los que se habla o en un modo más radical, abrir una reflexión acerca del así llamado “sentido común” dejando de lado la suposición de que este sentido sea común para todos y en todos los tiempos.

Un paradigma alternativo, al que se evidencia en el artículo, podría presentar algunos movimientos antijesuiticos como una ocasión que se le dio a la Compañía para aguzar la reflexión y la capacidad de autocritica. De esta manera la historia concebida, no en clave defensiva, dejaría de manifiesto que muchos de estos llamados ataques fueron además una oportunidad para el crecimiento espiritual y para agudizar la capacidad de autocritica. La documentación, por ejemplo, muestra que tanto el P. general Muzio Vitelleschi<sup>28</sup> respecto los *Monita Secreta*, como el P. general Goswin Nickel<sup>29</sup> con algunas acusaciones de Pascal supieron reconocer esta oportunidad. Si bien Vitelleschi encargó al celebre controversista Jakob Gretser<sup>30</sup> que escribiera una obra de contra los escritos de Zahorowski<sup>31</sup> y de esta manera se publicó el *De modo agendi Jesuitarum* (1617), al mismo tiempo envió una carta a toda la Compañía donde advertía enérgicamente a los jesuitas a no tener parte con esa mala bestia que es la *actitud politica* que mina los fundamentos de la vida religiosa.<sup>32</sup> Por su parte el P. General Goswin Nickel en una carta, del 12 de mayo de 1657,<sup>33</sup> dirigida a todos los provinciales llamó severamente la atención sobre el laxismo moral de muchos jesuitas y aprovechó sin ambages muchas de las tesis de los adversarios de la Compañía para realizar un decidido examen de conciencia.

Podría ser materia de alguna reflexión también el tema de la supresión de la Compañía. En el punto de las causas internas que hubieran podido contribuir con la supresión se les da un escaso espacio y afloran algunas notas defensivas. Algunos de los “temas” tratados ofrecen sin duda más flancos a la críticas que las biografías o la presentación de las naciones. En este sentido en algunas voces biográficas como el caso de “Palafox”<sup>34</sup> se da una contribución

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<sup>28</sup> \*2.xii.1563 Roma; SJ 15.viii.1583 Roma; elegido General, 15.xi.1615; †9.ii.1645 Roma (DHCJ, II, 1621).

<sup>29</sup> \*1.v.1584 Koslar; SJ 3.iv.1604 Tréveris; elegido General, 17.iii.1652; †31.vii.1664 Roma (DHCJ, II, 1631).

<sup>30</sup> \*27.iii.1562 Markdorf; SJ 24.x.1578 Landsberg; †29.i.1625 Ingolstadt (DHCJ, II, 1814).

<sup>31</sup> Vitelleschi a Gretser, Roma 9.07.1616, ARSI, Germ. Sup. 4, f. 159°.

<sup>32</sup> *Epistolae Praepositorum Generalium ad Patres et Fratres Societatis Iesu*, 4 vol. (Rollari: Typis Iulii De Meester, 1909) I.

<sup>33</sup> Una copia de esta carta en ARSI, Hisp. 86, ff. 210°-211°.

<sup>34</sup> DHCJ, III, 2951-953.

importante a la historiografía superando la visión que Antonio Astrain<sup>35</sup> había dado del obispo virrey.

Si de alguna manera el *Diccionario* ha cumplido y superado ampliamente las expectativas que surgieron en 1935, una tarea queda aún por ser realizada. La Congregación 28ª (1938) encomendó al entonces P. general Ledóchowski y al Instituto Histórico la publicación integral de toda la documentación acerca de la supresión de la Compañía.<sup>36</sup> Sin duda que el ejemplo de tantos hombres que se han dedicado con tesón a la labor histórica y teniendo a mano una obra de tal envergadura la futura tarea será menos ardua.

Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Roma      Martín María Morales, S.J.

### ARCHIVUM HISTORICUM SOCIETATIS IESU

This second number of *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (vol. LXXI, n. 142) for the year 2002 will be the first in seventy years not to have a comprehensive Bibliography. Instead we will list books received at the library of the Institute. Certainly an explanation for such a major change is in order. When László Polgár, S.J., passed away on 25 May 2001, he left us the complete data for his second edition of *A Bibliography of the History of the Society of Jesus 1901-2000* which is now being prepared for publication, which included the completed bibliography for the 2001 *Archivum*. He also left us with a very important hole in our staff—a full-time bibliographer of the Society of Jesus. The members of the Institute met and considered different options: 1. Find someone to continue the full-time work of Fr. Polgár. His assistant Nicoleta Basilotta was considered as the obvious choice, and is prepared for it, but right now is essential to the work of the library of the Institute which is at a critical juncture in its history. 2. Continue the bibliography in a limited format utilizing someone to coordinate the contributions from Fr. Polgár's network while outlining a new definition of the Bibliography. This, however, would take full-time work for the first few years if it was going to be a worthy successor to Polgar's bibliography and no one felt brave enough to take on such a task. 3. Suspending the bibliography in *Archivum* for now in favor of future revisions to the extensive second edition of *A Bibliography of the History of the Society of Jesus 1901-2000*. While this was not the most preferred option, it seemed the best solution for the moment, and was taken with the hope that a new bibliographer might come forth in the future. Some have complained that the extensive nature of the bibliography in the *Archivum* resulted in too little other content in the journal

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<sup>35</sup> \*17.xi.1857 Undiano; SJ 8.viii.1871 Poyanne; †4.i.1928 Loyola (*DHCJ*, I, 258).

<sup>36</sup> *Acta Romana* 9 (1938-40) 37.

at the end of the year, and that the entries were too comprehensive for a historical journal. Of course many others subscribe to *Archivum* precisely for that extensive bibliography. Not everyone is going to be satisfied.

So we have decided to take some time to think about what the Institute should include in a historical bibliography, and whether the *Archivum* is the best format in which to publish it. We are not going to cease monitoring publications in the history of the Society of Jesus, however the way in which they are reported will necessarily change with the passing of Fr. Polgar.

Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Rome

Mark A. Lewis, S.J.

### MONUMENTA HISTORICA SOCIETATIS IESU

Over the past six months, two new volumes have appeared:

Charles Libois, S.J., *Monumenta Proximi-Orientis V*. MHSI 152. This volume covers Jesuit activity in Egypt between 1591 and 1699. The price is € 48,00.

John W. Witek, S.J., and Josph S. Sebes, S.J., *Monumenta Sinica I*. MHSI 153. The first volume of a proposed new subseries treats the years 1546 to 1562. The price is € 42,00.

### SUBSIDIA AD HISTORIAM S.I.

Two new volumes have appeared in the series *Subsidia ad historiam S.I.*

*A Guide to Jesuit Archives* by Thomas M. McCoog, S.J. *Subsidia ad historiam S.I.* 12. This volume was published jointly with The Institute of Jesuit Sources (St. Louis). The price is € 22,00.

*Gids voor de geschiedenis van de jezuïeten in Nederland 1850-2000. A Guide to the History of the Jesuits in the Netherlands 1850-2000* by Paul Begheyn, S.J. *Subsidia ad historiam S.I.* 13. This volume was published in collaboration with the Netherlands province of the Society of Jesus. The price is € 13,50.

Web-page. Up-to-date information about the Jesuit Historical Institute and related Jesuit activities can be found on the Institute's web-page in English and Spanish:

<http://space.tin.it/scuola/mmorales/ihsi.html>

## ARCHIVUM ROMANUM SOCIETATIS IESU

On 29 June 2002, Father General Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, S.J., announced the appointment of Thomas Reddy, S.J., of the Bombay Province as Director of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) as successor to Joseph De Cock, S.J., of the Central African Province.

“During the past twelve years, Fr. Joseph De Cock has involved himself in considerable labor in the Roman Archives, first as assistant, and then for the last seven years, as Director. During this time the Archives has undergone profound transformation. A new building has been built in the Curial gardens and Fr. De Cock undertook a thorough reorganization of the Archives and its administration. All of this has permitted the Roman Archives to offer its services in a more modern and efficient manner to both Jesuit and non-Jesuit researchers. At this time, for health reasons, Fr. De Cock has asked to be relieved of his responsibility as Director.

Fr. Thomas Reddy has acquired a solid foundation for his new position. He is a specialist in Church History, as well as being trained professionally in the Vatican Archives, and has worked in the Roman Archives of the Society since 1996. Now in the final stages of the completion of his doctoral thesis in history at the Pontifical Gregorian University, Fr. Reddy will take on his new work as Director of the Archives on October 1, 2002. Initially he will enjoy the assistance of Fr. De Cock.”

## CONFERENCES

### MOSCOW

#### LA COMPAGNIA DI GESÙ E L'IMPERO RUSSO NEI TEMPI DI CATERINA II (1762-1796)

Nei giorni 25 e 26 del marzo scorso si è tenuto, a Mosca, un convegno internazionale: “La Compagnia di Gesù e l’Impero Russo nei tempi di Caterina II (1762-1796),” organizzato in collaborazione dall’Istituto di Storia Universale dell’Accademia delle Scienze Russa, l’Istituto Storico della Compagnia di Gesù, e la Regione Indipendente Russa della Compagnia di Gesù. Esso era concepito come il primo di una serie d’incontri dedicati alle relazioni tra la Compagnia di Gesù e l’Impero Russo. Esso vuol inoltre offrire un’opportunità di incontro—e questo sarebbe il primo di tali incontri—per vari studiosi, ricercatori e persone interessate della storia della Compagnia di Gesù, specialmente nell’Impero degli

zar. I lavori si svolsero nella sede dell'Accademia delle Scienze Russa (primo giorno) e nel Collegio di San Tommaso d'Acquino, diretto dalla Compagnia di Gesù. Vi presero parte diversi studiosi russi e di altri paesi.

I relatori furono:

Ludwik Grzebień, S.J. (Cracovia, Polonia): "Le fonti e gli studi sulla Compagnia di Gesù nel Regno di Caterina II."

Jurij Evgenievich Karlov (Mosca): "Un triangolo complesso: Russia, Santa Sede, Compagnia di Gesù."

Sergiej Gheorgevich Jakovenko (Mosca): "I gesuiti e la Russia: aspetto storiografico, materiale negli archivi russi sulla storia dei gesuiti in Russia."

Vitalij Leonidovich Zadornij (Mosca): "La preistoria dell'ordine dei gesuiti in Russia (fine XVII sec.): per un approccio al problema."

Marek Inglot, S.J. (Roma): "La Compagnia di Gesù nel regno di Caterina II: sopravvivenza-sviluppo-irradiazione."

Moisej Samuilovich Al'perovich (Mosca): "Posizione della corte di Pietroburgo riguardo alla Compagnia di Gesù alla luce della politica estera di Caterina II."

Vladimir Borisovich Lushpaj (Mosca): "Interventi antipapisti dei gesuiti ('Notizie rilevanti dai gesuiti in Bielorussia,' Frankfurt e Leipzig, 1786)."

Daniel L. Schlafly (St. Louis, USA): "The Jesuit Educational Heritage in Catherine the Great's Russia."

Tamara Borisova Blinova (Grodno, Bielorussia): "Le tappe fondamentali dell'attività pedagogica dell'ordine dei gesuiti in Bielorussia: fine XVI sec.-1820."

Sabina Pavone (Roma): "La sopravvivenza dei gesuiti in Russia nella pubblicistica europea: alcune voci a confronto."

Maria Petrova (Mosca): "Rapporti di Caterina II e delle persone circostanti nei confronti dei gesuiti."

Irina Jur'evna Chlopova (Stavropol', Russia): "Circa la questione delle cause della conservazione dei gesuiti in Russia nell'Impero di Caterina II."

Ekaterina Nikolaevna Tsimbaeva (Mosca): "Influsso dei gesuiti del XVIII sec. sulla formazione del cattolicesimo russo del XIX sec."

Istituto Storico, Roma

Marek Inglot, S.J.

Regarding the new Jesuit mission in Russia, Dr. Daniel L. Schlafly contributes the following note:

## JESUITS RETURN TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MOSCOW SITE

By curious coincidence, the building at 46 Friedrich Engels Street in Moscow now occupied by the Russian Independent Region of the Society of Jesus is on or very near the site of the Jesuit mission in the city from 1684 to 1689 and 1698 to 1719. In what today is the Baumanskaia district was the old *nemetskaia sloboda*, or foreign settlement, once far from the city, to which almost all non-Orthodox Europeans were removed in 1652 by order of Tsar Aleksei Mihailovich. Orthodox clergy resented the presence of heretics and their places of worship in Moscow proper, while Russian merchants complained of unfair commercial practices by foreigners.

It was there that Jesuits from the Lithuanian and Bohemian provinces settled in 1684, when the Holy Roman Empire persuaded the regent Sofia to allow pastors for the Catholics in Moscow, staying until they were expelled in 1689 at the behest of Patriarch Ioakim. The Jesuits established a little primary school, which enrolled a few dozen students, including some Russians. Two Jesuits returned in 1698 with an envoy of Holy Roman Emperor Leopold in the guise of diocesan priests; a new school enrolled some thirty Russian and foreign students by 1701, including pupils with such prominent names as Naryshkin, Apraksin, Dolgorukii, and Golitsyn.

A plan and a drawing sent by Fr Jan Milan, S.J.<sup>37</sup> to his superiors in Moravia in 1706 shows a large compound dominated by the stone church of The Most Holy Trinity, with a school, a Jesuit residence, stables, dispensary, a large garden, and even an ice house and a brewery [cf. fig. 27]. Reproductions of the plan, the drawing, as well as of a contemporary view of the foreign settlement soon will be on display at the Jesuit house in Moscow. But the school faced competition from a Lutheran school, and especially from the reformed orthodox Moscow Academy, which paradoxically followed the model of Jesuit colleges and academies in Poland, including Latin language and literature. The Jesuits were again expelled from Russia in 1719, not to return as an organized body until the fall of Communism.

A full account of the Jesuit mission can be found in Antonín Vasiljevič Florovský, *Čeští Jesuité na Rusi* (Prague: Nakladatelství Vyšehrad v Praze L.P., 1941). The Latin originals of the missionaries' letters and reports have been published with a Russian translation as *Pis'ma i doneseniiia iezuitov o Rossii, kontsa XVII i nachala XVIII veka* (St. Petersburg: Senatskaia tipografiia, 1904).

St. Louis University, St. Louis

Daniel L. Schlafly, Jr.

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<sup>37</sup> \*6.vii.1662 Jelenia Góra; SJ 22.x.1677 Brno; †24.i.1738 Bohosudov (DHCJ, III, 2671).

## FIESOLE

THE JESUITS AND THE EDUCATION OF THE WESTERN WORLD:  
(16th–17th Centuries)

Georgetown University at Villa Le Balze hosted a conference on the above theme on 21 and 22 June 2002. The sessions, speakers, and topics were:

## Education and Social Manners

Amedeo Quondam (Università "La Sapienza," Roma): "La 'Ratio' e il classicismo."

Inge Botteri (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Brescia): "I Gesuiti e il 'Galateo.'"

Flavio Rurale (Università di Udine): "Che sia 'persona eminente per prudenza e grazia di conversar.'"

Alessandro Arcangeli (Liceo Classico "S. Maffei", Verona): "The Ballroom and the Stage: The Dance Repertoire of the Society of Jesus."

Olwen Hufton (Merton College, Oxford): "Persuasion, Promises, Problems and Persistence: Funding a Jesuit College (16th-18th Centuries)."

## The Proposal of an Ideal of Man and Society

Danilo Zardin (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Piacenza): "'Congregazioni,' libri di 'regole' e manuali per la vita dei laici. Un modello di fortuna internazionale."

Andrea Battistini (Università di Bologna): "Le risorse retoriche di un predicatore gesuita: Giulio Mazarini."

Giovanna Zanlonghi (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano): "Il teatro di collegio nella pedagogia gesuitica: una 'scuola di virtù.'"

Lydia Salviucci Insolera (Università Gregoriana, Roma): "L'uso di immagini come strumento didattico-catechetico nella Compagnia di Gesù."

Robert A. Maryks (Fordham University, New York): "La 'consolatio' nel ministero della confessione dei primi Gesuiti."

## The Invention of Consciousness

Jean-Robert Armogathe (École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris): "Roderigo Arriaga et la vérité du sujet."

Valerio Marchetti (Università di Bologna): "L'accoglimento dell'embriogenesi ippocratico-galenica nella teologia morale dei gesuiti."

Roberto Righi (Università "La Sapienza", Roma): "Veritas falsa. La Compagnia e i saperi 'sensibili'."

Santo Burgio (Università di Catania): "Specchio delle appartenenze. Probabilismo e carità nell' 'Explicatio Decalog' (1654) di Tommaso Tamburini."

Arnold I. Davidson (University of Chicago): "Gli 'Esercizi Spirituali' e la filosofia contemporanea."

Michele Ranchetti (Università di Firenze): "I doppi esercizi spirituali."

### Learning to Write a Text

Bernhard Teuber (Universität München) and Christian Wehr (Universität München): "Exercices spirituels et rhétoriques: aspects d'une genèse jésuite du style baroque."

Manfred Hinz (Universität Passau): "'Agudeza' e 'Progymnasmata'."

Barbara Bauer (Universität Bern): "Antonio Possevino's *Biblioteca selecta*. The Management of a 'Jesuit' Knowledge?"

Luca Curti (Università di Pisa): "Dante e il canone letterario da Bellarmino a Bettinelli."

John W. O'Malley, S.J. (Weston Jesuit School of Theology, Cambridge, Mass.):  
Concluding Remarks

## ROME

On 10 May 2002 the Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica e Vulcanologia, hosted a one-day seminar in "Le corrispondenze nelle scienze della terra: valore storico e attualità scientifica." Letizia Buffoni and Edoardo Proverbio (Osservatorio Astronomico di Brera, Milan) delivered a paper on "Il contributo di Angelo Secchi (S.J.) e Pietro Tacchini alla nascita della meteorologia terrestre e solare: il ruolo della corrispondenza."

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To celebrate the 400th anniversary of the birth of Athanasius Kircher, S.J., the American Academy in Rome hosted a seminar on 2 May 2002. The speakers and their topics were:

Eugenio Lo Sardo (Ministerio dei Beni Culturali, Rome): "Kircher chiaroscuro."



Ernesto Capanna (Università di Roma, "La Sapienza"): "Zoologia kircheriana."

Nick Wilding (European University, Florence): "The Gift of Language—Polygraphy and Pentecostal Patronage."

Daniel Stolzenberg (Stanford): "Kircher and the Cabalists."

Ingrid Rowland (American Academy, Rome): "The Ecstatic Journey and the Cosmic Sperm."

## BOLOGNA

### ANATOMIA DI UN CORPO RELIGIOSO: IDENTITÀ DELLA COMPAGNIA DI GESÙ E IDENTITÀ DELLA CHIESA NELLA STORIOGRAFIA RECENTE

The Centro Italiano di Studi Superiori sulle Religioni, the Centro Interdisciplinare di Scienze delle Religioni, and the Dipartimento di Discipline Storiche of the University of Bologna hosted a seminar on 24 May 2002.

The programme opened with Mauro Pesce chairing a session during which authors of three recent books on the Society of Jesus presented summaries of their research: Antonio Trampus, *I gesuiti e l'Illuminismo. Politica e religione in Austria e nell'Europa centrale (1773-1798)* (Firenze: Olschki, 2000); Sabina Pavone, *Le astuzie dei gesuiti. Le false Istruzioni segrete della Compagnia di Gesù e la polemica antigesuita nei secoli XVII e XVIII* (Roma: Salerno, 2000); Alessandro Guerra, *Un generale fra le milizie del papa. La vita di Claudio Acquaviva scritta da Francesco Sacchini della Compagnia di Gesù* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2001).

Flavio Rurale chaired the second session during which three historians explained their current research: Guido Mongini, "Compagnia di Gesù e Chiesa primitiva. Riflessioni sull'identità dell'ordine alle sue origini"; Michela Catto, "I catechismi e l'identità gesuitica"; Paolo Bianchini, "Tra anti illuminismo e controrivoluzione: nuove forme di identità della Compagnia di Gesù in Francia tra 1773-1814."

Vinzenzo Ferrone chaired a session on the wider historiography with Pierre-Antoine Fabre speaking on "La storia dei gesuiti fuori le mura. Lo stato della ricerca in Francia"; and Antonella Romano on "I gesuiti e le matematiche: alcune linee di orientamento."

A round-table discussion involving Paolo Prodi, Giovanni Baffetti, Gian Paolo Brizzi, Vincenzo Ferrone, Giovanni Filoramo, Claudio Madonia, Valerio Marchetti, Mauro Pesce, Pietro Redondi and Flavio Rurale concluded the seminar.

## SAN ANTONIO

## SIXTEENTH CENTURY STUDIES CONFERENCE

Sixteenth Century Studies held its annual conference from 24 to 27 October in San Antonio, Texas. Among papers of Jesuit interest were the following:

Major Maria del Pilar Ryan, USA, University of Pennsylvania/U.S.M.A., "Money, Governance, and the Society of Jesus: The Spain of Francis Borgia."

Trevor Johnson, University of the West of England, "Peter Canisius, S.J., and the Incomparable Virgin Mary."

Michael W. Maher, S.J., Saint Louis University, "Ut sint sacri, et sacantes, perfecti, et perficientes: The Society of Jesus and the use of their Congregations in making Holy Priests."

Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Clark University, "The First Painted Cycle of the Gesu in Rome (1584-1608)."

Bernard Roussel, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences Religieuses, "Cornelius a Lapide's Commentaries: A Catholic Exegetical Encyclopedia."

Paul Nelles, Carleton University, "Origins of the Jesuit Information Archive: Communication in the Early Society."

Michael Printy, UC Berkeley, "The Revolt against the Fathers: Anti-Jesuitism and German Catholic Culture in the Eighteenth Century."

Haruko Nawata Ward, "Jezebel and the Jesuits in Japan."

Barbara Fahy, Albright College, "Defining the Enemy: St. Ignatius' Two Standards at Work in Seventeenth Century Jesuit Flemish Texts and Rubens' Ceiling Paintings in the Jesuit Church at Antwerp."

J. Patrick Donnelly, S.J., Marquette University, "Rummaging a Jesuit Treasure Trove: Juan Polanco's *Chronicon*."

Robert Scully, S.J., LeMoyne College, "Behind Closed Doors: Jesuits and their Clandestine Ministries in Elizabethan England."

## LIMA

## LOS JESUITAS Y LA MODERNIDAD EN IBEROAMÉRICA, 1549-1773

Lima, 8-11 de abril de 2003

La modernidad puede ser entendida como una época y como una cultura.

Cuando prestamos atención a la época hablamos de los tiempos modernos, y solemos disputar acerca de cuándo se inician y si ya han concluido. Al analizar la modernidad como cultura vemos, en cambio, algunas notas características que permiten presentar un perfil bastante más definido.

La modernidad puede ser definida como aquella cultura de origen europeo que privilegia la mejora de las condiciones de vida de los seres humanos como su meta principal. Hoy hablamos de calidad de vida. Es una vida que mejora en proporción directa a los beneficios producidos en ella por la transformación de la naturaleza, y a las libertades adquiridas por el individuo. Por ello, la razón moderna promueve el espíritu crítico del libre pensador, la autonomía de las instituciones respecto de las ataduras del pasado y la autodeterminación individual en el fuero de la consciencia.

Nada de ello era posible sin una organización sistemática del conocimiento y una reorganización, igualmente rigurosa, de las instituciones tutelares. En esta tarea desempeñaron papeles determinantes, por una parte, la fe religiosa, que permitió reconocer el valor de cada vida individual, y, por otra, la riqueza y abundancia de recursos financieros de las naciones europeas, que posibilitó la puesta en marcha de los proyectos específicos.

La modernidad es la cultura que aplica progresivamente la razón a todos los campos de la vida humana. Básicamente, esta cultura proyectó alcanzar la emancipación paulatina de todos los individuos, librándolos de las irracionalidades que los esclavizaban, mediante acciones racionales sistemáticas, desplegadas en los campos de la ciencia, la tecnología, la industrialización y la educación. Salvo en el último, en todos los demás campos, logró éxitos espectaculares.

Esta cultura moderna no surgió, sin embargo, plena y acabada en un determinado momento de la historia de Europa. Es en sí misma un proceso, una historia. Tampoco puede decirse que la modernidad sea una cultura uniforme y homogénea en su desarrollo ni en asimilación por parte de los distintos pueblos a los que afectó. Es claro, por ejemplo, que el proceso de la modernidad fue diferente en países católicos y en países protestantes. El llamado proceso de la globalización, que bien podría ser visto como una etapa del proceso de la modernidad, tiende hoy a homologar a las grandes tradiciones modernas. Por ello, hoy, se hace más necesario que nunca estudiar las peculiaridades del proceso de la modernidad de las naciones católicas.

En ese campo más específico, la hipótesis de este Coloquio es que el punto de partida debe ser un estudio a fondo del papel desempeñado por la Compañía de Jesús. Los jesuitas habrían sido el primer y decisivo resplandor de la cultura moderna en el mundo católico. Al buscar las fuentes de nuestra modernidad en los jesuitas, podremos poner a prueba tesis más audaces que han querido ver

una conexión, por ejemplo, entre la educación jesuita y la tradición liberal republicana de países latinoamericanos.

Pero la modernidad es también una cultura en crisis. La insistencia en calificar a nuestra época como la post-modernidad es un claro indicador de que es necesario adoptar una posición crítica frente a la cultura de la modernidad. No es difícil atacarla por el lado de los excesos cometidos al encumbrar la tecnología al rango de una visión del mundo. Tampoco es difícil criticar los efectos negativos de la industrialización. Pero, curiosamente, es mucho más difícil cuestionar el proyecto educativo de la cultura moderna, y tal vez esto sea así porque no lo conocemos realmente.

¿Hubo en la tradición católica un proyecto educativo moderno? ¿Representó ese proyecto la labor llevada a cabo por los jesuitas en los múltiples campos de su intervención? ¿O es que sólo podremos hallar aportes desagregados en cada uno de esos campos, pero con influencias ulteriores inimaginables para ellos?

El Coloquio tiene como objetivo analizar y discutir si es posible reconocer las características de la cultura moderna en los diferentes ámbitos en que actuaron los jesuitas entre 1549 y 1773. Por ello, el evento ha sido dividido en seis mesas temáticas, que son las siguientes:

#### Mesa Evangelización y misiones:

Coordinador: Jeffrey Klaiber, S.J. (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).

Ponentes: Carlos Aburto (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).  
 Javier Baptista, S.J. (Universidad Católica de Cochabamba, Bolivia).  
 Rafael Chamboueyrom (Cambridge University, Great Britain).  
 Ignacio del Río (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México).  
 Barbara Ganson (Florida Atlantic University, Estados Unidos).  
 Johannes Meier (Universidad de Mainz, Alemania).  
 Martín Morales, S.J. (Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Italia).

#### Mesa Educación y cultura:

Coordinadora: Scarlett O'Phelan (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).

Ponentes: Monique Alaperrine (Universidad de París, Francia).  
 Pierre-Antoine Fabre (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Francia).  
 Juan Carlos Estenssoro (Universidad de Lille, Francia).  
 Pilar Gonzalbo (El Colegio de México).  
 T. Frank Kennedy, S.J. (Boston College, Estados Unidos).  
 Gauvin Alexander Bailey (Clark University, Worcester, Estados Unidos).

#### Mesa Pensamiento moderno: la teología, la filosofía y las ciencias

Coordinador: Fernando Armas (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).

Ponentes: Luis Bacigalupo (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).  
Fermín del Pino (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, España).  
Francisco Moreno (Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas, Perú).  
Antonella Romano (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Francia).  
Josep Ignasi Saranyana (Universidad de Navarra, España).

#### Mesa Elites, política y movimiento criollo

Coordinador: Vicente Santuc, S.J. (Escuela Superior Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Perú).

Ponentes: Carlos Gálvez (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).  
Pedro Guibovich (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).  
Bernard Lavallè (Universidad de París, Francia).  
Ramón Mujica (Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Perú).  
Scarlett O'Phelan (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).  
Claudia Rosas (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).

#### Mesa Economía y técnica

Coordinador: Felipe Portocarrero (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).

Ponentes: Nicholas Cushner (State University of New York, Estados Unidos).  
Carmen Salazar-Soler (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Francia).  
Eddy Stols (Universidad de Lovaina, Bélgica).  
Stuart Swartz (Yale University, Estados Unidos).  
Bernard Vincent (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Francia).

#### Mesa Los jesuitas y el exilio

Coordinador: Manuel Marzal, S.J. (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).

Ponentes: Miguel León Portilla (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México).  
Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J. (Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Italia).  
Sandra Negro (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).  
Armando Nieto, S.J. (Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú).  
José del Rey Fajardo, S.J. (Universidad de Táchira, Venezuela).

Cada mesa contará con un coordinador, especialista en el tema de la mesa, que tendrá a su cargo moderar; seis panelistas, que emplearán 25 minutos para presentar su ponencia; y, un comentarista, que comentará los cinco trabajos en

15 minutos. Además, habrá 15 minutos para preguntas del público y la réplica de los panelistas. En total, cada mesa tendrá una duración de tres horas divididas en dos partes.

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## AWARDS

Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J.

El consejo directivo universitario

Considerando:

1. Que el Padre Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J., Investigador y Miembro Emérito del Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu (Roma), Académico correspondiente de la Real Academia Sevillana de Buenas Letras y Coordinador del Diccionario de Historia de la Compañía de Jesús (1977-1990), ha apoyado la creación del Archivo Histórico Juan Manuel Pacheco de la Universidad Javeriana, que ha contribuido continuamente a su orientación y lo ha enriquecido con su enseñanza y con donación de valiosos documentos históricos.
2. Que el Padre Medina, ha realizado fructuosas gestiones ante el Programa de Apoyo al Desarrollo de Archivos Iberoamericanos-ADAI y ante los investigadores e historiadores del Archivo General de Indias, en beneficio del Archivo de la Universidad y representó a la Universidad Javeriana como ponente principal en el XI Congreso Nacional de Historia de Colombia realizado por la Universidad Nacional de Colombia en agosto del año 2000.
3. Que según el Reglamento General de la Universidad corresponde al Consejo Directivo conceder la admisión a la Orden Universidad Javeriana,

Acuerda:

Artículo 1°. Aprobar el ingreso del Padre Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J., a la Orden Universidad Javeriana en el grado de Comendador,

Artículo 2º. Expresar al Padre Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J., auténtico mecenas de las Ciencias, y de la Cultura en Colombia, los sentimientos de admiración y gratitud por sus servicios al Archivo Histórico Javeriano, por el trabajo de investigación sobre la historia de los Jesuitas en América y el rescate de archivos de la Epoca Colonial de la Universidad.

Artículo 3º. Imponer al Padre Francisco de Borja Medina, S.J., la insignia y entregarle el diploma correspondiente al grado de Comendador de la Orden Universidad Javeriana en ceremonia que tendrá lugar el día 29 de julio del año 2002.

Dado en Bogotá el 17 de julio 2002.

Gerardo Remolina V., S.J.  
Presidente Consejo Directivo

Jaime Bernal E., S.J.  
Secretario

### Miquel Batllori i Munné, S.J.

El día 23 de mayo de 2002, en la Basílica de Santa María del Mar, de Barcelona, el Padre Miquel Batllori i Munné recibió la investidura de Doctor Honoris Causa por las Universidades de Alacant, Autònoma de Barcelona, Barcelona, Girona, Jaume I de Castelló, Lleida, Politècnica de Catalunya, Pompeu Fabra, Ramon Llull, Rovira i Virgili i Vic. En palabras del Rector de la Universidad de Alacant, que habló en nombre de las once Universidades, la investidura se confería al Padre Batllori como testimonio y reconocimiento por sus relevantes méritos.

Intervinieron en el acto, entre otros, el Presidente de la Generalitat de Barcelona, M. H. Sr. Jordi Pujol, el Arzobispo de Barcelona, Cardenal Ricard M. Carles, el Cardenal Jorge Mejía, Archivero y Bibliotecario de la Sacra Romana Iglesia, los alcaldes de Barcelona, Gandia y Xàtiva, así como el Coro y la Schola Cantorum de la Universidad de Barcelona, el Coro de la Universidad de las Islas Baleares, el Coro de la Universidad Rovira i Virgili, el Orfeón Universitario de Valencia y el Gremi de Campaners de Valencia.

La laudatio del candidato corrió a cargo del Catedrático Sr. Martín de Riquer.

En esta ocasión fue también otorgada al Padre Batllori la distinción papal de la Cruz pro Ecclesia et Pontifice. Con anterioridad el Padre Batllori había recibido el premio de las Letras y el Príncipe de Asturias de Ciencias Sociales y las medallas de oro de Catalunya y del Gobierno Balear. Cinco universidades le habían otorgado hasta ahora el doctorado honoris causa.

## EXHIBITIONS

### NIJMEGEN

On 3 May, a day before the Dutch Remembrance Day, Dutch Jesuit Provincial Jan van de Poll opened an exhibition in the Catholic University at Nijmegen, The Netherlands, with the title "Reunion with Robert Regout and his Archives." The Dutch Jesuit Robert Regout (1896-1942), son of the Minister of Justice, was university chaplain and professor of international law at this university, and an early critic of Nazi Germany. In the summer of 1940, he was arrested and taken to Berlin, where he was examined for a year, before he was transported to the concentration camp of Dachau. There he died at the end of 1942. His archives, first captured by the Nazis, and then taken as booty by the Russians, were returned to The Netherlands after sixty years. These archives form the centre of the exhibition, which also includes Regout's private notes, documents, portraits, photos and his two chalices were shown.

Netherlands Institute for Jesuit Studies, Amsterdam

Paul Begheyn, S.J.

### SITTARD

Four hundred years after his birth, the life and work of German Jesuit Jacob Kritzraedt (1602-1672) will be celebrated in several ways. In June a symposium was held at Sittard, The Netherlands, where he established a Jesuit community and lived for ten years (1636-1646). An exhibition opened in the same town in October. A second exhibition opened in November in Gangelt, Germany, his birthplace. His most important work, "Annales Gangeltenses," will be published for the first time to commemorate his anniversary.

Netherlands Institute for Jesuit Studies, Amsterdam

Paul Begheyn, S.J.

### AMSTERDAM

To celebrate the 450th anniversary of the death of Francis Xavier, the Amsterdam Museum Amstelkring, better known as "Ons' Lieve Heer op solder" (Our Lord in the Attic), will host an exhibition on the Jesuit chosen to be the patron saint of the so-called Dutch Mission, the Jesuits working in the Dutch Republic before the suppression of the Society of Jesus. In Amsterdam in 1638, Xavier's rosary was presented to the French queen Maria de' Medici by a Dutch Catholic medical doctor. At the end of her life she bequeathed the rosary to the Jesuits in Cologne where it remains. Gerard van Honthorst painted a portrait of the French queen carrying the sacred relic, while Joost van



den Vondel wrote a poem about it. These objects are included in the exhibition along with other works of art from Dutch, Belgian and German collections. The exhibition will focus on Saint Francis Xavier and the life and work of the Jesuits in Amsterdam. Paul Begheyn, S.J., and Robert Schillemans, curator of the museum, organised the exhibition and will co-author the catalogue. The exhibition will run from 31 January until 21 April 2003.

Netherlands Institute for Jesuit Studies, Amsterdam

Paul Begheyn, S.J.

## ROME-CAEN

### BAROQUE, VISION JÉSUITE

L'exposition *Baroque, vision jésuite* ne cherche pas à montrer l'existence d'un art jésuite réduit à un ensemble stylistique ou iconographique. Elle tend plutôt à mettre en évidence comment les membres de la Compagnie ont eu une façon propre de traiter l'image. Celle-ci se situe au confluent du monde physique et du monde spirituel, la vision permettant d'accéder aux connaissances divines. Elle est donc le lieu privilégié d'une réflexion sur la persuasion, la rhétorique, dont on trouve l'origine dans les *Exercices* d'Ignace.

Bien sûr, il n'existe pas d'écrits spécifiques sur l'image; de plus, la plupart des thèmes iconographiques sont communs à l'ensemble des communautés religieuses; enfin, les traits stylistiques des œuvres sont fort diversifiés. C'est donc dans les traités des pères concernant la rhétorique où ils expliquent, dans la tradition cicéronienne, comment les sermons doivent utiliser la métaphore, ou bien dans les livres d'emblèmes, voire dans les textes concernant le théâtre qu'il faudra chercher une spécificité jésuite.

Le rayonnement jésuite a été foisonnant, à la fois discret et spectaculaire. L'exposition a choisi de s'attarder sur cinq lieux particuliers, après le point de départ que constitue Venise. Ignace y voyait un lieu idéal de chrétienté, la préfiguration de la Jérusalem céleste; Véronèse et Tintoret, familiers des *Exercices spirituels*, ont décoré la première église jésuite, l'Umiltà, en 1548. Cinq milieux constitueront ensuite le parcours:

—Rome, théâtre et fer de lance du triomphe jésuite

—l'Italie du Sud, pour la cohérence des échanges stylistiques entre la Sicile, les Pouilles et la Campanie, et sa représentation exemplaire de la conquête intérieure.

—Les Flandres et leur réseau d'influence autour d'Anvers (Malines, Amsterdam, Gand), dynamique de la conquête extérieure.

—Le milieu parisien et les grandes commandes provinciales, choix français qui révèle pour la Compagnie la nécessité impérieuse d'instaurer avant tout le

dialogue avec le pouvoir.

—L'Andalousie, où l'inspiration jésuite est de façon très dense et cohérente concentrée à Séville, ville qui rappelle la vitalité du ressourcement mystique.

Un champ iconographique précis unifie l'exposition: il va de la nature physique, végétale, animale, vers le saint nom de Dieu, en parcourant les différentes étapes de l'imagerie jésuite (saints, martyrs, vie de Jésus, vie de la Vierge). D'autre part, la reconstitution partielle, en introduction, de l'intérieur de l'Umiltà, révélera l'influence profonde de la spiritualité ignatienne sur les maîtres vénitiens. L'exposition mettra en évidence un programme idéal pour les églises, réalisé différemment selon les lieux et les artistes, notamment en ce qui concerne les tableaux d'autel et leur iconographie.

Il s'agit alors de dégager une spécificité jésuite: la dynamique de l'image, la vision du monde véhiculée par l'iconographie, l'art de la persuasion, tout en montrant comment cette spécificité s'inscrit dans la tension complexe qui a existé entre la cohérence interne de la Compagnie et les différences artistiques des lieux où elle s'est implantée—naturalisme napolitain, baroque flamand, classicisme français, mysticisme espagnol.

Un grand nombre de tableaux seront présentés, —Tintoret, Véronèse, Bassano, Pozzo, Rubens, Jordaens, Van Dyck, Morales, Herrera, Poussin, Baugin, Vouet, Champaigne. . . , ainsi que des sculptures d'allégories, de vertus ou de pères de l'Eglise qui rappelleront comment les tableaux s'inscrivent dans un environnement architectural.

Exposition du 5 mars au 12 juin 2003 au Palazzo Venezia à Rome; du 12 juillet au 12 octobre 2003 au Musée des Beaux Arts de Caen.

Paris

Alain Tapié et Jan Willem Noldus

## DEATHS

Michael J. Grace, S.J. (1932-2002)

Brother Michael J. Grace, S.J. was archivist at Loyola University of Chicago, beginning in 1978, until his death on May 5, 2002. He used his skills in building a first-rate collection there but also in work for *Amici Thomae Mori* and for Father László Polgár in his bibliography of the Society, which had appeared annually in the *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*.

He was born in Chicago, Illinois on March 2, 1932, entered the Society of Jesus on September 2, 1951 at Milford, Ohio and celebrated his golden jubilee in 2001. As a brother, he took advantage of the changes made by the 31st General Congregation, which amounted to "a complete change of mind" on the part of the Society. Not only were administrative offices opened to brothers but

also "teaching and practicing the liberal and technical arts." Michael completed the courses he had begun, before entering the Society, toward the baccalaureat in 1970 in theology and then earned a M.A. in library science from Northern Illinois University in 1971, and an M.A. in Church history from The Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. in 1978.

The archival collection at Loyola included, in addition to the papers of the university, the Samuel Insull Papers and the papers of the Catholic Church Extension Society and, more recently, those of Richard A. McCormick, S.J.

Michael was North American secretary for the *Amici Thomae Mori*. Thousands of subscription checks passed through his hands in the course of three decades, and his correspondence will furnish invaluable material on Father Edward L. Surtz, S.J., his dear friend, and the project which produced the *Complete Works* of St. Thomas More.

Father Polgár was extremely grateful to Michael for his help in tracking down bibliographical references in hard-to-find journals and dissertations. Michael was a bull-dog: he dug up what Polgár needed, and to these he added many other items that he also forwarded.

In all these activities, Michael consciously played his part in the special apostolic nature of the Society. What he had freely received, he freely gave to others. Students, faculty, researchers who wished to use the Archives, the stranger—he gave them all his full attention and regard. Their response could be seen on the occasion of the golden jubilee and at the time of his death, when hundreds came to honor him.

Loyola University, Chicago

Walter P. Krolkowski, S.J.

## NOTA BENE

The Secretary of the Society of Jesus, has announced plans for the construction of a new floor to the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) to house the books of the library of the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu. Work will begin after official approval is received from the Vatican. The renovations are currently scheduled to begin in late October and will continue for five months. While every effort will be made to reduce inconvenience to the Archives and to the many researchers who work there, some reduction in service and extended closures should be expected. The library of the Institutum, currently located in the Residence of St. Peter Canisius, will remain open throughout the period of construction. Transfer of the library should take place during the usual summer closure. We hope that inconvenience will be minimal.

Le Secrétaire de la Compagnie a annoncé la construction d'un nouvel étage à l'Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) pour loger les livres de la bibliothèque de l'Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu. Les travaux commenceront dès que sera reçue l'approbation officielle par le Vatican. Les travaux de rénovation sont actuellement prévus pour démarrer fin octobre et dureront cinq mois. Tous les efforts seront faits pour limiter les inconvénients pour les Archives comme pour les nombreux chercheurs qui y travaillent. Toutefois une réduction des services et des fermetures prolongées sont à prévoir. La bibliothèque de l'Institut historique, actuellement située à la résidence St Pierre Canisius, restera ouverte pendant la durée des travaux. Le transfert de la bibliothèque devrait avoir lieu pendant la fermeture habituelle de l'été. Nous espérons limiter au maximum le dérangement.

Der Sekretär der Gesellschaft Jesu hat Pläne für die Errichtung eines zusätzlichen Stockwerks im Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) bekanntgegeben, das die Bücher der Bibliothek des Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu aufnehmen soll. Die Arbeiten werden sofort nach Genehmigung durch den Vatikan beginnen. Derzeit ist geplant, mit der Renovierungsarbeit, die fünf Monate dauern wird, Ende Oktober zu beginnen. Natürlich werden alle Anstrengungen unternommen werden, um Behinderungen für das Archiv und die vielen dort arbeitenden Forscher gering zu halten, doch muß mit verringerten Dienstleistungen und längeren Schließungen gerechnet werden. Die derzeit in der Residenz des hl. Petrus Canisius untergebrachte Bibliothek des Institutum bleibt während der Dauer der Bauarbeiten geöffnet. Die Übersiedlung der Bibliothek sollte während der üblichen Sommerschließung erfolgen. Wir hoffen, daß Behinderungen so gering wie möglich sein werden.

Il Segretario della Compagnia di Gesù ha annunciato il progetto per la costruzione di un nuovo piano sopra l'attuale Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), da destinare ad uso della biblioteca dell'Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu. I lavori inizieranno dopo aver ricevuto l'approvazione del Vaticano. I lavori di ristrutturazione avranno inizio in Ottobre ed avranno la durata di 5 mesi circa. Allo stesso tempo saranno fatti tutti gli sforzi per ridurre l'inconvenienti sia agli archivisti che ai molti ricercatori. Sono previste alcuna riduzione nel servizio e temporanee e prolungate chiusure. La biblioteca dell'Istituto, attualmente situata presso la Residenza S. Pietro Canisio rimarrà aperta durante il periodo di costruzione. Si prevede il trasferimento della stessa, durante la consueta chiusura estiva. Ci auguriamo minimi inconvenienti.

El Secretario de la Compañía de Jesús ha anunciado el proyecto para la construcción de una nueva planta sobre el actual Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) para destinarlo al uso de la biblioteca del Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu. La obra comenzará después de haber recibido la aprobación del Vaticano. Los trabajos de reestructuración tendrán comienzo en Octubre y continuarán durante cerca de cinco meses. Mientras tanto, se harán todos los esfuerzos para reducir los inconvenientes a los archiveros y a los investigadores que trabajan allí. Está prevista alguna reducción en el servicio y algunas clausuras temporáneas y prolongadas. La biblioteca del Institutum, actualmente situada en la Residencia S. Pedro Canisio permanecerá abierta durante el período de construcción. Se prevé el traslado de la misma durante la usual clausura del verano. Deseamos que los inconvenientes serán mínimos.



Subito  
Roma, 2001  
€ 16.00.

0.12.14.15



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